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FINAL REPORT

# Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples

## in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains

**Volume 1**

Submitted to
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National Park Service

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**Miki Crespi**

11/16/2001 07:33 AM MST

To: Roberta Beer/DENVER/NPS
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Roberta,

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Miki

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Memorandum

To: Technical Information Center, Denver Service Center
Attn: Roberta Beer

From: Archeology and Ethnography Program, Muriel Crespi

Subject: Report Certification for Chumash Study

You are being sent, under seperate cover, the two volume study completed in 1999 by Sally McLendon and John R. Johnson, and named: Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples in the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains. It was conducted through Cooperative Agreement CA-0434-1-9001 between the Archeology and Ethnography Program, Washington DC, National Park Service, and Hunter College, City University of New York, and a contract between the Archeology and Ethnography Program and Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Order Number 1443PX0001-96-476.

I certify that the above named study has been reviewed against the criteria contained in 43 CFR 7.18 (a)(1) and has been classified as available upon the recommendations of Phil Holmes, park anthropologist of Santa Monica Mountains, acting on behalf of the Deputy Superintendent, and Georganna Hawley, park archeologist of Channel Islands, acting on behalf of the superintendent. Three confidential appendices, XIV, XV and XVI, have been removed from Volume 2.

As the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative, I have reviewed the document and obtained release forms, through John R. Johnson, allowing public distribution of the primarily historical geneological information in Volume 1, provided on their families by Julie Tumamait Stenslie, Carol Pulido, and Eleanor Arellanes Fishburn.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the course of this project, the two principal authors of this report have become indebted to many individuals. Dr. Muriel (Miki) Crespi, Chief Ethnographer for the Archeology and Ethnography Program of the National Park Service, Washington, D.C., developed and oversaw the administration of the original cooperative agreement with Hunter College, City University of New York, and a purchase order issued to the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History for completion of subsequent drafts and production of the final report. Jane Gray, ethnographer working with Dr. Crespi at the Washington, D.C. office of the National Park Service, served as a liaison for tracking contract implementation.

The research conducted for this study would not have been possible without the gracious assistance of staff members at a number of libraries, museums, and archives. Most of the mission register data collection took place at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library with the aid of Fr. Virgilio Biasiol, Director, and Crescencia Olmstead, Secretary. Msgr. Francis J. Weber, Director of the Archdiocese Archives of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando not only provided crucial access to copies of Mission San Fernando's registers but also provided Dr. Johnson with a room at that mission while he worked with these records. Dr. McLendon's archival research took her to the National Anthropological Archives of the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; the photography, manuscript, and rare book departments of the Library of Congress; the Seaver Center of Western History at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County; the photography and western manuscript collections at The Huntington Library; the photographic archives of the University of Southern California; the Southwest Museum Library; the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; the National Archives; and the collection of early California newspapers at the New York Historical Society. The photographs appearing in this report were copied with permission from originals in the above-named archives as well as those in the Department of Anthropology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History and the library of the Ventura County Museum of History and Art.

A number of internal and external reviews were performed upon several drafts of this report. The authors would particularly like to thank Dr. Crespi, Dr. Roger Kelly formerly of the Pacific West Region, Helene Dunbar of the Pacific West Region, Don Morris of Channel Islands National Park, and Phil Holmes of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area for comments that led to strengthening particular aspects of this report for National Park Service use. Dr. Thomas C. Blackburn, Professor of Anthropology at California Polytechnic University, Pomona; Dr. Lowell John Bean of Palm Springs, California, and Dr. Phillip L. Walker, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, provided peer review of the complete draft of the final report. Their comments have been most helpful in making the revisions incorporated in this final version.

In April 1993, Mack Shaver, then superintendent of the Channel Islands National Park, and David Gackenbach, then superintendent of the Santa Monica Mountains Recreation Area, each met with Dr. Crespi, Dr. McLendon, and Dr. Johnson to insure that the report would meet the needs of consultation to be undertaken by the two parks. In particular, the Channel Islands National Park has since found opportunities to make use of the findings and recommendations contained in the complete draft of the final report because of their need to consult culturally-affiliated groups and lineal descendants pertaining to issues that have arisen in the course of Park operations.

Members of today's contemporary Chumash communities met at three separate locations in April 1993 and provided comments and suggestions. We have tried to address these by adding certain sections to this report, including the recommendations found in Chapter 12. We are grateful for the interest shown by these individuals and for the time they have taken to participate in these meetings. We have also benefited from comments received by people who have read over particular sections of the report and offered new information that had not come to our attention until that time, especially those family members who have contributed photographs and oral history information pertinent to particular Chumash family lineages documented in Chapters 10 and 11.

The team of ethnohistorians, linguists, Chumash research assistants, computer programmer, and production assistants who contributed to the report are acknowledged on the title page, and the particulars regarding their participation are described in Appendix III. Jan Timbrook, the Senior Associate Curator of Anthropology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, carefully edited the complete draft of the final report for readability, style, and consistency. Angela Macias drafted the maps. For this final version, the text, tables, figures, and plates from WordPerfect, Freelance, and other programs were converted to PageMaker by Marie Murphy, Design Coordinator, and Lisa Urone, Curatorial Assistant in Anthropology, at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One of the key concepts set forth in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) is that consultation should proceed where *cultural affiliation* has been established through "a relationship of shared group identity ... between a present day Indian tribe ... and an *identifiable earlier group* [emphasis added]." However, when Native American burials are encountered on public lands through inadvertent discovery or planned excavation, the regulations for implementation of NAGPRA give priority to *lineal descendants* of known individuals.

To discern the nature of "shared group identity" that exists today so that consultation required by NAGPRA may be implemented, studies were undertaken (a) to trace the various demographic, historical, and social processes that shaped the societies of the peoples now called Chumash following the arrival of Europeans, and (b) to trace the lineal descendants from citizens of Native towns that once existed in the Northern Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains. Studies such as this are necessary because haphazard federal recognition for Native political groups in California has not made it obvious whether existing federally recognized tribes are continuations of the "identifiable earlier groups." Also, National Park Service policies require consultation with culturally affiliated Native American groups whether federally recognized or not.

What were the identifiable earlier groups that existed in the region occupied by peoples speaking Chumash languages? Canonized as a "tribe" in A. L. Kroeber's *Handbook of California Indians* (1925), the "Chumash" are commonly misunderstood to consist of a single, sovereign group. The label *Chumash* used today is derived from the name of an American Indian linguistic family in south central California. In actuality, there were approximately 150 Native towns or "tribes," largely politically independent from one another, that existed in the territory occupied by people speaking Chumash languages at the time European settlement began in California. These are the *identifiable earlier groups* to which NAGPRA pertains.

Between 1772 and 1804, six Spanish missions were established within or adjacent to territories occupied by people speaking several different Chumash languages. From north to south these missions were San Luis Obispo, La Purísima Concepción, Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, and San Fernando. Eventually all of the people living in the original towns throughout this region were incorporated into Native communities associated with these six missions. The names of the original political groups of this region, called "rancherías" by the missionaries, are systematically recorded in the books of baptisms, marriages, burials, and other registers that were used to keep track of the mission populations. Combined with linguistic and ethnographic information recorded by Henshaw and Harrington and with other early contemporary documents, the ranchería names are used to reconstruct a map of all identifi-

able earlier groups known to exist in the territory occupied by Chumash-speaking peoples. Based on this research, the names and locations of 22 towns in the Northern Channel Islands and 20 towns in the Santa Monica Mountains are reviewed.

Mission documents provide a means to identify the citizens of the original towns in the Northern Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains and to trace the continued existence of these groups through the remainder of the Mission Period and beyond. No mission was founded within either of these two areas, so Native people were converted at a slower rate because of their greater distance from the missions. The Santa Monica Mountains was the last heavily populated area on the mainland to have the majority of its people unconverted by the end of 1804. Most Chumash islanders migrated to the missions between 1813 and 1817.

A severe demographic decline caused by introduced European diseases accompanied the resettlement of Native populations at the missions. High infant mortality was the principal factor involved in this reduction. Nearly two-thirds of all children born at the mission died within the first five years of life. As people in older generations died, there were not equal numbers in succeeding generations to take their place. By the time of the secularization of the missions in 1833-34, Chumash populations had been reduced to about fifteen percent of their estimated levels at the beginning of Spanish colonization. Despite this catastrophic decline that Chumash peoples experienced, some did survive, maintaining distinct communities that persisted beyond the Mission Period.

Following mission secularization in the 1830s, native people from the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains were included in a number of descendant communities. Most of these were continuations of settlements that had been established near the missions, but others were located in distant regions, such as the southern San Joaquin Valley, where they would be less threatened by White intrusions. Land grants and allotments were distributed to Indian people so that they could support themselves through agricultural activities, although many continued traditional fishing, hunting, and gathering activities. Some continued trades learned at the missions. Traditional political leadership roles and ceremonial gatherings continued past the 1870s.

After California became part of the United States, Indian communities all over the state saw their lands encroached upon by incoming settlers. Traditional property rights were not recognized under the new system. Old Indian grants were sometimes purchased by non-Indians or deliberately ignored by Whites who were often able to wrest title to the land through their political connections, the Indian owners' unfamiliarity with American law, and Native peoples' lack of access to legal advice. To protect Indian rights and prevent the outbreak of hostilities with incoming settlers, several treaties were negotiated with California Indians in 1851-52. The Tejon Treaty of 1851 included Chumash signatories, who had once been at the missions and ceded all of the territory controlled by tribes speaking Chumash languages. These treaties were never ratified by Congress, but a reservation system was begun shortly thereafter. One of these was the Sebastian Military Reserve at Tejon, which included several Chumash settlements. Although the Sebastian Reservation at Tejon was terminated in 1864 because it had been established on a land grant with a title judged to be valid, the Indian communities there survived by virtue

of the relationship they had established with E. F. Beale, the former reservation superintendent who purchased the grant.

The Barbareño Chumash community at La Cieneguita had federal recognition extended to it by the formal appointment of an Indian agent. In Ventura, a town grew up around the Indian community, and many Chumash residents retained title to their land allotments even into the early twentieth century. At Santa Inés, Chumash people were forced to move from their homes at the old mission, so they resettled at Zanja de Cota, another location where they had been given land after secularization. There they were able to survive as a community because they were protected by being within a land grant patented to the Catholic Church. At the west end of the San Fernando Valley, Indian people were able to obtain their own valid title to the Rancho El Escorpión where they could continue to live in community. Others who lost their land rights to the incursions of the Whites lived at Mission San Fernando.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the principal communities of Chumash descendants from the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains included Zanja de Cota near Santa Ynez, La Cieneguita and "Indian Orchard" near Santa Barbara, the Ventura Indian "ranchería," the Piru Creek settlement near Camulos, El Escorpión and the old mission vicinity in the San Fernando Valley, and the Tejon Canyon ranchería.

Detailed genealogical information contained in mission records makes it possible to trace lineal descendants from particular Chumash towns to later decades of the nineteenth century. Using a mission register data base consisting of the names of approximately 20,000 people, computer-generated lists were created of those individuals baptized from specified native towns, and then lists were made of each generation of descendants. These computer-produced lists of descendant families were then matched with census records, ethnographic notes, BIA enrollment records, and other sources of information to trace lineal descendants from Native towns in the Northern Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains.

Of 1,270 people baptized from the Channel Islands, twenty-six lineages were found that could be traced beyond the mid-nineteenth century. Taken together, these family histories are representative of the social processes that shaped Indian communities associated with the four missions in Central Chumash territory. At each of these missions, some islanders lived separately in their own settlements, while others intermarried with people from mainland towns. During the Post-Mission Period, island descendants merged with other Chumash communities.

It is instructive to examine where living descendants from native towns on the Northern Channel Islands may now be found. Although still represented by families in the Santa Barbara region, two out of the ten traceable island lineages are now fairly distantly removed from their Chumash ancestors because of intermarriage with non-Indians. Two other lineages do not seem to be represented in the local area, and one of these is culturally affiliated with the intertribal Tejon Indian community. Two descendant island lineages survive in families who are members of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation. Four island lineages include families who have resided continuously in Ventura County over several generations and remained at the core of the existing Chumash community in that area.

Thirty-four lineages descended from people born in native Chumash towns in the vicinity of the Santa Monica Mountains recreation area were traced beyond the mid-nineteenth century. It became clear during research on these family lineages that many Santa Monica Mountains descendants were an integral part of post-secularization communities at San Buenaventura, Saticoy, La Cieneguita, San Fernando, El Escorpión, and El Tejón. Many of these communities themselves merged or intertwined.

In the early twentieth century, individual families who had ancestry from the Santa Monica Mountains were widespread in California. Although our project was limited in scope to those families who remained in the Chumash region, people as far away as Monterey County to the north and San Diego and Baja California to the south had ancestors from various Santa Monica Mountains towns. In addition to individual families we were able to trace, two principal communities persisted where people of Santa Monica Mountains ancestry were living. These were the Chumash neighborhood of Ventura and the Indian ranchería on the Tejon Ranch. Our discoveries regarding the histories of such communities and families provides factual information regarding the most likely descendants of the native peoples who once controlled the territory now under National Park Service stewardship within the Santa Monica Mountains.

Because Chumash communities repeatedly lost their land base, it was easy for certain earlier commentators to assume that they no longer existed, but ethnohistorical research by Harrington and by us has demonstrated that people often regrouped after loss of their land base in residential neighborhoods where the community was maintained. Intermarriage between Chumash families further strengthened community bonds. Even though people may seem to live in a more dispersed manner today, the same sense of community persists. Although the original scope of work for this study did not include the collection of oral histories, more than 170 individuals came forward during the four years that this project was underway to provide information and seek assistance regarding family genealogies, often providing oral histories in the process. These interviews have contributed to our ability to trace family genealogies and community continuity throughout the twentieth century.

Our study has demonstrated that at least five communities survive that are direct descendants of the original Chumash sociopolitical groups that existed in the Northern Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains. Only one of these, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians, has been federally recognized. Yet our research suggests that Santa Barbara, Ventura, San Fernando, and Tejon also produced Indian communities that are direct continuations of earlier groups who came from areas now under Park Service stewardship. Since National Park Service policies require consultation with American Indians when Park programs or actions affect their interests, our research will make it possible for the Parks to consult these Indian communities as well as the federally recognized band. Although repatriation of human remains and both associated and unassociated funerary and other objects cannot at this time occur automatically, consultation about their disposition is supported by policy, and it does and should occur.

As noted in the first paragraph of this Executive Summary, NAGPRA gives precedence to the lineal descendants of known individuals with respect to ownership of their human remains and of the funerary

objects associated with those remains, when they are discovered in National Parks and on other federal land. Since it is difficult, if not impossible to know the identity of an individual whose remains are found in a traditional Native cemetery, it is difficult to know how to trace that individual's direct lineal descendants. However, as our research has shown, because many California Indian groups were missionized, there exist detailed mission records that can be used to establish lineal descent from members of the earlier identifiable groups, in this case ethnohistorically known towns. Because these communities were relatively small and their members interrelated in multiple ways, a lineal descendant of any of the citizens of a town has a strong chance of being a lineal descendant of most, if not all, of the citizens of that town, and therefore of most of the burials in that town's cemetery. Nonetheless, according to the letter of the law, such known relatives who descend from an identified town apparently have no standing under NAGPRA, unless they are members of a culturally affiliated federally-recognized tribe or can prove that they are lineal descendants of an identified individual in a particular grave.

Our study identifies nine lineages from the Channel Islands and ten lineages from the Santa Monica Mountains that are represented by known descendants today. Members of each of these modern family groups are plausible descendants of burials that may be encountered at their ancestral Chumash town. As such, they should be identified and consulted whenever Native American human remains are encountered in the vicinity of their ancestral town, either accidentally or in the course of planned archaeological excavation. Such consultation should be implemented even though final decision-making authority pertaining to human burials resides with the designated NAGPRA representative of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation and/or other culturally affiliated group that attains federal recognition. This seems the best approach to carry out the clear intent of NAGPRA -- to give priority to direct lineal descendants -- and it complies with National Park Service policies which require consultation with American Indians when Park programs or actions affect their interests.

Given that at least five communities are direct continuations of the original Chumash sociopolitical groups in the Santa Monica Mountains and Channel Islands and that a number of family lineages have descended from native towns in those same areas, it is recommended that mechanisms be set in place to handle situations that arise when human burials are uncovered through inadvertent discovery or during planned archaeological investigations. These recommendations are:

1. A memorandum of agreement should be signed between each of these parks and the Santa Ynez Band's Business Council to arrange for consultation mandated by NAGPRA and other federal laws. Either the NAGPRA representative appointed by the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians or the Tribal Elders Council should be contacted to assist in drafting these memoranda of agreement.

2. Because our study has identified at least four other descendant communities that are direct continuations of "identifiable earlier groups" in the study area and therefore culturally affiliated with areas under Park Service stewardship, some form of consultation mechanism with them should also be set up. The Santa Barbara Chumash, Ventura Chumash, and Tejon Indian communities are organized typically democratically in large extended families. Group consultation can probably best be achieved, if the group wishes, through a council composed of representatives chosen by each of the extended families in the descendant communities that have not yet achieved federal recognition.

3. Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and Channel Islands National Park should meet with the NAGPRA representative from the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation to explore an arrangement that could involve modern relatives in decision-making when they can prove ancestry from particular Chumash towns. Once such an agreement is reached, the Parks should each hold meetings with the families of modern relatives descended from each earlier town to agree on how consultation could most appropriately be carried out in the case of inadvertent or intentional discovery of Native American human remains on Park lands in the territories of their ancestral towns. This would set up a process in accord with NPS policy that Parks consult widely with affected Native American groups and with NAGPRA's intent that lineal descendants have priority in repatriation when burials are encountered.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Sally McLendon

### The Purpose of the Study

The National Park Service has long had a policy of wide consultation with all groups who are users of, and/or have a historic relationship to, the lands now under Park Service stewardship (National Park Service Management Policies 1988). However, passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) has established the need for new types of consultation with American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, requiring the identification of the cultural affiliations and lineal descent of past and present Native peoples in order to meet information and consultation requirements (U.S. Code 1990: 3048-3058).[1] Such consultation is a vehicle for achieving complex goals. NAGPRA redefines ownership and fiduciary responsibilities for certain classes of cultural items and fundamentally restructures basic relationships between Native Americans, federal agencies, and public or private institutions with museum collections that receive federal funding. NAGPRA mandates repatriation under certain specified conditions and raises issues of establishing legitimacy in decision-making processes, resolving competing claims, negotiating with appropriate tribal representatives and lineal descendants, making scientific inquiries responsive to Native communities, and much more.

NAGPRA's primary purpose is to "provide for the protection of Native American graves and other purposes," especially on federal and tribal lands (U.S. Code 1990:3013). The National Parks and other government agencies that manage federal lands have a particular responsibility under NAGPRA to provide this protection. Central to implementing NAGPRA is consultation between precisely defined groups and individuals concerning human remains and certain categories of cultural objects in museum collections as of 1990, and their planned or inadvertent discovery on federal or tribal land subsequent to the passage of the law. Appropriate consultation under the law requires accurate determination of the key concepts of *earlier identifiable groups, cultural affiliation* and *lineal descent.*

This ethnohistoric study was designed to assist two National Parks in California, Channel Islands National Park and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area (NRA), in complying with NAGPRA and strengthening their existing consultative and interpretive services (see Appendix II for original project

[1] See Appendix I for the complete text of NAGPRA. Regulations for the implementation of NAGPRA were published in the Federal Register on December 4, 1995 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995).

proposal). In California the accurate determination of the key concepts discussed above is complicated by several factors: (1) the exact nature of the earlier identifiable groups often has been obscured by twentieth-century anthropological simplification and generalization that lumped them together on the basis of language alone; (2) many of the earlier identifiable groups have never been federally acknowledged or have lost their federal acknowledgement despite their continued existence; and (3) Indian identity is an increasingly popular attribute to claim in California.

Channel Islands National Park and Santa Monica Mountains NRA have stewardship over territories once held by people speaking Chumash languages. Citizens of the earlier original groups in these areas were incorporated into six Spanish missions established between 1772 and 1804. Our study takes advantage of the rich source of information, available in mission registers that record the names of all the people from the earlier identifiable groups as they were incorporated into these missions, and their subsequent marriages, children, and deaths. This information when combined with censuses taken after the annexation of California to the United States in 1850, ethnographic and linguistic fieldnotes of H. W. Henshaw, and the voluminous oral histories and ethnographic notes collected by the anthropologist J. P. Harrington from 1913 to 1961 establishes an extraordinarily detailed and rich data base for establishing the *earlier identifiable groups* in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains and tracing *cultural affiliation* and *lineal descent*. This is the first extensive study to test the value of mission records; other census data; and linguistic, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric fieldwork in addressing these three key NAGPRA concepts.

## Consultation Legislated by NAGPRA

NAGPRA mandates consultation between "contemporary Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages or corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations and the [federally funded] museums and federal agencies with human remains and legislatively defined cultural items that might be culturally affiliated with these Native Americans or related to lineal descendants" (U.S. Department of Interior, NPS 1996:1). NAGPRA specifically establishes "the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations to certain Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony with which they are affiliated" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62134).

For discoveries after 1990, NAGPRA establishes the "ownership or control of Native American cultural items which are excavated or discovered on federal or tribal lands after [November 16, 1990]" as follows: When the cultural items are "Native American human remains and associated funerary objects," ownership or control (and therefore consultation) is vested in the lineal descendants of the American Indian, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian. When "the lineal descendants cannot be ascertained," or when three categories of cultural objects – "unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony" (U.S. Code 1990:3050), all of which are defined in the Act (see Appendix I)– are discovered not in association with human remains, then ownership or control and consultation is specified in a ranked order with Indian tribes that are defined as associated with these materials in one of three ways. These are:

(A) ... the Indian tribe ... on whose tribal land such objects or remains were discovered;

(B) ... the Indian tribe ... which has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects and which, upon notice, states a claim for such remains or objects [U.S. Code 1990:3050].

In cases where

(C) ... the cultural affiliation of the objects cannot be reasonably ascertained and if the objects were discovered on Federal land that is recognized by a final judgement of the Indian Claims Commission or the United States Court of Claims as the aboriginal land of some Indian tribe ... U.S. Code 1990:3050], then ownership or control, and consultation must be with

1) ... the Indian tribe ... that is recognized as aboriginally occupying the are in which the objects were discovered, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects, or

2) if it can be shown by a preponderance of the evidence that a different tribe has a stronger cultural relationship with the remains or objects than the tribe or organization specified in paragraph (1), ... the Indian tribe that has the strongest demonstrated relationship, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects [U.S. Code 1990:3050].[2]

Thus the correct identification of *lineal descent* and *cultural affiliation* are key to the successful implementation of NAGPRA. "Cultural affiliation" is defined in the NAGPRA Regulations as ... a relationship of **shared group identity** which can reasonably be traced historically or prehistorically between members of a present day **Indian tribe** or Native Hawaiian organization and **an identifiable earlier group** [U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160 (emphasis added)].

An "Indian tribe" is defined as any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians ... which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United

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[2] The Act has been implemented in the final Rules and Regulations issued December 4, 1995 as follows: Consultation as part of the intentional excavation or inadvertent discovery of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony on Federal lands must be conducted in accordance with the following requirements.

(a) Federal agency officials must consult with known lineal descendants and Indian tribe officials:

(1) from Indian tribes on whose aboriginal lands the planned activity will occur or where the inadvertent discovery has been made; and

(2) from Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that are, or are likely to be, culturally affiliated with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony; and

(3) from Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that have a demonstrated cultural relationship with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62162).

States to Indians because of their status as Indians [U.S. Code 1990:3049; U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160] that is, any tribe, band or nation which is a federally acknowledged tribe, or which becomes a federally acknowledged tribe.

"Lineal descendant" is defined in the Regulations as

> ... an individual tracing his or her ancestry directly and without interruption by means of the traditional kinship system of the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization or by the common law system of descendance to a known Native American individual whose remains, funerary objects, or sacred objects are being claimed under these regulations [U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160].

The National Park Service and other federal agencies that control land formerly inhabited by Indian people must be prepared to identify quickly the proper individuals or groups to consult in the event that Native American remains or cultural objects are discovered through inadvertent finds or planned excavations.

In California, identifying the tribes and lineal descendants that must be consulted in order to comply with NAGPRA is often difficult, for several reasons. First, there is considerable misunderstanding as to precisely what were the "identifiable earlier groups" in California. Second, when California was admitted to the Union in 1850, the federal government failed to establish formal relationships with the native polities then extant within the new state, or even to systematically determine what native groups were present and being dispossessed by the new arrivals. Federal acknowledgment was achieved only haphazardly, partially, and often not until the 20th century by the "identifiable earlier groups" then extant. Many identifiable earlier groups continued to exist, but were never federally recognized. Many such groups currently seek that recognition. The 102nd Congress of the United States recognized the extent and seriousness of the lack of federal recognition of California tribes by passing Public Law 102-416 (106 Stat. 2131), the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act of 1992.[3]

Third, the native people of California, and their political systems, have been radically transformed by their contact with several varieties of Euro-American societies over the past 200 years, usually losing their land base, and often being forced to move away from their earlier historic territories. Thus the cultural affiliation of the California tribes which are currently acknowledged with earlier identifiable

[3] Public Law 102-416 (106 Stat. 2131), the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act of 1992, addresses the "urgent need to clarify the eligibility of unrecognized and terminated California Indian tribal groups to be federally acknowledged as Indian tribes with all the rights and powers attendant to that status." The council was charged with 1) developing "a comprehensive list of California Indian tribes and the descendancy list for each tribe based on documents held by the Bureau [of Indian Affairs] ...," and 2) identifying "the special problems confronting unacknowledged and terminated Indian tribes and propose reasonable mechanisms ... for the orderly and fair consideration of requests by such tribes for Federal acknowledgment," as well as conducting a survey of the social, economic and political status of California Indians and the effectiveness of federal policies and programs that affect them. In this act the term "California Indian tribe" means any federally recognized or unacknowledged Indian tribe located in the state of California.

groups whose "cultural objects" have been or may be excavated or discovered is not always clear. In many cases it can be established that there is no currently acknowledged tribe which is culturally affiliated with a particular earlier identifiable group whose cultural objects have been discovered or excavated, although there is an as yet unacknowledged tribe which is.

Nowhere is this more true than in Southern California in the area between Santa Monica and Point Conception where the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park are located. In 1769 when the Spanish began permanent settlement of California, there were at least 150 separate political entities in this region, each with its center in a named town, and each speaking one or more of several distinct languages. There is no evidence that these 150 or so identifiable earlier groups considered themselves part of a single tribe. All evidence instead indicates that they considered themselves sovereign nations, although a few were banded together in close alliances with neighboring groups under a single leader, at least for the period of that leader's existence. Today, however, there is only one federally recognized tribe in this entire area, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians. It is clear, however, that many more people exist in the area and elsewhere who are direct descendants of citizens in identifiable earlier groups (some of whom are already being consulted by one or both of the two national parks in the area), and that they are member of groups that could, and in some cases have, begun the process of seeking federal recognition.

The two parks in this area, the Santa Monica Mountains NRA and the Channel Islands National Park, are known to encompass large numbers of archaeological sites within their borders. Although the location of many is known, previously unknown sites emerge from time to time and are likely to be inadvertently discovered through routine maintenance or construction activities or natural forces such as floods, earthquakes, etc. Such sites can include human remains or cultural objects covered by NAGPRA, necessitating an established procedure for NAGPRA-related consultation.

Realizing the complexity of issues faced by the two parks in this area, Dr. Muriel Crespi, head of the National Park Service's Applied Ethnography Program, Washington, D.C., in consultation with Dr. Roger Kelly of the Pacific West Field Area of the National Park Service, requested and funded the research reported on in this document. This research has been designed to assist the Santa Monica National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park to comply with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act by (1) identifying the native "earlier groups" in the areas now under the stewardship of those parks, and (2) tracing out their histories over time, so as to identify culturally affiliated group(s) for each of them, as well as those individuals who may be lineal descendants.

Because the earlier identifiable groups in California were relatively small, having usually no more than 1,000 citizens and often many less, and marriages among the members had produced multiple interrelationships linking members to each other, it is likely that anyone descended from a citizen of one of these earlier identifiable groups is a descendant of any citizen of that group found in the group's cemetery. Although NAGPRA gives priority regarding repatriation to individuals who are direct lineal descendants of known individuals, much broader consultation has long been the Park Service norm (National Park Service Management Policies 1988). We feel it would be consonant with the intent and

spirit of NAGPRA, as well as traditional Park Service policy on consultation, for the Parks to develop and improve consultation mechanisms which would include the direct lineal descendants of each earlier identifiable group presented in this study.

We were also asked to provide information, documented photographs, and photocopies of selected primary documents that could be used for park interpretation and education programs, and general reference. We have taken this charge seriously and have brought together here in this report and in the Appendices information resulting from both this project and current, ongoing research, which is not otherwise available in the literature. We feel this final report supplements the chapters on the Chumash in the California volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978) (otherwise a valuable reference for California) which were written just before the renaissance in Chumash studies which began in the mid 1970s.

## ESTABLISHING CULTURAL AFFILIATION IN CALIFORNIA

### The "Identifiable Earlier Groups" and Confusion of Language Groups with Tribes

In most of California, Native peoples lived in permanent, named towns. These towns were usually connected to neighboring towns by trade, kinship, shared religious practice and language, but there is in most cases no evidence that they participated in any larger, more inclusive political unit (Bean and Theodoratus 1978:289; Garth 1978:237; J. J. Johnson 1978:364; P. Johnson 1978:350-351 and 354; Kelly 1978:419; Levy 1978a:398-399, 1978b:485-486; McLendon and Lowy 1978:306-307; McLendon and Oswalt 1978:286-288; Milliken 1991:25; Myers 1978:244; Olmstead and Stewart 1978:230; Riddell 1978:373; Spier 1978a:426-427, 1978b:471-472; Wallace 1978a:169-170, 1978b: 466, 1978c: 449, 454; Wilson and Towne 1978:388-389). Alfred L. Kroeber in his monumental *Handbook of California Indians* (1925) introduced the terms "tribelet" or "village community" for these politically independent towns. There were more than 1,000 of these within what is now the state of California, counting only those identified by Kroeber in the various chapters of his *Handbook*. As Kroeber (1925:830) said "Tribes did not exist in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent."[4] Nonetheless, Kroeber obscured this fact by continuing an ethnographic practice begun by Stephen Powers (1877) of treating language groups as if they were political groups. Kroeber combined towns which were politically independent but spoke varieties of the same language (or even of distinct but related languages) under a single name such as "Pomo" or "Meewok" (later "Miwok"), or "Chumash". Kroeber referred to these language-based groupings as "little nations" (Kroeber 1925:vi), but they were not tribes

[4] Kroeber defines "tribe" as:

... a fairly coherent body of from 500 to 5,000 souls, usually averaging not far from 2,000; speaking in almost all cases a distinct dialect or at least subdialect; with a political organization of the loosest, perhaps; but nevertheless possessed of a considerable sentiment of solidarity as against all other bodies, sufficient ordinarily to lead them to act as a unit [Kroeber 1925:830].

as defined elsewhere, or as specified in NAGPRA, although they have commonly been assumed to have been such.

The labels which Kroeber used to group large numbers of politically separate "tribelets" into language-defined groups (which continue to be used by anthropologists and much of the public today) were not traditional self-designations for the groups referred to. Kroeber (1925:443) notes that the names "Wintu," "Maidu," "Yokuts," and "Miwok" were "not originally distinctive tribal or group names, but [in each case] the native word for people..." which he then used for the language or family of languages as well as all the independent towns that spoke that language.

Significantly, the "tribal" names made familiar by Kroeber and his students do not appear in the earliest ethnohistorical records, which begin for a few California groups in the sixteenth century. These records refer only to named towns, if they mention names for native political units at all, a pattern that persists through the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the challenges of ethnohistorical research in California, in fact, is to identify the names that were actually used to refer to native peoples and to determine precisely to which Indian people they refer. Thus none of the pre-twentieth century ethnohistorical records that we have examined for this project use the term "Chumash."

Although Kroeber used his language-based names in ways which suggest they refer to a single political unit,[5] they were assigned uniquely on the basis of shared language, or even shared language family, not shared political organization. They thus group multiple politically independent tribelets or

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In describing the political organization of the state, Kroeber begins in the northwest where "the extreme of political anarchy is found, ... there is scarcely a tendency to group towns into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit ..." (Kroeber 1925:830). He continues:

In north central California ... a tribe ... was a small body, evidently including on the average not much more than 100 souls. It did not possess distinctive speech, a number of such tribes being normally included in the range of a single dialect. Each was obviously in substance a "village community," although the term "village" in this connection must be understood as implying a tract of land rather than a settlement as such. In most cases the population of the little tribe was divided between several settlements ... but there was also a site which was regarded as the principal one inhabited .... The limits of the territory of the group were well defined, comprising in most cases a natural drainage area. A chief was recognized for the tribe ... [which] was designated either by the name of its principal settlement or by that of its chief .... This type of organization has been definitely established for the Wailaki, Yuki, Pomo, and Patwin, and is likely to have prevailed as far south as the Miwok in the interior and the Costanoans or Salinans on the coast and inland to the Maidu and Yana [Kroeber 1925:830].

[5] The major exception recognized by Kroeber and later scholars are the speakers of the various varieties of Yokuts, who are described as organized into some 40 or more named groups or tribes, each of which had one or more constituent towns (Spier 1978b:471-472; Wallace 1978c:454).

[6] Kroeber (1925:229) says about the peoples he called the "Pomo": "The number of principal villages or *political units* [emphasis mine] was about 75." These 75 independent political units in fact spoke seven distinct languages, and are continued today by eighteen federally recognized tribes. Similarly, Kroeber's name "Maidu" refers to some 100 village communities that spoke three distinct languages.

towns into a single abstract construct which had no demonstrable political existence.[6] Throughout the twentieth century, knowledgeable native peoples have drawn attention to, or even protested, the distorting nature of this procedure (Dutschke and Maniery 1993; McLendon 1959-1990; Sarris 1993), although recently, younger people have increasingly come to adopt such terms.

### The Haphazard Nature of Federal Recognition in California

When California became a state in 1850, three Indian commissioners were appointed by the federal government to negotiate with the native groups being displaced by the settlers (Phillips 1997). Eighteen treaties were negotiated with some 139 California "tribes" in 1851-1852 (Royce 1899:780-789; Heizer 1972), providing an identification of "earlier groups" for those tribes. Treaties were negotiated with native groups that had already threatened settlers, or were felt to pose a potential threat to settlers. Treaties were not signed with many other earlier groups who are shown by ethnohistorical research and ethnographic fieldwork to have existed in the mid-nineteenth century. None of the native groups speaking Chumash languages along the Santa Barbara Channel signed a treaty nor were they given the opportunity to do so. One of the groups then living near Santa Barbara at Cieneguita was assigned an agent in 1854 by the California Superintendent for Indian Affairs, however, and their community was subsequently referred to in official correspondence as the "Cieneguita Reservation" (see Chapter 8) so its existence is clearly established. In fact, the 139 tribes signing these treaties represent less than 15 percent of the more than 1,000 actual "original earlier groups" identified in Kroeber (1925).

The eighteen treaties that were signed were never ratified by congress (Heizer 1972), but were sealed away until their rediscovery in 1902 by the Northern California Indian Association (Taber 1911:8). Many of the groups who did sign treaties did not become federally acknowledged tribes. Thus, three groups speaking Chumash languages in the Tejon area the ... "Castake" (Castac), "San Imirio" (San Emigdio), and "Uvas" (Grapevine Canyon) ... signed one of the treaties but never became federally recognized, although they were initially part of the first reservation to be established in California, the Tejon (or Sebastian) Reservation (initially called the Sebastian Military Reserve). A large number of the federally acknowledged groups in California today acquired federal recognition at the end of the nineteenth century, or in the twentieth century. Some groups still have not achieved federal acknowledgement. In California, public agencies such as the National Park Service cannot count on always finding a federally recognized, culturally affiliated group to consult, nor can they assume that the federally recognized groups that do exist necessarily represent all the earlier polities and their contemporary descendants. Nonetheless, the federally acknowledged tribes that do exist in an area must always be consulted.

### The Transformation of Native Polities in California

The native peoples of California in most, if not all, cases have experienced severe depopulation since contact was initiated with Euro-American societies. Some groups lost as much as 90 percent of the pre-contact population. Many polities which had been distinct and politically separate entities when Europeans first arrived lost so many of their members that they found it difficult to maintain themselves as

politically independent groups. In many cases they combined with other, formerly neighboring groups into single amalgamated communities at some later point.

The native polities also, in most cases, have lost most, if not all, of their former land base, severely straining their ability to maintain themselves as distinct entities. Native communities often were forced to move away from the areas in which they had traditionally lived, sometimes making the contemporary forms of these communities hard to locate. Thus the peoples speaking Chumash languages ultimately abandoned the sites of their traditional towns to congregate at the several missions in their combined territories at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first decades of the nineteenth. After secularization of the missions in 1834, the native populations of each mission split into more than one post-secularization community, each composed of people from the same original town, or group of neighboring towns (see Chapter 8 for details).

Members of the native polities largely had to replace traditional ways of making a living through fishing, gathering, and hunting to various forms of work for pay. In almost all cases they became Christians, profoundly affecting the unconscious ideological underpinnings of their societies. They had to acquire knowledge of one or more European languages, which have subsequently come to replace their native languages as mediums of communication in most contexts. In Southern California, native California languages were joined first by Spanish and only in the twentieth century by widespread use and knowledge of English, so there has been a double language shift.

In 1998, Indian people in California live in suburban-style ranch houses, drive cars, buy their food in supermarkets, restaurants, and fast food shops, send their children to the same schools as other Americans, learn about the world on television, and go to church (or not) on Sunday. Unless they are descendants of polities which were able to achieve federal acknowledgement and access to a reservation, they do not stand out as particularly distinct politically or live in reserved geographic areas.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

### Introduction

The research described in this report has been designed to identify lineal descent and cultural affiliation between potentially related past and present Indian groups, i.e. the relation of "shared group identity between a present day Indian tribe – and an identifiable earlier group" (U.S. Code 1990: 3048), in the areas formerly controlled by peoples speaking Chumash languages and presently under the stewardship of the National Park Service in the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park.

Since over 100,000 Indian people live in the greater Los Angeles area today, most of whom come from as far away as Central and South America, one cannot easily find all the descendants of the "identifiable earlier groups" whose lands are now under Park Service stewardship by surveying the contemporary Indian peoples living in the area. Instead one must find ways to begin in the past with the native peoples who controlled these areas and work forward to the present to identify their descendants.

These earlier groups did not keep written records that can be consulted. A solid basis for such an enterprise, however, is provided by the study of the detailed records kept by the Franciscan fathers as they converted Chumashan-speaking peoples to Christianity between 1772 and 1822, combined with oral histories and memories of former citizens of these earlier groups and their descendants recorded in the extraordinarily voluminous notes of John P. Harrington (1986, n.d.a, and n.d.b), particularly when further combined with state and federal censuses, Bureau of Indian Affairs records, and county and city records.

The accurate analysis of these records requires years of careful research, as would ethnohistorical research for this purpose in any area in the country. Therefore a team of seven scholars who had already worked with various of these records for several decades, together with eight Chumash descendants, was assembled by the Principal Investigator. Pooling their combined knowledge and research results by means of an integrative computer program, the "earlier identifiable groups"– that is, the original towns in the Santa Monica Mountains and on the Channel Islands – were identified, their locations established, and their descendants traced out. The research project thus did not have to start from "scratch," but was based on work already done to establish the earlier groups while tracing out their descendants. The research project was thus a collaborative effort with the Principal Investigator acting as organizer, co-editor, and facilitator rather than primary researcher. With this collaborative design we were able to accomplish in four years what would otherwise have taken at least a decade and a great deal more money. We feel that this model of collaborative research that brings together the scholars who have already carried out much of the ethnographic and ethnohistorical research necessary to document cultural affiliation between past and present peoples, together with contemporary native peoples, can be productively applied wherever cultural affiliation is not transparent, with similar economies of time and money.

In order to meet the data needs mandated by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, we proposed and have accomplished four major research goals:

1. To determine the earlier identifiable groups with which cultural affiliation must be established under NAGPRA: the eighteenth century towns into which Native peoples speaking Chumash languages were organized when European colonization and settlement first began; the locations (or approximate locations of these towns); and their names in the relevant Chumash language spoken there, along with the various spellings used by the Spanish to record that name, as well as an accurate spelling for the Chumash pronunciation of the name recorded in a practical orthography suitable for use by the parks in interpretation and education (see Figure 3.1.). Particular emphasis was placed on the towns which were located within or near the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and in the Channel Islands National Park (see Chapters 5 and 6, and Figures 5.1 and 6.1).

2. To prepare a census of all the individuals baptized from these towns at the various missions in order to identify those baptized from towns in the areas now under the stewardship of the Channel Islands National Park and the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area (see Chapters 10 and 11 and Appendices IX and X ).

3. To trace the descendants of the individuals baptized from towns in the areas now under the stewardship of the Channel Islands National Park and the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area into the twentieth century by constructing genealogies for each (see Chapters 10 and 11).

4. To reconstruct the social histories of the various communities from the time of secularization of the missions in 1834 up to at least the beginning of the twentieth century, with particular attention to movements of peoples and fluctuations in population size, in order to establish in some detail what happened to the earlier identifiable groups, the towns, their members and the descendants of those members on the Channel Islands and in the Santa Monica Mountains (see Chapters 8, 10 and 11). The tracing of lineal descendants from each town contributed significantly to the reconstruction of the histories of these towns. In following the several individual descendants from a given town we could see them continuing to live in close proximity to one another even when the town's land base had been lost, and intermarrying with one another--sure signs of the continuing existence of the sociopolitical units.

## Historical Background to Establishing Cultural Affiliation in the Chumash Area

The peoples speaking Chumashan languages were among the earliest native peoples of what is now California to be contacted by Europeans. In 1542, little more than two decades after Cortés's conquest of Mexico, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo (who had been with Cortés in that conquest) explored along the coast of Upper California, visiting San Diego Bay, Santa Catalina Island, and the Santa Barbara Channel, where he described seeing many towns and many Indian people. Just north of Santa Monica Bay near Mugu Lagoon he and his crew reported seeing:

> ... on land an Indian town close to the sea with large houses like those of New Spain [Mexico] ... Here many fine canoes holding twelve or thirteen Indians each came to the ships ... They named the town 'Pueblo de las Canoas' ... they continued their voyage about ten leagues along the coast, and during all that time many canoes were in evidence, because all the coast is very well settled. Many Indians kept coming aboard the ships and pointed out to us their towns, telling their names, which are: Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabbaga, Xocotoc, Potoltuc, Nacbuc, Quelqueme, Mizinagua, Misesopano, Elquis, Coloc, Mugu, Xagua, Anacbuc, Partocac, Susuquei, Quanmu, Gua, Asimu, Aquin, Casalic, Tucumu, Yncpupu. All these towns are from the Pueblo de las Canoas, which is called 'Xucu' to here [Point Conception]. They are in a good country with fine plains and many trees and savannas [Wagner 1929:86].

When Spanish settlement of California began in earnest in 1769 with the establishment of missions and presidios along the coast, converts were identified as coming from villages with many of the same names (and presumably the same locations) as had been recorded in 1542 (King 1975:172). This demonstrates the importance as well as permanence of these towns, which were the basic political groups in this area as in most of native California (Bolton 1927; Brown 1967, n.d.; Costansó 1911; Priestley 1937; Smith and Teggart 1909).

Residents of these towns did not call themselves "Chumash" or any other unitary term, nor is there any evidence that they thought of themselves as members of a single larger political group or tribe, although the Spanish sources do report "federations" of groups of adjacent towns in the area of present day San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara. Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century, J. P. Harrington found knowledgeable elderly consultants identifying people in terms of their being from one of these named pre-contact native towns.

Thus it is central to identify and locate the mid-eighteenth-century native towns which were the basic political units, "the identifiable earlier groups" (or "tribes"). Thus the peoples now referred to as "Chumash" did not constitute a single tribe, although they have come to be referred to as the Chumash since they spoke related languages (see below and Chapter 2). They were in fact organized into over one hundred and fifty politically distinct, named towns in the eighteenth century when permanent Spanish settlement began[7] (see Chapter 3 for map and details). Even the handful of "federations" of towns for which there is evidence did not have a name for themselves as a federation. People identified themselves and others by the name of their towns well into the twentieth century, even though to all appearances these towns had ceased to exist (Harrington n.d.b). This fact demonstrates that the "identifiable earlier [native] groups" with which cultural affiliation has to be established are the named independent towns that existed in the eighteenth century and earlier.

The Spanish began permanent settlements in Upper California towards the end of the eighteenth century by establishing missions and presidios in 1769 at San Diego and in 1770 at Monterey. A year later, in 1771, Mission San Gabriel was established to the east of the area in which Chumash languages were spoken, in what is now Los Angeles. There the native peoples spoke the unrelated Gabrielino (Tongva) language.

In 1772, the first mission was established in the northwestern part of the area where Chumash languages were spoken, at San Luis Obispo. The various towns of peoples speaking Chumash languages were now effectively hemmed in from both sides by catalysts for change. Four more missions were strategically positioned within this area over the next thirty years, working in from the periphery–evidence of the careful strategy with which the Spanish approached the populous, powerful native peoples of this area (Geiger 1965:7).

Ten years elapsed before a second mission, San Buenaventura, was established in 1782 near Cabrillo's Pueblo de las Canoas in the eastern part of Chumashan linguistic territory (where Ventura is today). In the same year a military base, Presidio Santa Bárbara, was established in the middle of the densely-populated channel coast at the site of contemporary Santa Barbara, preparing the foundation for the missions to come. Four years later the mission of Santa Bárbara was founded in 1786, and in 1787, Mission La Purísima Concepción further to the east. Ten years later San Fernando Rey de España was

[7] Nearly 90 towns identified as "Chumash" are located on Kroeber's map in Plate 48 showing "Part of the Habitat of the Chumash and the Alliklik" without including towns in the area around San Luis Obispo (Kroeber 1925).

founded at the edge of Chumash/Gabrielino territory in 1797, and in 1804 a final mission, Santa Inés, was established inland between Missions Santa Bárbara and La Purísima Concepción.

Each mission drew its initial converts from the immediately adjacent towns, subsequently extending its field of proselytization to more distant areas as success was achieved nearby. From the beginning, however, some converts were drawn from areas distant from the mission in question. These often seem to have served as "seed populations" in the founding of later missions close to their home territories (Johnson 1988a:130). The native peoples from the Channel Islands, having no mission in the islands, went to several of the mainland missions (Johnson 1982a:68). Individuals also transferred between missions, or made marriages in another mission, making it necessary for this project to census the populations in all of the missions rather than only those in, or adjacent to, Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area or the Channel Islands National Park.

Conversion proceeded slowly at first but was complete by 1822, just as Mexico (including California) declared its independence from Spain. By 1834 the republican central government in Mexico had ordered the secularization of the missions, and the Chumash-speaking peoples, now become Christian, were forced once again to adjust to new conditions not of their own making. The Indian converts at each of the missions underwent somewhat different experiences at this point, with at least some of the converts at Santa Inés moving to Sanja Cota and successfully establishing a territorial base which they have continued to maintain to this day. The converts at the other missions, however, seem not to have been as fortunate.

## Origin of the Name *Chumash*

The currently-used name for descendants of speakers of the related languages, *Chumash*, was not a traditional self-designation. There was, in fact, no single term of self-designation that was used by all the peoples now referred to as Chumash, since they did not consider themselves part of a single group. The term *Chumash* was not used until 1891, and then only to refer to the family of languages in John Wesley Powell's *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico*. Henry W. Henshaw, who had spent two months along the Santa Barbara Channel in 1884 collecting linguistic data for Powell's publication, suggested the term to Powell for purely scholarly reasons.

Powell had established two principles which were to be followed in choosing names for the linguistic families he recognized: 1) he took the first name that had been used in print to refer to that family, or languages in that family, but 2) compound names could not be used. The languages now known as Chumash (or more precisely, Chumashan, since a family of languages is being referred to, not a political group) had been referred to as the "Santa Barbara" languages by Latham (1856) and others from the mid-nineteenth century on, but since this was a compound name, another term had to be found. As Powell says:

> The several dialects of this family [of languages] have long been known under the group or family name, "Santa Barbara," which seems first to have been used in a com-

> prehensive sense by Latham in 1856, who included under it three languages, viz: Santa Barbara, Santa Inez, and San Luis Obispo. The term has no special pertinence as a family designation ... Nevertheless as it is the family name first applied to the group and has, moreover, passed into current use its claim to recognition would not be questioned were it not a compound name. Under the rule adopted the latter fact necessitates its rejection. As a suitable substitute the term Chumashan is here adopted. Chumash is the name of the Santa Rosa Islanders, who spoke a dialect [actually, a separate language] of this stock, and is a term widely known among the Indians of this family. [Powell 1891:67]

Powell then goes on to describe quite precisely the actual basic sociopolitical unit:

> The Indians of this family lived in villages, the villages as a whole apparently having no political connection, and hence there appears to have been no appellation in use among them to designate themselves as a whole people [Powell 1891:67].

Kroeber himself makes the same point:

> Political conditions in southern California are obscure, but are likely to have been generally similar to those of north central California [i.e. based on towns]. Among the Chumash, towns of some size were inhabited century after century, and these undoubtedly were the centers if not the bases of political groups .... The larger towns of the Gabrielino and Chumash may represent concentrations like those of the Patwin and Clear Lake Pomo [Kroeber 1925:830-832].

**The Identification of Earlier Groups**

A number of scholars, including Kroeber, have applied their considerable talents to identifying these towns in the ethnohistorical records and tracing their histories. This project has thus been able to draw on the extensive research on this topic by Kroeber (1925:552-556), Harrington (1928a), King (1975:176-178), Johnson (1986, 1988a) and others, while also returning to the original sources.

Four types of evidence have been considered: 1) the names of native towns contained in the mission records from which the native peoples of the Santa Barbara Channel area entered the missions; 2) the names of towns recorded in other early Spanish records; 3) the names of towns remembered and recorded in the 1880s for Henry W. Henshaw by Juan Estevan Pico, a native speaker of one of the Chumash languages (see Appendix IV and Chapter 2); and 4) the names of towns recorded from at least a dozen other speakers of the various Chumash languages by John P. Harrington, beginning in 1912-1913 (Appendix V).

A central piece of evidence is Juan Estevan Pico's list of over 100 named towns along the coast of the Santa Barbara Channel and on the Northern Channel Islands. A native speaker of Ventureño Chumash, who had developed an amazingly accurate system for writing that language (see Chapter 2 for details), Pico wrote out this list in 1884 for Henry W. Henshaw of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Pico did not include any towns north of Point Conception (in the area where Purisimeño and Northern Chumash

[or Obispeño] were spoken), so the list is not exhaustive, but it does cover the areas now under Park stewardship. Although the list includes some towns that came into existence after the beginning of the mission period, and does not include some towns mentioned in eighteenth-century Spanish sources, there is nevertheless quite impressive agreement between Pico and the Spanish sources. Pico and the earlier Spanish sources clearly knew and were talking about largely the same towns, further evidence that these towns persisted over time.

## Censusing the Citizens of the Original Native Towns and the Tracing of Lineal Descendants

The project has integrated information from the records of the six missions into which Chumash-speaking peoples from the one hundred and fifty identifiable earlier towns were incorporated: San Luis Obispo, La Purísima, Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, and San Fernando. Because the towns' residents were displaced to the missions, with citizens from the same town often being incorporated into different missions, this permits the identification of all those individuals baptized from each of the towns in the two areas which are the focus of the study. The details of the method used and the personnel who were involved are presented in Appendix III.

We have traced out the genealogies of people who once lived in Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains and on the Channel Islands to determine how many of them had descendants, and we have attempted to follow these descendants up into the twentieth century as far as permitted by the records which are currently public. Since census schedules are available for examination only after seventy years have passed, we have had access to the detailed information preserved in the federal censuses only through the 1920 census. We have also searched various nineteenth-century records for evidence as to what happened to these descendants and the communities they continued to live in after the missions were secularized in 1834. This stage of the research has been in some ways the most challenging. Although we have been able to trace many descendants into the twentieth century, we do not claim that we have been able to identify all. On the contrary, we expect that additional descendants will be identifiable in the future with continued research of this sort.

## Consultation with Contemporary Chumash People

Part of our charge from the National Park Service was to involve Chumash people in the research. Eight Chumash research assistants worked directly with the data base and the mission records (preserved in the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library in Santa Barbara), entering and cross-referencing the data needed to complete the work begun by the ethnohistorians who collaborated on the project, or with the microfilmed fieldnotes of John P. Harrington. These Chumash research assistants were: Gilbert Unzueta, whose family had been part of Mission Santa Bárbara; Henry Cruz of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation, whose family had been at Mission Santa Inés; Julie Tumamait and Eleanor Arellanes, whose families were part of Mission San Buenaventura; Elise Tripp and Virginia Ochoa, also from the Santa Ynez

Indian Reservation and descended from families at Mission Santa Inés; and Ernestine Ygnacio-De Soto, the daughter of the last speaker of Barbareño Chumash, and her daughter, Carmen Unzueta, whose family were at Mission Santa Bárbara (see Appendix III for work performed by each individual).

Documentably Chumash people have been found to live widely scattered from San Luis Obispo in the northwest, through Santa Barbara and Ventura to Los Angeles in the southeast, and northward to Bakersfield in the San Joaquin Valley (as well as in other parts of California, in other states, and even other countries). Some are members of the one federally-recognized Chumash tribe, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians. Others are part of communities of large extended families which are not presently federally-recognized tribes, but which can demonstrate their affiliation with "identifiable earlier groups" and can also demonstrate their descent from documented Chumash ancestors. Still other people in this large area have grown up as Indian and feel that they are Chumash, but have so far not been able to document their descent from clear Chumash ancestors. The situation is complicated by the fact that members of many non-Chumash tribes of Indians have moved into this area since the eighteenth century, and their descendants have grown up referring to themselves as "Indian" just as the descendants of the original Chumash inhabitants do. As the term "Chumash" increasingly comes to replace the term "Indian" in colloquial speech, many Indian people who are not descended from the various Chumash tribes come to call themselves "Chumash."

Three meetings were held in April, 1993 in three different locations to explain the nature of the project, our progress to that point, and solicit comments and suggestions. Letters of invitation were sent to all the people now consulted by either or both of the two Parks, as well as all already identified Chumash descendants, and the Elders Council at the one federally-recognized tribe, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians. The first meeting was held at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History in Santa Barbara. The second was convened at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation with the assistance of Elise Tripp and the Tribe's Elders Council. The third was held at the Peter Strauss Ranch with the assistance of staff from the Santa Monica Mountains NRA. These were led by the head of the Applied Ethnography Program of the National Park Service, the Principal Investigator, and the Ethnohistoric Research Coordinator.

The Elders Council at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation welcomed our consultation and expressed the hope that our visit would not be the last. Attendees at the meeting held in Santa Barbara conveyed the same sentiments. Both groups expressed a strong desire to be consulted, and found our research strategy logical. They also communicated an intense interest in playing a significant role in the representation of themselves and their ancestors in interpretive and educational programs in the two Parks. Clearly a mechanism is needed to bring these Chumash groups and the Park Service together more often. Elderly members attending both meetings shared with us their uniformly affectionate memories of encounters as children with John P. Harrington (whose oral histories are so important to the project) when he was carrying out research with their grandparents, parents, and other relatives.

At the third meeting, concern was expressed by some people attending that by focusing on extracting the genealogical data documented in the mission registers, the project would exclude people descended from Chumash people who did not enter the missions (see Chapters 7 and 9 for a detailed consideration

of this issue). During our meetings it became clear that very few people (Chumash or not) have an accurate understanding of the sorts of information that the mission records contain and which make them important to study. In hopes of assuaging these concerns, we have explained in considerable detail what is in these records in this report (see Chapters 4, 7, and 9).

One of the misconceptions about the missionization process is the extent to which it was possible for the various Chumash town-tribes to continue to lead their lives in traditional ways and not join the missions once missionization had begun. Integrating the genealogical, political, and statistical information preserved in the mission documents is a necessary first step to understanding what options the various Chumash peoples in fact had. It is our conclusion, explained in detail in Chapter 9, that it was not possible for Chumash towns to maintain a separate identity apart from the missions after 1822.

It is known that Indian people sometimes accepted baptism and joined a mission then changed their minds and ran away, or attempted to run away. Those individuals are nevertheless recorded in the mission registers. Their names, ages, relatives, etc. can be known, and efforts can therefore be made to find evidence of what happened to them as well.

Moreover, the only apparent way to be sure that the Parks have not inadvertently failed to identify and consult documentable descendants of members of those Chumash tribes whose lands are now under Park Service stewardship is to carry out the analysis of mission records. Not to do so would risk excluding a sizable number of descendants and tribes from consultations, and might make it difficult for the Parks to comply with federal law.

When asked what evidence should be used to establish cultural affiliation, if not the mission records, some people attending the third meeting suggested that oral histories should be collected. They also suggested that the fact that they were continuing to live in an Indian way, maintaining cultural traditions, made it evident that they were who they said they were. Other people attending replied that Indian people have always had to "prove up" in order to establish their right to special consideration as Indians, providing documentary evidence of their Indian descent in order to be enrolled on the various Bureau of Indian Affairs Rolls of California Indians.

Concern was also expressed by some people attending the third meeting about confidentiality and the possibility of deliberately skewing the genealogical data. Since the building of genealogies started in the past with the first converts two hundred years ago and worked forward, it was impossible to predict who the modern day descendants would be (or whether any individual would, in fact, have descendants). There was thus no way to knowingly affect the genealogies which were automatically constructed up to secularization by computer program. This was explained at the meeting and the computer program demonstrated, which seemed to allay this fear.

It was suggested that oral histories were needed as an alternative to mission records. To a considerable extent this concern has been met with recourse to the work by J.P. Harrington, who collected extensive oral histories beginning in 1913 until his death in 1961. These have been a major source of information for the project, since Harrington consulted people who were still speakers of Chumash languages, most of whom belonged to native communities directly descended from eighteenth-century

towns in the Santa Monica Mountains and on the Channel Islands. The oral histories collected by Harrington document the continued existence of native polities after the secularization of the missions throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century and are indispensable.

We had wanted to collect contemporary oral histories as well, but funds were unfortunately not available. Fortunately, over the course of the project, about 170 people have come forward seeking help with documenting their genealogy through the mission register data base, providing an unanticipated opportunity to carry out genealogical research with contemporary people (see Appendix XIV). Many of them have volunteered oral histories which have been an important source of information about the continued existence of the same native communities through the twentieth century. We are very grateful to all those who so generously shared their knowledge with us. Despite the fact that this procedure has required considerable effort to research, for which time was not budgeted in the original scope of work, all families have been assisted to the extent that the records permit. In a number of cases, this genealogical research has identified contemporary descendants of lineages from towns that once existed on the Channel Islands and within the Santa Monica Mountains.

One of the most vexing issues with the implementation of NAGPRA is the correct identification of cultural affiliation. Our research demonstrates that if one builds upon the extensive anthropological and ethnohistorical research on California Indian peoples already extant, it is possible to trace the history of the earlier identifiable groups over time to their contemporary descendant populations. We knew that Chumash peoples had not disappeared, despite published assertions to the contrary, but we did not anticipate the number of descendants who continued to live in the Chumashan area, and the extent to which they still form and participate in subtly distinct communities.

## Organization of the Report

Chapter 1 summarizes the significant features of NAGPRA for the two parks in the study area and explains that in California presents a challenge in recognizing "identifiable earlier groups" because names for language families, like "Chumash" and "Pomo," are commonly treated as the names for political groups. Chapters 2 and 3 clarify the distinction between Chumash linguistic relationships and original native polities. Chapter 4 describes the principal ethnohistoric source material (mission register data) used in the project. Chapters 5 and 6 identify the Chumash towns (which are the "identifiable earlier groups") that existed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the study area. To understand how shared group identity has been preserved into the twentieth century, ethnohistoric investigations of community continuity and change are presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

In addition to culturally-affiliated groups, a second category of people to be consulted under NAGPRA are those who are lineal descendants of deceased individuals whose remains are discovered on federal land. In the case of burials discovered at Native American sites, it is rarely possible to know with certainty whether the remains are those of a lineal ancestor of particular individuals alive today. Chapter 9 describes the methods used to trace descendants. As Chapters 10 and 11 demonstrate, it is certainly pos-

sible for the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains to document living families who can trace ancestry to particular identified native towns. Thus, cemeteries at those towns that were occupied in the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Periods almost certainly contain the remains of ancestors of present-day Chumash families who can trace lineal descent from those communities. These modern family groups are thereby plausible direct lineal descendants of burials that may be encountered at known Chumash towns and, as such, should be identified and consulted along with the NAGPRA representative from the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation whenever Native American human remains are encountered, either accidentally or in the course of archaeological excavation.

Tracing the genealogies allows one to follow the communities as they evolved over time, thereby demonstrating the shared group identity between past and present groups. Chapter 12 summarizes our findings that at least five communities exist today that have had continuous shared identity with the original political groups that once controlled areas now under National Park Service stewardship. Only one of these, the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation, is a federally-recognized tribe and clearly must be consulted under the terms of NAGPRA. A consultation mechanism is recommended for other groups that can be shown to be direct continuations of the earlier Chumash groups and therefore culturally affiliated with them.

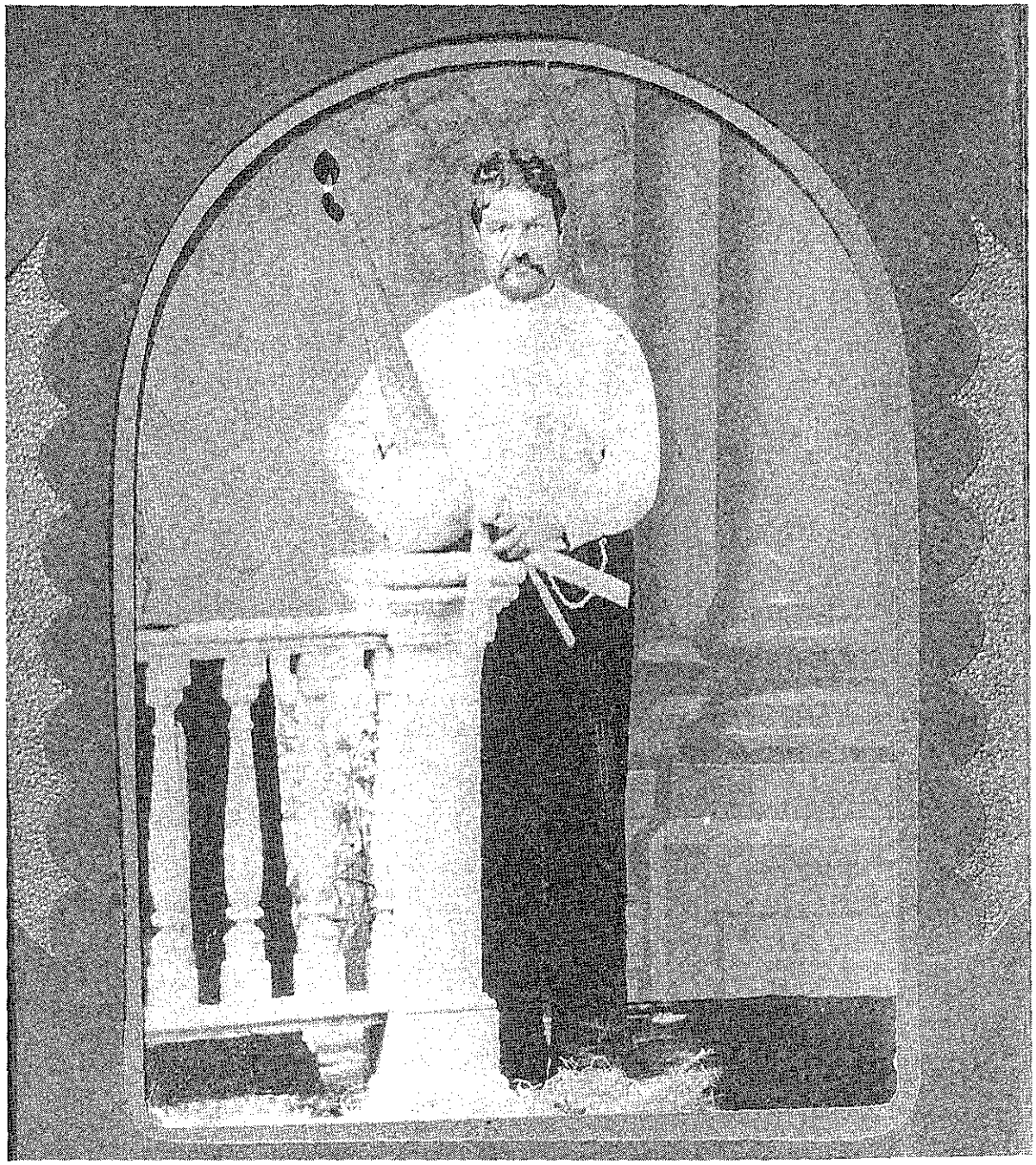

**Plate I.** Juan Estevan Pico (1841-1901), shown here with the carpentry tools of his profession, preserved a record of his native Ventureño Chumash language and developed his own linguistically accurate orthography that surpassed the system used by contemporaneous scholars.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31244*

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Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Sally McLendon

### The Purpose of the Study

The National Park Service has long had a policy of wide consultation with all groups who are users of, and/or have a historic relationship to, the lands now under Park Service stewardship (National Park Service Management Policies 1988). However, passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) has established the need for new types of consultation with American Indians, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians, requiring the identification of the cultural affiliations and lineal descent of past and present Native peoples in order to meet information and consultation requirements (U.S. Code 1990: 3048-3058).[1] Such consultation is a vehicle for achieving complex goals. NAGPRA redefines ownership and fiduciary responsibilities for certain classes of cultural items and fundamentally restructures basic relationships between Native Americans, federal agencies, and public or private institutions with museum collections that receive federal funding. NAGPRA mandates repatriation under certain specified conditions and raises issues of establishing legitimacy in decision-making processes, resolving competing claims, negotiating with appropriate tribal representatives and lineal descendants, making scientific inquiries responsive to Native communities, and much more.

NAGPRA's primary purpose is to "provide for the protection of Native American graves and other purposes," especially on federal and tribal lands (U.S. Code 1990:3013). The National Parks and other government agencies that manage federal lands have a particular responsibility under NAGPRA to provide this protection. Central to implementing NAGPRA is consultation between precisely defined groups and individuals concerning human remains and certain categories of cultural objects in museum collections as of 1990, and their planned or inadvertent discovery on federal or tribal land subsequent to the passage of the law. Appropriate consultation under the law requires accurate determination of the key concepts of *earlier identifiable groups*, *cultural affiliation* and *lineal descent.*

This ethnohistoric study was designed to assist two National Parks in California, Channel Islands National Park and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area (NRA), in complying with NAGPRA and strengthening their existing consultative and interpretive services (see Appendix II for original project

[1] See Appendix I for the complete text of NAGPRA. Regulations for the implementation of NAGPRA were published in the Federal Register on December 4, 1995 (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995).

proposal). In California the accurate determination of the key concepts discussed above is complicated by several factors: (1) the exact nature of the earlier identifiable groups often has been obscured by twentieth-century anthropological simplification and generalization that lumped them together on the basis of language alone; (2) many of the earlier identifiable groups have never been federally acknowledged or have lost their federal acknowledgement despite their continued existence; and (3) Indian identity is an increasingly popular attribute to claim in California.

Channel Islands National Park and Santa Monica Mountains NRA have stewardship over territories once held by people speaking Chumash languages. Citizens of the earlier original groups in these areas were incorporated into six Spanish missions established between 1772 and 1804. Our study takes advantage of the rich source of information, available in mission registers that record the names of all the people from the earlier identifiable groups as they were incorporated into these missions, and their subsequent marriages, children, and deaths. This information when combined with censuses taken after the annexation of California to the United States in 1850, ethnographic and linguistic fieldnotes of H. W. Henshaw, and the voluminous oral histories and ethnographic notes collected by the anthropologist J. P. Harrington from 1913 to 1961 establishes an extraordinarily detailed and rich data base for establishing the *earlier identifiable groups* in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains and tracing *cultural affiliation* and *lineal descent*. This is the first extensive study to test the value of mission records; other census data; and linguistic, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric fieldwork in addressing these three key NAGPRA concepts.

## Consultation Legislated by NAGPRA

NAGPRA mandates consultation between "contemporary Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages or corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations and the [federally funded] museums and federal agencies with human remains and legislatively defined cultural items that might be culturally affiliated with these Native Americans or related to lineal descendants" (U.S. Department of Interior, NPS 1996:1). NAGPRA specifically establishes "the rights of lineal descendants, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations to certain Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony with which they are affiliated" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62134).

For discoveries after 1990, NAGPRA establishes the "ownership or control of Native American cultural items which are excavated or discovered on federal or tribal lands after [November 16, 1990]" as follows: When the cultural items are "Native American human remains and associated funerary objects," ownership or control (and therefore consultation) is vested in the lineal descendants of the American Indian, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian. When "the lineal descendants cannot be ascertained," or when three categories of cultural objects – "unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony" (U.S. Code 1990:3050), all of which are defined in the Act (see Appendix I)– are discovered not in association with human remains, then ownership or control and consultation is specified in a ranked order with Indian tribes that are defined as associated with these materials in one of three ways. These are:

(A) ... the Indian tribe ... on whose tribal land such objects or remains were discovered;

(B) ... the Indian tribe ... which has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects and which, upon notice, states a claim for such remains or objects [U.S. Code 1990:3050].

In cases where

(C) ... the cultural affiliation of the objects cannot be reasonably ascertained and if the objects were discovered on Federal land that is recognized by a final judgement of the Indian Claims Commission or the United States Court of Claims as the aboriginal land of some Indian tribe ... U.S. Code 1990:3050], then ownership or control, and consultation must be with

1) ... the Indian tribe ... that is recognized as aboriginally occupying the are in which the objects were discovered, *if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or* objects, or

2) if it can be shown by a preponderance of the evidence that a different tribe has a stronger cultural relationship with the remains or objects than the tribe or organization specified in paragraph (1), ... the Indian tribe that has the strongest demonstrated relationship, *if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects* [U.S. Code 1990:3050].[2]

Thus the correct identification of *lineal descent* and *cultural affiliation* are key to the successful implementation of NAGPRA. "Cultural affiliation" is defined in the NAGPRA Regulations as ... a relationship of **shared group identity** which can reasonably be traced historically or prehistorically between members of a present day **Indian tribe** or Native Hawaiian organization and **an identifiable earlier group** [U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160 (emphasis added)].

An "Indian tribe" is defined as any tribe, band, nation, or other organized group or community of Indians ... which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provided by the United

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[2] The Act has been implemented in the final Rules and Regulations issued December 4, 1995 as follows: Consultation as part of the intentional excavation or inadvertent discovery of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony on Federal lands must be conducted in accordance with the following requirements.

(a) Federal agency officials must consult with known lineal descendants and Indian tribe officials:

(1) *from Indian tribes on whose aboriginal lands the planned activity will occur or where the inadvertent* discovery has been made; and

(2) from Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that are, or are likely to be, culturally affiliated with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony; and

(3) from Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations that have a demonstrated cultural relationship with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony (U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62162).

States to Indians because of their status as Indians [U.S. Code 1990:3049; U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160] that is, any tribe, band or nation which is a federally acknowledged tribe, or which becomes a federally acknowledged tribe.

"Lineal descendant" is defined in the Regulations as

> ... an individual tracing his or her ancestry directly and without interruption by means of the traditional kinship system of the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization or by the common law system of descendance to a known Native American individual whose remains, funerary objects, or sacred objects are being claimed under these regulations [U.S. Department of the Interior 1995:62160].

The National Park Service and other federal agencies that control land formerly inhabited by Indian people must be prepared to identify quickly the proper individuals or groups to consult in the event that Native American remains or cultural objects are discovered through inadvertent finds or planned excavations.

In California, identifying the tribes and lineal descendants that must be consulted in order to comply with NAGPRA is often difficult, for several reasons. First, there is considerable misunderstanding as to precisely what were the "identifiable earlier groups" in California. Second, when California was admitted to the Union in 1850, the federal government failed to establish formal relationships with the native polities then extant within the new state, or even to systematically determine what native groups were present and being dispossessed by the new arrivals. Federal acknowledgment was achieved only haphazardly, partially, and often not until the 20th century by the "identifiable earlier groups" then extant. Many identifiable earlier groups continued to exist, but were never federally recognized. Many such groups currently seek that recognition. The 102nd Congress of the United States recognized the extent and seriousness of the lack of federal recognition of California tribes by passing Public Law 102-416 (106 Stat. 2131), the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act of 1992.[3]

Third, the native people of California, and their political systems, have been radically transformed by their contact with several varieties of Euro-American societies over the past 200 years, usually losing their land base, and often being forced to move away from their earlier historic territories. Thus the cultural affiliation of the California tribes which are currently acknowledged with earlier identifiable

[3] Public Law 102-416 (106 Stat. 2131), the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act of 1992, addresses the "urgent need to clarify the eligibility of unrecognized and terminated California Indian tribal groups to be federally acknowledged as Indian tribes with all the rights and powers attendant to that status." The council was charged with 1) developing "a comprehensive list of California Indian tribes and the descendancy list for each tribe based on documents held by the Bureau [of Indian Affairs] ...," and 2) identifying "the special problems confronting unacknowledged and terminated Indian tribes and propose reasonable mechanisms ... for the orderly and fair consideration of requests by such tribes for Federal acknowledgment," as well as conducting a survey of the social, economic and political status of California Indians and the effectiveness of federal policies and programs that affect them. In this act the term "California Indian tribe" means any federally recognized or unacknowledged Indian tribe located in the state of California.

groups whose "cultural objects" have been or may be excavated or discovered is not always clear. In many cases it can be established that there is no currently acknowledged tribe which is culturally affiliated with a particular earlier identifiable group whose cultural objects have been discovered or excavated, although there is an as yet unacknowledged tribe which is.

Nowhere is this more true than in Southern California in the area between Santa Monica and Point Conception where the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park are located. In 1769 when the Spanish began permanent settlement of California, there were at least 150 separate political entities in this region, each with its center in a named town, and each speaking one or more of several distinct languages. There is no evidence that these 150 or so identifiable earlier groups considered themselves part of a single tribe. All evidence instead indicates that they considered themselves sovereign nations, although a few were banded together in close alliances with neighboring groups under a single leader, at least for the period of that leader's existence. Today, however, there is only one federally recognized tribe in this entire area, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians. It is clear, however, that many more people exist in the area and elsewhere who are direct descendants of citizens in identifiable earlier groups (some of whom are already being consulted by one or both of the two national parks in the area), and that they are member of groups that could, and in some cases have, begun the process of seeking federal recognition.

The two parks in this area, the Santa Monica Mountains NRA and the Channel Islands National Park, are known to encompass large numbers of archaeological sites within their borders. Although the location of many is known, previously unknown sites emerge from time to time and are likely to be inadvertently discovered through routine maintenance or construction activities or natural forces such as floods, earthquakes, etc. Such sites can include human remains or cultural objects covered by NAGPRA, necessitating an established procedure for NAGPRA-related consultation.

Realizing the complexity of issues faced by the two parks in this area, Dr. Muriel Crespi, head of the National Park Service's Applied Ethnography Program, Washington, D.C., in consultation with Dr. Roger Kelly of the Pacific West Field Area of the National Park Service, requested and funded the research reported on in this document. This research has been designed to assist the Santa Monica National Recreation Area and the Channel Islands National Park to comply with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act by (1) identifying the native "earlier groups" in the areas now under the stewardship of those parks, and (2) tracing out their histories over time, so as to identify culturally affiliated group(s) for each of them, as well as those individuals who may be lineal descendants.

Because the earlier identifiable groups in California were relatively small, having usually no more than 1,000 citizens and often many less, and marriages among the members had produced multiple interrelationships linking members to each other, it is likely that anyone descended from a citizen of one of these earlier identifiable groups is a descendant of any citizen of that group found in the group's cemetery. Although NAGPRA gives priority regarding repatriation to individuals who are direct lineal descendants of known individuals, much broader consultation has long been the Park Service norm (National Park Service Management Policies 1988). We feel it would be consonant with the intent and

spirit of NAGPRA, as well as traditional Park Service policy on consultation, for the Parks to develop and improve consultation mechanisms which would include the direct lineal descendants of each earlier identifiable group presented in this study.

We were also asked to provide information, documented photographs, and photocopies of selected primary documents that could be used for park interpretation and education programs, and general reference. We have taken this charge seriously and have brought together here in this report and in the Appendices information resulting from both this project and current, ongoing research, which is not otherwise available in the literature. We feel this final report supplements the chapters on the Chumash in the California volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (1978) (otherwise a valuable reference for California) which were written just before the renaissance in Chumash studies which began in the mid 1970s.

## ESTABLISHING CULTURAL AFFILIATION IN CALIFORNIA

### The "Identifiable Earlier Groups" and Confusion of Language Groups with Tribes

In most of California, Native peoples lived in permanent, named towns. These towns were usually connected to neighboring towns by trade, kinship, shared religious practice and language, but there is in most cases no evidence that they participated in any larger, more inclusive political unit (Bean and Theodoratus 1978:289; Garth 1978:237; J. J. Johnson 1978:364; P. Johnson 1978:350-351 and 354; Kelly 1978:419; Levy 1978a:398-399, 1978b:485-486; McLendon and Lowy 1978:306-307; McLendon and Oswalt 1978:286-288; Milliken 1991:25; Myers 1978:244; Olmstead and Stewart 1978:230; Riddell 1978:373; Spier 1978a:426-427, 1978b:471-472; Wallace 1978a:169-170, 1978b: 466, 1978c: 449, 454; Wilson and Towne 1978:388-389). Alfred L. Kroeber in his monumental *Handbook of California Indians* (1925) introduced the terms "tribelet" or "village community" for these politically independent towns. There were more than 1,000 of these within what is now the state of California, counting only those identified by Kroeber in the various chapters of his *Handbook*. As Kroeber (1925:830) said "Tribes did not exist in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent."[4] Nonetheless, Kroeber obscured this fact by continuing an ethnographic practice begun by Stephen Powers (1877) of treating language groups as if they were political groups. Kroeber combined towns which were politically independent but spoke varieties of the same language (or even of distinct but related languages) under a single name such as "Pomo" or "Meewok" (later "Miwok"), or "Chumash". Kroeber referred to these language-based groupings as "little nations" (Kroeber 1925:vi), but they were not tribes

[4] Kroeber defines "tribe" as:

> ... a fairly coherent body of from 500 to 5,000 souls, usually averaging not far from 2,000; speaking in almost all cases a distinct dialect or at least subdialect; with a political organization of the loosest, perhaps; but nevertheless possessed of a considerable sentiment of solidarity as against all other bodies, sufficient ordinarily to lead them to act as a unit [Kroeber 1925:830].

as defined elsewhere, or as specified in NAGPRA, although they have commonly been assumed to have been such.

The labels which Kroeber used to group large numbers of politically separate "tribelets" into language-defined groups (which continue to be used by anthropologists and much of the public today) were not traditional self-designations for the groups referred to. Kroeber (1925:443) notes that the names "Wintu," "Maidu," "Yokuts," and "Miwok" were "not originally distinctive tribal or group names, but [in each case] the native word for people..." which he then used for the language or family of languages as well as all the independent towns that spoke that language.

Significantly, the "tribal" names made familiar by Kroeber and his students do not appear in the earliest ethnohistorical records, which begin for a few California groups in the sixteenth century. These records refer only to named towns, if they mention names for native political units at all, a pattern that persists through the beginning of the twentieth century. One of the challenges of ethnohistorical research in California, in fact, is to identify the names that were actually used to refer to native peoples and to determine precisely to which Indian people they refer. Thus none of the pre-twentieth century ethnohistorical records that we have examined for this project use the term "Chumash."

Although Kroeber used his language-based names in ways which suggest they refer to a single political unit,[5] they were assigned uniquely on the basis of shared language, or even shared language family, not shared political organization. They thus group multiple politically independent tribelets or

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In describing the political organization of the state, Kroeber begins in the northwest where "the extreme of political anarchy is found, ... there is scarcely a tendency to group towns into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit ..." (Kroeber 1925:830). He continues:

In north central California ... a tribe ... was a small body, evidently including on the average not much more than 100 souls. It did not possess distinctive speech, a number of such tribes being normally included in the range of a single dialect. Each was obviously in substance a "village community," although the term "village" in this connection must be understood as implying a tract of land rather than a settlement as such. In most cases the population of the little tribe was divided between several settlements ... but there was also a site which was regarded as the principal one inhabited .... The limits of the territory of the group were well defined, comprising in most cases a natural drainage area. A chief was recognized for the tribe ... [which] was designated either by the name of its principal settlement or by that of its chief .... This type of organization has been definitely established for the Wailaki, Yuki, Pomo, and Patwin, and is likely to have prevailed as far south as the Miwok in the interior and the Costanoans or Salinans on the coast and inland to the Maidu and Yana [Kroeber 1925:830].

[5] The major exception recognized by Kroeber and later scholars are the speakers of the various varieties of Yokuts, who are described as organized into some 40 or more named groups or tribes, each of which had one or more constituent towns (Spier 1978b:471-472; Wallace 1978c:454).

[6] Kroeber (1925:229) says about the peoples he called the "Pomo": "The number of principal villages or *political units* [emphasis mine] was about 75." These 75 independent political units in fact spoke seven distinct languages, and are continued today by eighteen federally recognized tribes. Similarly, Kroeber's name "Maidu" refers to some 100 village communities that spoke three distinct languages.

towns into a single abstract construct which had no demonstrable political existence.[6] Throughout the twentieth century, knowledgeable native peoples have drawn attention to, or even protested, the distorting nature of this procedure (Dutschke and Maniery 1993; McLendon 1959-1990; Sarris 1993), although recently, younger people have increasingly come to adopt such terms.

### The Haphazard Nature of Federal Recognition in California

When California became a state in 1850, three Indian commissioners were appointed by the federal government to negotiate with the native groups being displaced by the settlers (Phillips 1997). Eighteen treaties were negotiated with some 139 California "tribes" in 1851-1852 (Royce 1899:780-789; Heizer 1972), providing an identification of "earlier groups" for those tribes. Treaties were negotiated with native groups that had already threatened settlers, or were felt to pose a potential threat to settlers. Treaties were not signed with many other earlier groups who are shown by ethnohistorical research and ethnographic fieldwork to have existed in the mid-nineteenth century. None of the native groups speaking Chumash languages along the Santa Barbara Channel signed a treaty nor were they given the opportunity to do so. One of the groups then living near Santa Barbara at Cieneguita was assigned an agent in 1854 by the California Superintendent for Indian Affairs, however, and their community was subsequently referred to in official correspondence as the "Cieneguita Reservation" (see Chapter 8) so its existence is clearly established. In fact, the 139 tribes signing these treaties represent less than 15 percent of the more than 1,000 actual "original earlier groups" identified in Kroeber (1925).

The eighteen treaties that were signed were never ratified by congress (Heizer 1972), but were sealed away until their rediscovery in 1902 by the Northern California Indian Association (Taber 1911:8). Many of the groups who did sign treaties did not become federally acknowledged tribes. Thus, three groups speaking Chumash languages in the Tejon area the ... "Castake" (Castac), "San Imirio" (San Emigdio), and "Uvas" (Grapevine Canyon) ... signed one of the treaties but never became federally recognized, although they were initially part of the first reservation to be established in California, the Tejon (or Sebastian) Reservation (initially called the Sebastian Military Reserve). A large number of the federally acknowledged groups in California today acquired federal recognition at the end of the nineteenth century, or in the twentieth century. Some groups still have not achieved federal acknowledgement. In California, public agencies such as the National Park Service cannot count on always finding a federally recognized, culturally affiliated group to consult, nor can they assume that the federally recognized groups that do exist necessarily represent all the earlier polities and their contemporary descendants. Nonetheless, the federally acknowledged tribes that do exist in an area must always be consulted.

### The Transformation of Native Polities in California

The native peoples of California in most, if not all, cases have experienced severe depopulation since contact was initiated with Euro-American societies. Some groups lost as much as 90 percent of the pre-contact population. Many polities which had been distinct and politically separate entities when Europeans first arrived lost so many of their members that they found it difficult to maintain themselves as

# CHAPTER 2

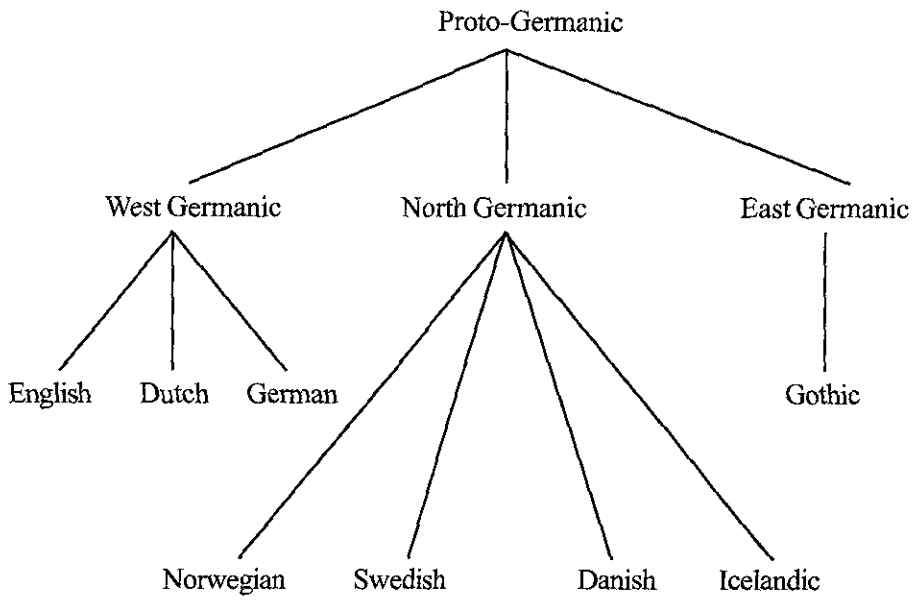
## THE CHUMASH LANGUAGES: AN OVERVIEW

Kathryn Klar, Kenneth Whistler, and Sally McLendon

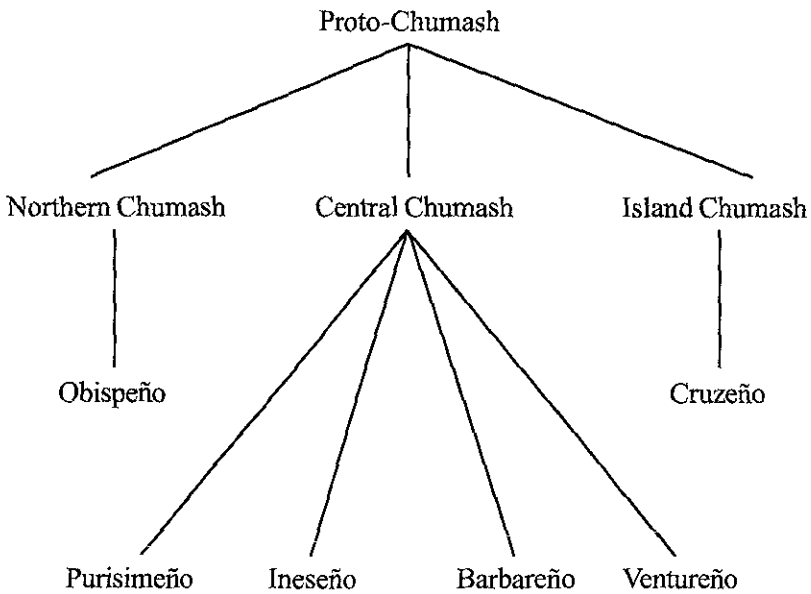
Linguists and anthropologists today use the name *Chumash* to designate the native peoples of the Northern Channel Islands and the central California coast from about Paso Robles in the north to the Santa Monica Mountains in the south. This usage gives the impression that the native peoples in this area constituted a single, homogeneous political, cultural, and linguistic unit. The term *Chumash*, however, was never used by these people to refer to themselves as a whole; in fact, they did not have a single native word to refer to all the native societies occupying this geographical area.

The word *Chumash* was originally used by some mainlanders to refer to the residents of Santa Rosa Island (or perhaps of all the inhabited northern islands). "Chumash" was first extended in a broader sense to refer to the languages spoken in this coastal region and on the islands in 1891 by John Wesley Powell on the advice of Henry W. Henshaw (see Chapter 1 Introduction). Henshaw recognized that all the groups in the region spoke related languages, but that these languages were so distinct that a speaker of one language could not usually understand a speaker of another language, even one spoken just a few miles away by land or water. The use of "Chumash" as a general demographic term to refer to all the peoples who spoke these languages only began in the twentieth century with Alfred L. Kroeber (see Chapter 1).

Human languages generally do not occur as isolates, that is, single languages without similarities to other known languages. Rather, human languages are usually members of families of related languages. As an example, we can look at the Germanic language family to which English belongs. The Germanic family of languages consists of three branches: East, West and North Germanic. Each branch is in turn subdivided into several individual languages. West Germanic includes English, Dutch and German. North Germanic consists of the closely related Scandinavian languages: Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Icelandic. East Germanic is known to have included only the now-extinct Gothic language. Each Germanic language shares certain vocabulary and grammatical features with the other languages in the family. Each also has distinct vocabulary and grammatical features and cannot be understood by speakers of other Germanic languages without considerable effort and study. We can represent a language family by a "family tree" diagram such as this:




The various native peoples now known as Chumash spoke several different languages which were similarly related in this kind of language family. See Figure 2.1 for their relative locations as well as those of the neighboring, unrelated languages: Yokuts, Kitanemuk, Tataviam, Fernandeño/Gabrielino (Tongva). The "family tree" for Chumash languages looks like this:




San Luis Obispo-Paso Robles region. The one that came to be spoken at San Luis Obispo is well-attested. We have only a few words of the other, but the material which we have is distinct enough to show that two dialects must have existed. Obispeño speakers consulted by Harrington also reported the existence of these two dialects.

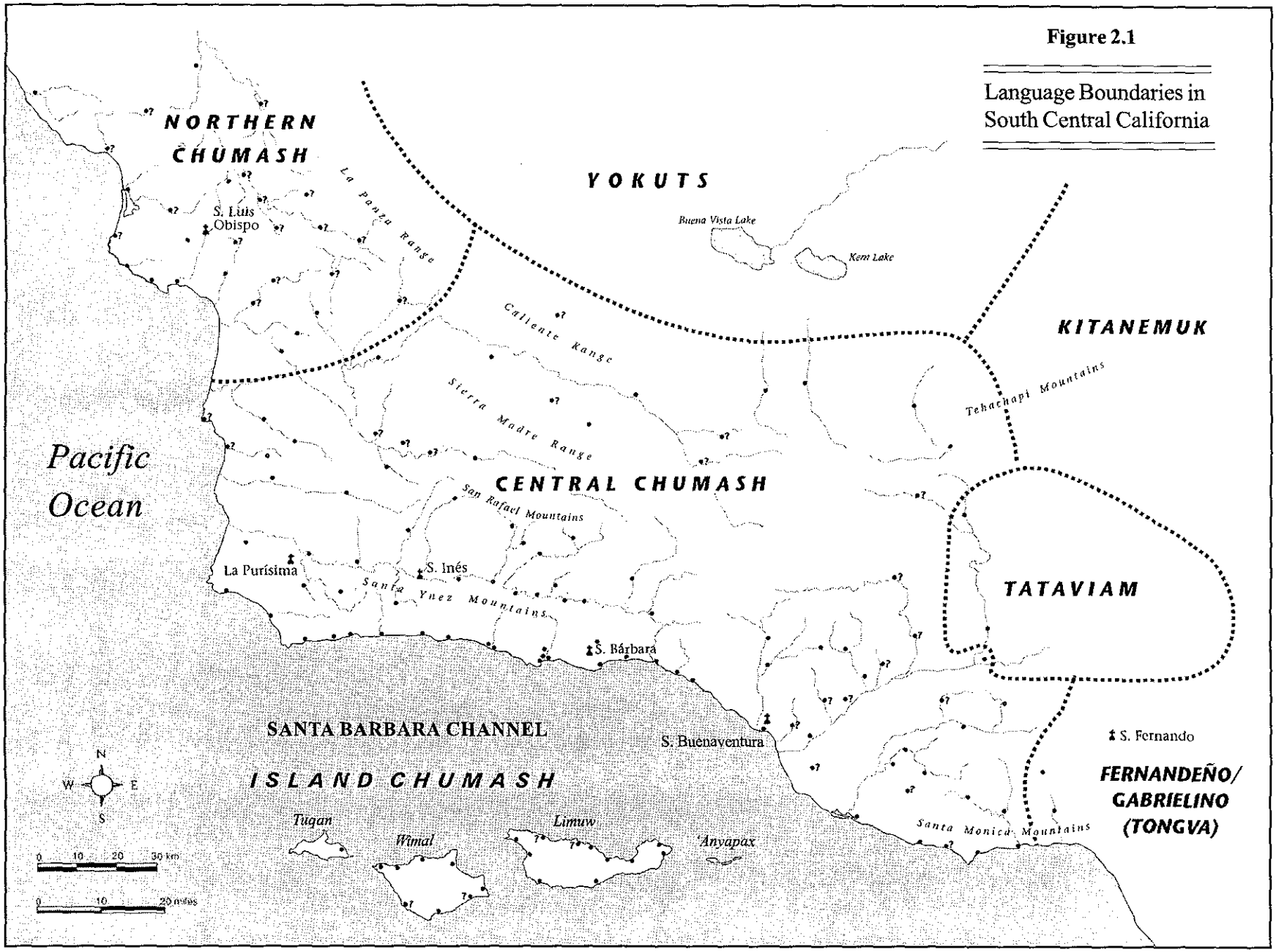



**Figure 2.1**

Language Boundaries in South Central California

Northern Chumash has the distinction of having been one of the first, if not the first, California language to have been recorded by European explorers. In 1769, Pedro Fages, a member of the first Spanish expedition to pass through Northern Chumash territory on the way to Monterey, obtained a vocabulary of some 70 items of the language from the inhabitants of the area where Mission San Luis Obispo was later founded (Priestley 1937:80-83).

Northern Chumash is very different in both vocabulary and grammatical structure from any other language of the Santa Barbara Channel, including even the Central Chumash language Purisimeño, whose territory it bordered. It is so different, in fact, that when Henry W. Henshaw first recorded words in that language in 1884, after having heard the Central Chumash of Santa Ynez and Santa Barbara, he did not think it could be related to them. He wrote Major John W. Powell, the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology:

> This [language] differs markedly from any of those previously mentioned [Salinan and the Central Chumash spoken at Santa Ynez and Santa Barbara], and it is by far the most difficult of notation of any I have met. It will prove I think to be not related to the Santa Barbara [i.e. Chumash] Family. [Henshaw to Powell (Oct.-Nov.) 1884].

Island Chumash (or Cruzeño), the language of the Channel Islands, seems to have been very uniform from island to island, though there may have been slight dialect differences. Island Chumash, like Northern Chumash, constitutes a distinct branch of the Chumash family; it is certain that it could not be easily or readily understood by speakers of any mainland language. In fact, Fernando Librado specifically remembered occasions when meetings were held at *Kamexmey*, the post-secularization Island Chumash town, when Island Chumash people would speak in Isleño while another Isleño speaker translated into Ventureño Chumash, the language of many in the audience (see Chapter 8 for details).

The Central Chumash branch of the family is more complex and diversified than either Northern or Island Chumash. There appear to have been four main subdivisions, now generally called Purisimeño, Ineseño, Barbareño, and Ventureño, after the missions with which speakers of each tended to be geographically associated. Actually a mixture of languages was spoken in each mission, including unrelated languages such as Yokuts. Speakers of any two geographically contiguous Central languages could probably understand each other's speech (like "American English" and "British English"), but any two non-contiguous idioms were probably not mutually intelligible. Thus, neighboring Purisimeño and Ineseño speakers could probably talk to each other freely, as could Ineseño and Barbareño speakers, but Purisimeño and Barbareño speakers would have had considerably more difficulty. Speakers of Purisimeño and Ventureño would have been using entirely different languages (like English and German).

Barbareño is known to have had at least two dialects, the main or "mission" dialect spoken at Santa Barbara and Goleta, and the Dos Pueblos dialect, spoken along the Santa Barbara Channel west of Goleta. Ineseño and Purisimeño may have had dialectal divisions, but the data are not clear in this regard.

Ventureño had rather deep dialectal divisions, with as many as seven dialects directly attested by or indirectly inferred from the testimony of native consultants. These include:

1. Ventura Mission (also called "*samala*" and said to be a "commonized" dialect)

2. Mugu

3. Malibu

4. Ojaieño (in the vicinity of Nordhoff and Ojai)

5. Matilija (in the vicinity of Matilija Hot Springs)

6. Interior dialects–a group of dialects, possibly with much subdialectal variation, including the speech of the Santa Paula vicinity, the Santa Clara River Valley, the Camarillo vicinity, the Simi Valley, and the Conejo vicinity.

7. Castequeño–a quite distinct dialect of Ventureño, spoken at Castac Lake, near Tejon.

"Interior Chumash" refers to peoples living in interior locations, most notably the Cuyama Valley, the Carrizo Plains, and vicinities. Placenames and personal names recorded in this area show that some kind of a Chumash language was spoken there. However, the evidence is insufficient to class their speech as varieties of Central Chumash (Ineseño? Ventureño?) or of Northern Chumash at this time.

None of the Chumash languages are spoken today as a medium of communication, although a Chumash cultural revival among Chumash descendants in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties has given some words, phrases, and songs a continuing ritual significance. The last speaker of any of these languages, Mary J. Yee of Santa Barbara (who spoke Barbareño), died in 1965. As of 1992, however, work is underway on reviving Barbareño (Rolens 1992).

Many languages cease to be spoken, leaving little or no trace. We are fortunate in having reliable information for each of the Chumash languages thanks to the attentions of numerous researchers from 1769 through 1965, including native speakers, such as Juan Estevan Pico and Mary J. Yee. The most assiduous of these recorders was John P. Harrington, whose work on the Chumash languages extended over more than 40 years and included every known Chumash language. Because of Harrington's efforts we have copious materials from three of the varieties of Central Chumash: Ineseño, Barbareño, and Ventureño; fair records of both Island Chumash and Northern Chumash; and a small sampling of Purisimeño.

In the 1880s, Juan Estevan Pico, a native speaker of Ventureño Chumash, who was bilingual in Spanish, developed a linguistically amazing, completely accurate orthography for writing the Chumash languages (Plate I). Pico's achievement is quite remarkable since his orthography was far more accurate than the technical orthographies used by other scholars at that point in the nineteenth century (see Appendix IV). Unfortunately, because Pico was so far ahead of his time linguistically, the nature of his achievement could not be properly appreciated during his lifetime. Only after his death, when linguistic knowledge about the sound systems of languages and their pronunciation had advanced farther, and the equally-gifted linguist John P. Harrington had recorded extensive linguistic material from other living speakers of Chumash languages did the evidence become available to appreciate Pico's outstanding, pioneering achievement. Thanks to the work of Pico and Harrington, we know a great deal about the distinctive sounds used in speaking the Chumash languages, even though none continue to be spoken today.

**Table 2.1**
Sample Words in the Chumash Languages

| | Northern | Purisimeño | Ineseño | Barbareño | Ventureño | Isleño |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MAN | lhmon'o | 'amo | 'ɨhiy' | 'ɨhiy' | 'at'axach | 'alamuyun |
| WOMAN | suyu' | 'aneq | 'eneq | 'eneq | x'anwa | hemich |
| SON | -suwa' | -wop | -wop | -wop | -wop | -awitan |
| DAUGHTER | -suwa' | -sha | -shay | -shay' | shay'ay | -ash'ey |
| | -tasity'uyu | | | | | malaqɨpin (father speaking) |
| HOUSE | qnipu | 'ap | 'ap | 'ap | 'ap | 'awa |
| TOWN | | 'amahmayɨsh | 'aphanɨsh | | 'aphanishmu | 'awa'am'u |
| MONEY | lh'anaqutsu | 'alhchum | 'altshum | 'anchum | 'alchum | 'alaqutsum |
| SALT | tepu' | 'atipɨ | tɨp | tɨp | tɨp | laxpɨy |
| STONE | tqipɨ | | xɨp | xɨp | xɨp | wa |

| | |
|---|---|
| **lh** | voiceless l |
| **tsh** | aspirated $t^s$ |
| **chh** | aspirated ch |
| **ɨ** | the sixth vowel of Chumashan languages; a high, central, unrounded vowel |
| **'** | glottal stop |

The sounds of the Chumash languages differed from the sounds of Spanish (and English) in several important ways. Chumash languages had approximately three times as many consonant sounds as Spanish, and six vowels rather than the five found in Spanish. These differences made it extremely difficult for Spanish speakers such as the priests and early explorers to write down words in any of the Chumash languages accurately, for two reasons. First, fewer letters were used to write Spanish than were needed to write down all the sounds of the Chumash languages. Second, the hearing of Spanish speakers tended to merge several distinct consonants in a Chumash language, which they therefore recorded with a single Spanish one that was phonetically somewhat similar.

Without the work of Pico and Harrington, we would have great difficulty interpreting the Spanish recordings of the native names of the towns in which speakers of the Chumash languages lived when missionization began in the eighteenth century. With their work the interpretation is challenging but possible (see Chapters 5 and 6).

To illustrate the differences and similarities between these languages, sets of words in the several Chumash languages, all with the same meaning, are presented in Table 2.1. One can quickly see the types of similarities that connect the members of this family of languages, as much as the types of differences that separate them.

**Plate II.** Rafael Solares, Santa Ynez Chumash. Photo by Leon de Cessac, 1878.
*Courtesy of the Musee de l'Homme, Paris.*

# CHAPTER 3

# THE NATURE OF CHUMASH SOCIAL-POLITICAL GROUPS

John R. Johnson and Sally McLendon

## Introduction

As we have already noted, the peoples who today are called the Chumash Indians were not organized as a unified nation throughout their original territory (see Figure 3.1). The basic political unit was a named town which was in some cases organized with other such towns into federations. These towns were permanent and there is evidence of their persistence over centuries. The peoples who inhabited these towns had no single name for themselves. The name "Chumash" derives from the name of the mainland peoples for their linguistic relatives who inhabited the Northern Channel Islands. It was extended to refer to the family of languages spoken by them only in 1891 (Powell 1891), and only began to be used to refer to the peoples themselves with the publication of Alfred L. Kroeber's *Handbook of California Indians* in 1925 (see Chapters 1 and 2). At the time of European contact, the Chumash population density was perhaps the highest in native California.

## Sociopolitical Complexity

The degree of sociopolitical complexity of these peoples has been discussed by anthropologists for the better part of this century (see Johnson 1988a: Chapter 2 for a review of this debate). The earliest investigator to consider the original nature of sociopolitical organization among Chumash peoples was Edward W. Gifford (1926), who pointed out that they may have been one of the few Southern Californian groups without what he called "clans" or "lineages." He also suggested that the exceptionally large size of the towns in the Santa Barbara Channel region might have been a factor in subsuming the political importance of lineal descent groups to that of town affiliation.

Extensive ethnographic research carried out by John P. Harrington, and only partially published in his *Cultural Elements Distribution*, indicates that his principal Chumash consultants stated that villages were autonomous and were the most important political unit in aboriginal society (1942:32). In the table reporting this information, however, he added a note that "possibly there were allied village groups under a 'big chief.'" Harrington also stated that patrilineal clans were present among the Chumash (1942:32). However, a recent review of his original fieldnotes indicates the equivocal nature of the responses he received from his consultants regarding patrilineality and about even the former existence and/or importance of clan organization (Johnson 1988a: Chap. 8).

More recent appraisals of the sociopolitical organization of Chumash peoples have been influenced by the cultural evolutionary paradigm exemplified by Service (1962). Landberg (1965) proposed that they were at the tribal level of evolutionary development and that federations of towns may have been united through segmentary lineages. Later researchers have all concurred that the Chumash peoples may more properly be considered "chiefdoms." Some have conceived of them as possessing complex chiefdoms united via intervillage councils of ceremonial and political leaders (Hudson and Underhay 1978; King 1990). Others have viewed the Chumash as simple chiefdoms with political leaders gaining their wealth and status through regulating economic exchange (Arnold 1992; Johnson 1988a; L. King 1982; Martz 1984).

The differences of opinion expressed by scholars regarding Chumash sociopolitical complexity are to a large extent the result of a lack of direct observational data, combined with changing anthropological interests in and understanding of sociopolitical organization. Although a rich body of ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence exists in the form of explorers' journals, mission documents, and the papers of John P. Harrington, it will be seen that descriptions of the sociopolitical organization characterizing Chumash towns in the eighteenth century when Spanish settlement began are scanty and not infrequently in conflict. This report will not resolve the academic question regarding the precise nature of political organization in Chumash society. However, the ethnohistorical evidence reviewed below indicates that the appropriately conservative approach to identifying the "original earlier groups" with which cultural affiliation must be established for the purposes of compliance with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is to recognize that towns were the basic foundation for sociopolitical affiliation.

## Ethnohistorical Evidence

The earliest statement regarding possible intervillage political federation among the peoples speaking Chumash languages appears in the account of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, who explored along the California coastline in 1542. In October and November, he stopped at several of the principal Chumash towns along what is now the Santa Barbara Channel, including one which he called the "Pueblo de las Sardinas," because its inhabitants brought the Spaniards "many very good fresh sardines." Later he spent three days at this town, Ciucut (later identified by Harrington as *Syuxtun* at the Santa Barbara harbor), where the people assisted him in supplying his ship with wood and water. The surviving summary of the now-lost log of his voyage describes the social and political life in the towns along this coast as the Spaniards understood it:

> The chief of these towns is an old Indian woman who came on board the ships and slept two nights in the Capitana [Cabrillo's flagship], many others doing the same. The town of Ciucut seemed to be the head of the other towns because they came there from them when called by the chief. The town at the cape [Point Conception] is called "Xexo" [*Shisho*, i.e. *Shisholop*]. From this port [Ciucut] to the Pueblo de las Canoas [probably Mugu] is another province which they call "Xucu" [*Shuku,* the name of the town at Rincon between *Syuxtun* and *Muwu*]. They have round houses, well covered down to

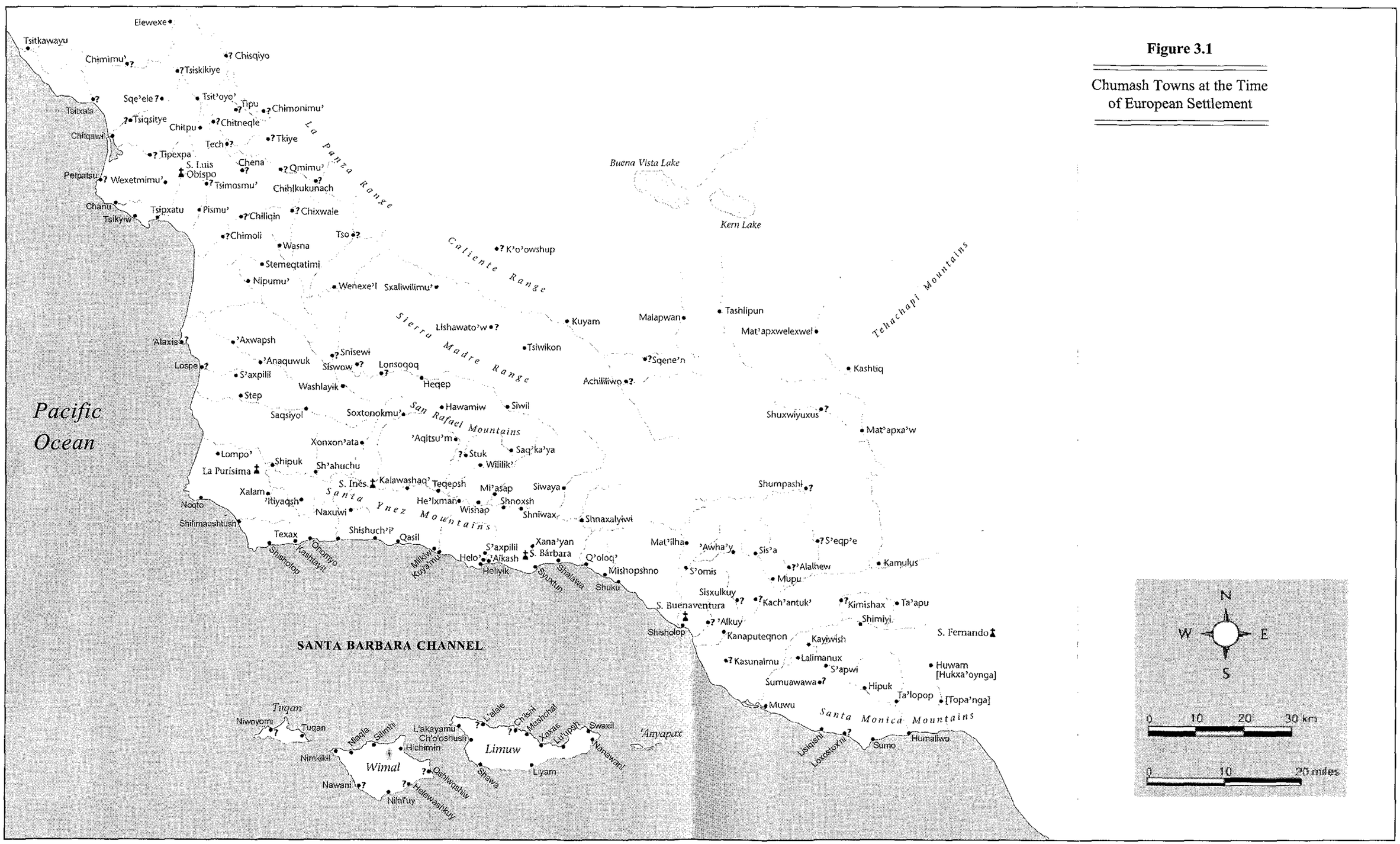



**Figure 3.1**

Chumash Towns at the Time of European Settlement

> the ground. They wear skins of many different kinds of animals, eat acorns and a white seed the size of maize, which is used to make tamales. They live well. ...
>
> In their towns they have large plazas and circular enclosures [*siliyɨk*] around which imbedded in the ground are many stone posts which stand about three palm-lengths above it. In the middle of these enclosures there are many very thick timbers like masts sunk in the ground. These are covered with many paintings, and we thought they must worship them because when they danced they did so around the inside of the enclosure [Wagner 1929:88].

The account further noted that "there are many different languages, and they carry on great wars with each other" (Wagner 1929:87).

Long lists of Chumash town names on the mainland and islands were included in the report of Cabrillo's voyage and most may be matched with placenames recorded later by Pico and Harrington (King 1975). Cabrillo's account leaves us with the impression of populous towns along the mainland coast that were organized into federations, perhaps linguistically distinct, with towns in rival federations conducting raids against each other. Cabrillo's account thus establishes the importance of towns and the existence of federations of certain groups of towns, but provides no evidence at all of a single federation or tribe. Cabrillo did not speak any of the Chumash languages and so must have been communicating largely through gestures and guesses. The one "province" name he provided is in fact the name of a known town, *Shuku*, at Rincon, raising a question as to the accuracy of his claim that the coastal towns he visited were organized into two provinces.

The first Spanish expedition by land into Alta California, led by Gaspar de Portolá, entered Chumash territory in August of 1769. Four expedition members kept diaries that record in remarkable detail the number of houses, canoes, and populations of each Chumash town encountered. These towns were estimated to range in size from 130 to a maximum of 1,500 people along the main part of the Santa Barbara Channel. Also included are some comments that reveal certain clues about intervillage relationships and political rivalries.

When the expedition arrived at the major town of *Shisholop* at the mouth of the Ventura River, chiefs from the interior mountains came to visit, indicating friendly relations with this coastal town. Chiefs from the Channel Islands also were present at *Shisholop*, and canoes were sent to the islands to bring more who wished to meet the expedition party (Bolton 1927:160; Brown n.d.; Costansó 1911:195).

When the expedition passed through the town at Gaviota Beach a few days later, they were joined by a man the Spaniards called "El Loco," who was wearing a "good-sized feather head-dress" and who accompanied them during part of their journey northward to the Santa Maria Valley vicinity. When the expedition returned several months later, El Loco joined them again in Northern Chumash territory, and seeing that they were short of food, took it upon himself to visit the towns ahead of the main party and arrange for provisions. This indicates that friendly relationships may have existed among towns in the Purisimeño and part of the Obispeño regions at the time of the expedition's passing.

At least five burned towns were encountered along the main part of the Santa Barbara Channel: two between Carpinteria and Santa Barbara, two in the Santa Barbara foothills, and one in Refugio Canyon. The first four were specifically stated to have been destroyed by enemies from the interior, who also attacked *Syuxtun* at the Santa Barbara waterfront but were driven back (Brown 1967; n.d.).

Two powerful chiefs with influence beyond their own towns are documented in the early Spanish accounts of the last third of the eighteenth century. The Portolá expedition diaries from 1769-1770 describe that a powerful chief called "El Buchón" (i.e., 'The Goiter', so named for a large swelling on his neck), had extended his influence from the Santa Maria Valley northward to the vicinity of Morro Bay. He was described as being about forty years old and "so renowned and feared in all these parts [that] we conceived him to be a sort of little king over these widespread good Heathen peoples" (Brown n.d.). Evidence from the San Luis Obispo mission registers pertaining to Buchón's relatives points to his principal place of residence as being the town called *Tsipxatu* located at Avila Beach (King 1984), although at the time of the Portolá expedition he seems to have been settled with his people in the vicinity of Pismo Beach. Fr. Juan Crespí provided this vivid description of Buchón in May, 1770 when Portolá returned northward to found the Mission of San Carlos and the Presidio of Monterey:

> [He] is the Indian so greatly respected and feared by many Heathen peoples in all the vicinity for about twenty leagues [forty miles] in both directions: for they talk of this Heathen as far as the [Santa Barbara] Channel and the Santa Lucía Mountains. He uses great dignity, and always takes a considerable retinue with him; no one sits down in his presence, nor in the presence of his wife and sons, who is not ordered to. Everyone from what we have understood pays tribute to him; for whether it is seeds when they harvest them, or if they kill meat or catch fish, some of everything is taken to his house [Brown n.d.].

When the Spaniards camped near Buchón's town, he came to visit them after sundown with his retinue:

> As soon as the Chief arrived, one of his retinue took his bow and arrows from him, and spread a hide on the ground for him to sit on. His family brought a good share of tamales made of some special kind of seed, and four fish, all of which he presented to the Governor [Portolá], and we all sat down with him at the fire. [After exchanging gifts] ... we ate sitting next to him; he was given some and ate it as we did, inviting two of his brothers who sat at his side. After dinner was over he made signs asking for tobacco to smoke: a soldier gave him his pipe, lighted, and he took two puffs on it, and gave the pipe to his brothers who did the same .... In all our travels we have seen nothing to equal the way this Buchón is feared, respected, and obeyed; what a profit might come of it if one could only make oneself understood to him, but everything has to be done through signs ... [Brown n.d.].

A few days later, as the Portolá party traveled northward, they received word from their scouts that a large war party led by Buchón was coming up to attack a group of ten Chumash men from the town

located near the Cambria pines. The latter group had not long before fought Buchón and given him some wounds he had shown the Spaniards. A battle between the two parties took place near Morro Bay and was witnessed by expedition members, who did not remain for its conclusion. It was later reported to them that Buchón had again been wounded (Brown n.d.). By the time of the founding of Mission San Luis Obispo two years later, the great chief was deceased, and one of his wives was later to be married to a Spanish soldier (Engelhardt 1933).

Buchón was not the only chief with extensive influence to reside in Chumash territory. The documents pertaining to the founding of the Santa Barbara Presidio in 1782 state that the chief of *Syuxtun*, Yanonali, claimed some sort of authority over thirteen towns in the surrounding region. His influence extended from the populous towns surrounding the Goleta estuary down the coast to Carpinteria and inland to mountain settlements in the upper Santa Ynez watershed (Bancroft 1886:377; Geiger 1965:14; Johnson 1986, 1988a:117-118). Yanonali's family relationships and those of two other chiefs from *Syuxtun*, along with marriage network analysis, provide additional support for the geographic range of *Syuxtun*'s principal sociopolitical interaction sphere. The ascendancy of chiefs from this town seems to be linked to their central position, both in regulating trade between the islands and inland areas and in geographic accessibility to populations distributed through the surrounding territory (Johnson 1988a:Chap. 9). Although the continuation of Buchón's influence by his heirs is not documented in the eighteenth century sources, there is evidence that subsequent chiefs of *Syuxtun* continued to exercise authority over the thirteen neighboring towns.

Kinship data from the mission registers document that the family of one of the chiefs of *Syuxtun* intermarried with the chief's family from *Shalawa* (Montecito), who in turn intermarried with the chief's family of the next town to the east, *Q'oloq'*, who in turn were connected by marriage to the family of the chief of *Mishopshno* at Carpinteria. A similar chain of intermarriage linked chiefs' families from some of the large towns at the Goleta estuary to families of chiefs at Dos Pueblos and so on, all the way west to Point Conception (Johnson 1988a:Chap. 6). The intermarriage among families of political leaders from different towns paved the way potentially for cooperation when communities came under attack from their enemies and facilitated intercommunity economic exchange, but there is no evidence that it lessened the political autonomy of the towns that were thus linked.

Despite the evidence for some kind of cohesiveness among some towns and evidence for hegemony of certain chiefs over a number of towns, it appears that after the Spanish colonists had settled among the Chumash peoples, they realized that there was perhaps less political unity than they had first believed. Thus, in 1792 Malaspina wrote:

> We have not been able to learn, despite the great effort that has been made what is the influence of authority that the caciques of each village enjoy, nor if there exists a supreme chief that rules them all [Cutter 1960:65].

Malaspina concluded that the actual authority of Chumash chiefs was limited, despite the impression of political unity sometimes gained from the fact that several chiefs from different towns would meet in councils from time to time. These observations mirrored the comments of resident missionaries who

stated that the two main functions of the chiefs were to lead war parties and conduct intervillage fiestas, but that otherwise they "had no control over the people nor were they obeyed or acknowledged in any other matter" (Geiger and Meighan 1976:125-126).

The relative independence of Chumash towns is also suggested by other evidence. A Spanish naturalist, José Longinos Martínez, reported in 1792:

> Both men and women ... commonly paint their bodies with red ochre and other colors ... Each rancheria has a distinctive pattern, so that they can be recognized whenever they gather for a dance of other function ... each rancheria or small district of adjoining rancherias has its own chief, and that those a short distance away have different languages [i.e., dialects?] and customs, according to the family or families that congregated at their formation [Simpson 1961:56-57].

Warfare was prevalent among the Channel towns, as was documented during Cabrillo's and Portolá's expeditions. Numerous incidents of fighting among towns were also documented in military and missionary correspondence during mission times (Johnson 1988a:123-127). The two populous towns, *Mikiw* and *Kuyamu*, known as "Dos Pueblos" were involved in many incidents of raids on neighboring communities (Burrus 1967:135). At one time it was proposed that the Santa Barbara Presidio be built between Dos Pueblos and the Goleta towns to prevent continued warfare between them.

The causes for hostilities are rarely documented, but a few reported instances are said to have been: (1) retribution for supposed witchcraft by one's enemies that had caused an illness or death (Engelhardt 1932b:7); (2) unauthorized trespass through another chief's territory to collect acorns or seed crops (Geiger and Meighan 1976:113; Simpson 1961:56-57); (3) competition over fishing areas (Heizer 1973:46); (4) refusal to respond to an invitation to another chief's fiesta (Geiger and Meighan 1976:122; Landberg 1965:30); and (5) revenge for a slaying of one's relative (King 1982:182-183).

## Ethnographic Evidence

By the time anthropologists had begun to gather information regarding the nature of the sociopolitical organization of Chumash-speaking groups, the possibility of direct observation had long since passed away. The first inquiries that touched specifically upon the topic of basic political units were made by Henry Henshaw in 1884. By this date, there were few native people left who had been born prior to the end of the Mission Period. The only person interviewed who had been born in a native town before coming to the missions was Aniceto (Anacleto) *Pahililiatset*, who was baptized when two years old with his parents and brother from Santa Rosa Island (Johnson 1982a:146). Henshaw's Barbareño and Ineseño consultants were born in the 1820s; his Obispeño and Purisimeño consultants were Yokuts Indians who had been married to Chumash language-speaking spouses, and his Ventureño consultant, Juan Estevan Pico, was born after mission secularization (Johnson 1988a:184). Only *Pahililiatset* and Pico provided Henshaw with any glimpse at all into what the political affiliations of Chumash groups might have been like.

Both men denied the existence of clan organization (or "gens" to use Henshaw's term), although one may question if *Pahililiatset* – who was described as being nearly completely deaf – properly understood what was being asked of him via a translator. The misunderstanding between them was so great that Henshaw recorded what he thought was an Island Chumash vocabulary from *Pahililiatset* that has since been discovered to be Barbareño. The old Santa Rosa Islander did make one interesting comment that reflects the independence of Chumash towns: he stated that a man who married into another ranchería then became a member of that community and was henceforth considered an "alien" to the town where he had been born (Heizer 1955:151). Pico echoed this claim, but only in relation to the citizens of *Muwu*, *Simo'mo*, and *Wixatset*.

The information provided by Pico was much fuller and more extensive. He wrote out an explanation of how he conceived that the Chumash form of government had worked. Unfortunately, Pico relied too heavily on analogies to the United States government for us to have much confidence in the information he provided, although elements of what he had been told by his elders must certainly have been incorporated into his text.

By the time Harrington's extensive investigations began about 1912-1913, knowledge of the sociopolitical groups of the pre-Mission Chumash-speaking societies was second- or third-hand at best. The existence of moieties was denied, and clear information regarding clans was only obtained from one consultant, María Solares, daughter of a Yokuts woman from Kern Lake who may have been the source of some of her information since the Yokuts did have clans.

In general, only the memory of town organization was preserved – each town under its own chief and two messengers – but that memory was remarkably strong. Some Ventureño reported

> dim rumors of there having been also permanent alliances of several villages under a *xa'ax'ɨ-wo't* 'big chief', who at the same time was evidently the regular chief of one of the villages of the group, precisely as among the southern Yokuts [Harrington n.d.b, cited in Johnson 1988a:220].

The importance of town affiliation was highlighted by Harrington's consultants in many of their historical narratives by their practice of continually identifying people in terms of the place where they or their parents had originated, e.g., using expressions like *'alap-syuxtun* '*Syuxtun*-person' or *'alap-liyam* '*Liyam*-person'. The original dialectical distinctiveness of certain towns was continually referred to in Harrington's notes, along with his consultants' comments that linguistic variations had tended to disappear after people were concentrated together at the missions.

Fernando Librado, born at Mission San Buenaventura in 1839, was Harrington's one consultant who related an elaborate explanation regarding the origins of an inter-town governing council, called the *'antap*. The true nature of the *'antap* is far from clear, but apparently members were initiated into the sacred, esoteric knowledge of the society and conducted important ceremonies, so the organization's function was as much religious as political. During these ceremonies, the *'antap* would meet in a sacred enclosure called the *siliyɨk* to conduct their "mysteries," before performing in dances and other rituals.

The *'antap* society was open to a certain segment of the male populace (even perhaps to all boys according to some descriptions), as they became more active in the ceremonial and political life of their communities. It may have been originally restricted to certain political leaders and ritual specialists as Hudson has speculated (Hudson and Underhay 1978) and as implied by Librado's "Traditional History" as related to Harrington (Hudson et al. 1977).

Librado described the mythical/historical formation of an elite governing council of Chumash leaders called the *siliyik*. Twelve chiefs called the *'antap* and their eight assistants called the *shan*, made up the membership of the *siliyik* and were collectively known as "the Twenty." The twelve *'antap* each served as chiefs of major towns, while the *shan* were free to roam among all the towns, carrying out their duties of naming children and looking after the spiritual affairs of the people. An individual called *Kwaiyin* ruled over the *siliyik* council of *'antap* and *shan*. The *'antap* were supported by the people of the towns over whom they "ruled" (Hudson et al. 1977:17-19). There are elements of this "charter myth" that are also present in Juan Estevan Pico's text, which is perhaps not surprising since Pico and Librado were about the same age and had both been raised in the same Chumash community at Mission San Buenaventura.

One of the problems in interpreting Fernando Librado's information about "the Twenty" was his tendency to mix historic and mythic references. Of the thirty-three Chumash names provided for Indians who had been members of "the Twenty," Johnson (n.d.a) has so far identified thirteen as Indians whom Librado knew. One suspects that in some instances, he merely supplied Harrington with names of elders to whom he looked up to in his childhood, and they may not have held roles as important as is implied by membership in "the Twenty." Indeed, in some cases Librado notes that particular individuals had been named after legendary figures, and it is not always clear which is being described in Harrington's notes.

Librado told Harrington that his information came from an old San Buenaventura Indian, Narciso *Wech*, who had been in charge of the weaving at the mission looms (Hudson 1979: 14, 13; Hudson et al. 1977:31). Narciso *Wech*'s baptismal entry indicates that he was from the town of *Mat'liha* and was brought to the mission as an infant in 1796 (MBV Bap. Bk. 1: 1067), and therefore he grew up in Mission San Buenaventura at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was one of the last of an older generation of Ventureño Indian people to survive past the mid-nineteenth century and died in 1869 (MBV Burial Bk. 2: 1306). Although he himself had not been brought up in a pre-contact native society, he certainly had been around when elements of the pre-contact political organization were a recent memory and/or still operative outside the mission community. We must conclude therefore that Librado's and Pico's claims may reflect pre-mission conditions to some extent, although the degree to which these men understood and faithfully translated the knowledge that had been passed on to them will always be open to conjecture.

## CONCLUSION

The review of ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence regarding the nature of sociopolitical affiliation for the various Chumash-speaking groups reveals a complex situation that is open to various interpretations, yet there remain certain common threads in otherwise conflicting accounts. One of these is the importance and distinctiveness of town identity in defining one's social group, even though larger federations sometimes existed. These latter amalgamations seem to have expanded and contracted, based on the ability of particular political leaders to extend their spheres of influence over neighboring towns at particular points in time. Nevertheless, towns, especially the larger ones, tended to endure, as evidenced by many of the same towns being occupied at the time of Cabrillo's visit in 1542 and at the advent of the Mission Period two and a quarter centuries later.

The situation among the peoples who spoke Chumash languages is not unlike the pattern that was true for California as a whole: the basic political unit, termed the "tribelet" or "village community" by Kroeber, consisted of a town and its surrounding resource area. Clans or lineages, where they existed, provided a device for connecting people from separate towns; so did trade, intercommunity ceremonials, and intermarriage. Our conclusion, therefore, is that among the peoples now called Chumash, the "earlier identifiable groups" with whom cultural affiliation must be established are towns. This has guided us in the design of our research to identify the named towns and to trace lineal descendants from inhabitants of the Chumash towns that once existed in the area now under National Park Service stewardship. The mission records that record town affiliation for nearly all baptized Chumash people are the beginning point for serious research regarding lineal descendancy.

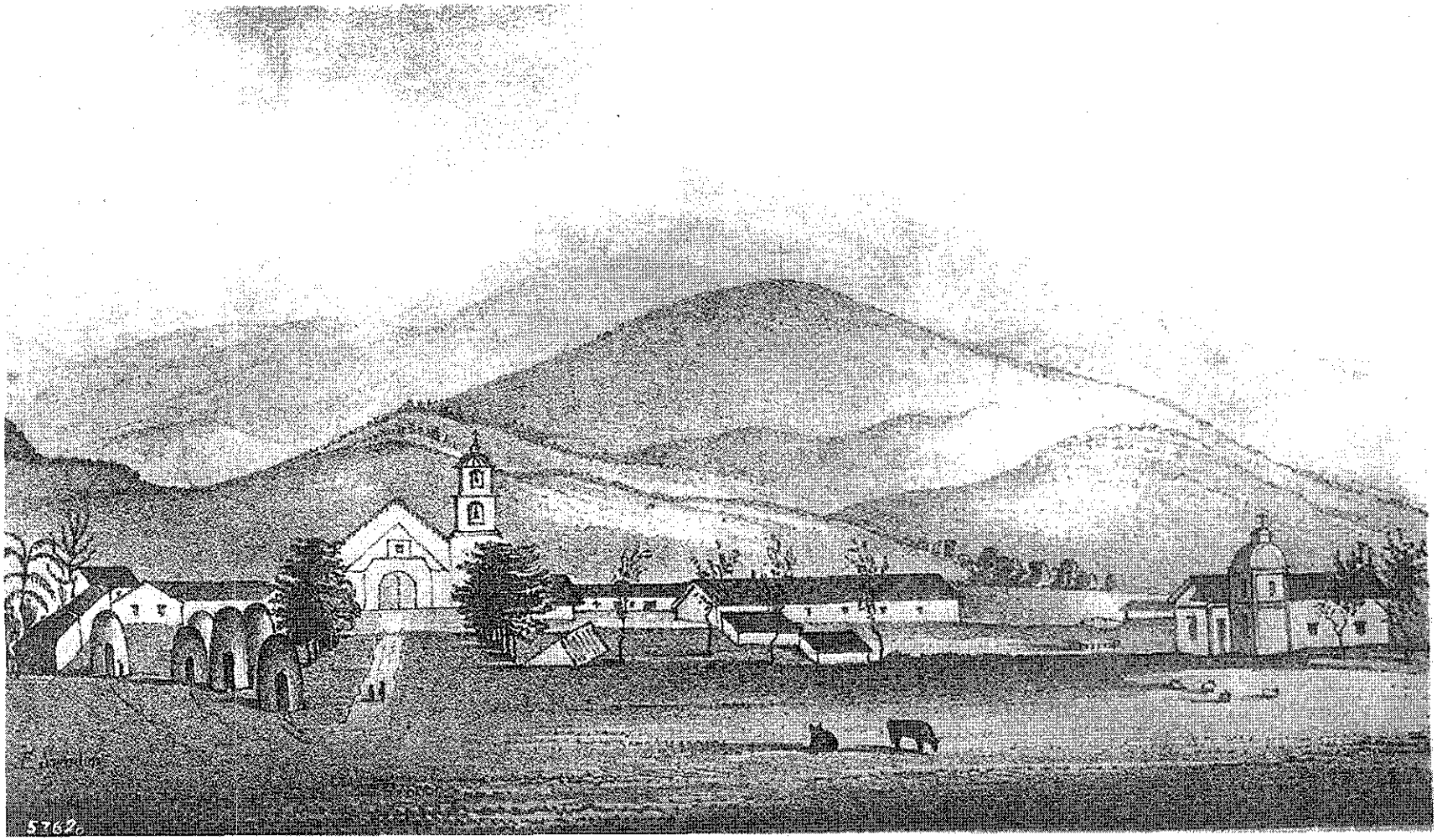


**Plate III.** View of Mission San Buenaventura, founded 1782. Lithograph from a sketch by Alfred Robinson, published in his Life in California (1846).

*Courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.*

# CHAPTER 4

# MISSION REGISTER DATA

John R. Johnson

## The Nature of Mission Registers

For information regarding what happened to the Chumash population during the Mission Period, there is no more revealing body of data than the various registers maintained by the Franciscan missionaries to keep track of the neophytes (baptized Indian people) in their missions. From the mission registers, one may reconstruct kinship relationships and genealogies; native town affiliations; social, political and economic roles; demographic trends; and individual life histories. For this reason, an increasing number of ethnohistorians have compiled mission register data to study Chumash settlement geography, marriage and family patterns, and population history. Examples of such research include studies by Brown (1967); Cook and Borah (1979); Coombs (1975, 1979); Edberg (1981, 1982); Horne (1981); Johnson (1982a, 1982b, 1988a, 1989a); King (1984); Larson, Johnson, and Michaelsen (1994); Walker and Johnson (1992, 1994); Warren (1977); and Warren and Hodge (1980).

Five different registers have proven useful in Chumash ethnohistoric studies. The most important of these is the book of baptisms, in which the missionaries made entries for each person converted from the native population or born to baptized parents (Figure 4.1). For converts, common information recorded in a baptismal entry included the date and place of baptism, the native name of the person, approximate age, town of origin, relationships to other baptized or native relatives, the Spanish name bestowed, and godparents or sponsors. Comments regarding chiefly status, physical disabilities, and condition of ill health were sometimes added. Every person baptized received a unique identification number, analogous to our modern Social Security number, by which they would often be cross-referenced in other registers. A person's baptismal number therefore serves as the standard identifier that may be used to build a data base of mission register information.

The marriage register, burial register, and confirmation register also assigned unique identifying numbers for each entry. The marriage entry provided the date of the marriage, the names of the husband and wife, whether they were widowed or single, the names of principal witnesses, and whether a couple had been previously wed in native society (Figure 4.2). The burial entry provided the date of death, noted whether last rites were received, and sometimes gave the circumstances, such as place and/or cause of death (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The confirmation register was only kept during the period that missionary presidents held the power to confirm, up until 1794. Often the same kinds of information found in the

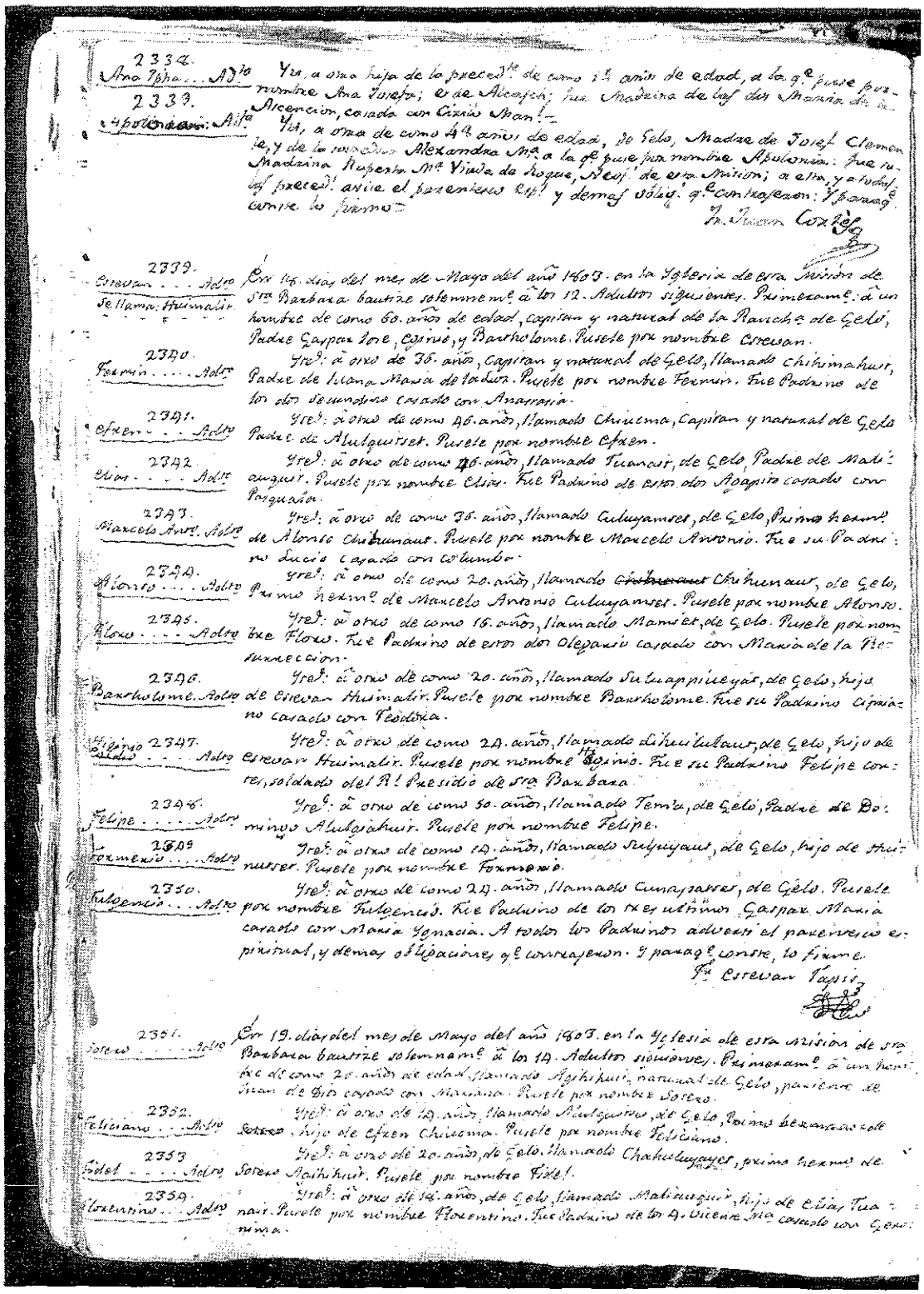


**Figure 4.1** A Sample Page from Mission Santa Bárbara Baptismal Register.

*Photo by William B. Dewey with permission of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library*

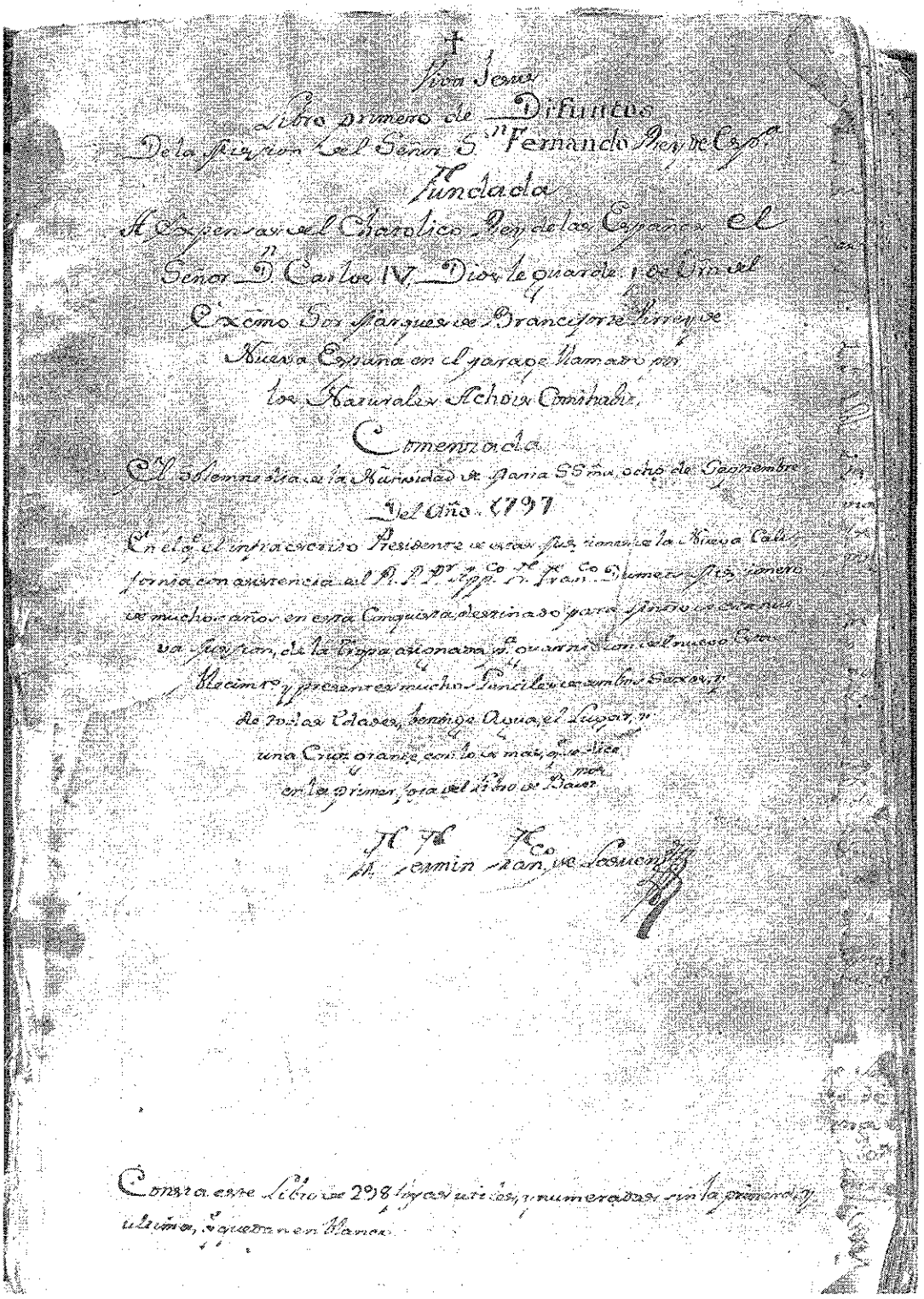
Año de 1797.

2A3.
Pedro Regalo
con
Placida Ma.

En 17. dias del mes de enero del año 1797. en la Iglesia de esta Mision de Sta Barbara, haviendo bautizado solemnemte à Placida Maria, natural de la Ranchia de Salayuay, y Madre de Antonino, Damian, y Catalina, neofs de esta Mision, xenoso antre mi el consentimto matrimonial que en su gentilidad tenia dado à Pedro Regalado Chapiuyu, natural de la misma Ranchia, y Padre de los mes mensionados, y no hallando impedimto alguno canonico los casé in facie ecclesiæ por palabra de presente q. se dieron. De que fueron testigos Luis viudo de Barbara Antonia, y Cipriano Sicsanonaset, soltero, neofitos de esta Mision. Y para ctto conste, lo firme

Fr Estevan Tapis.

**Figure 4.2** A Marriage Register Entry from Mission Santa Bárbara.
*Photo by William B. Dewey with permission of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library*



Viva Jesus
Libro primero de Difuntos
De la Mision del Señor S.n Fernando Rey de España
Fundada
A expensas del Catolico Rey de las España el
Señor D.n Carlos IV. Dios le guarde, y de Orden del
Excmo Sor Marques de Branciforte Virrey de
Nueva España en el parage llamado por
los Naturales Achois Comihabit.
Comenzada
El Solemne dia de la Natividad de Maria SSma, ocho de Septiembre
Del Año. 1797
En dicho dia el infrascripto Presidente de estas Mis.s nombrado la Nueva California
con asistencia al R. P. Pr.e Co Fr. Fran.co Dumetz Mis.o jubilado
de muchos años en esta Conquista, destinado para Mis.o de esta
Nueva Mision, de la Tripulacion nacional quarenta y un Neofitos
Bautizados y presentes muchos Fieles de ambos Sexos, y
de todas Edades, bendigo Agua, el Lugar, y
una Cruz orante con lo que mas, que se hace
en la primera foja del Libro de Bautismos.
Fr. Fermin Fran.co de Lasuen

Consta este Libro de 298 fojas utiles, y numeradas con la primera, y
ultima, y quatro en blanco.

**Figure 4.3** Title page of the first book of burials of Mission San Fernando.
*Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County*

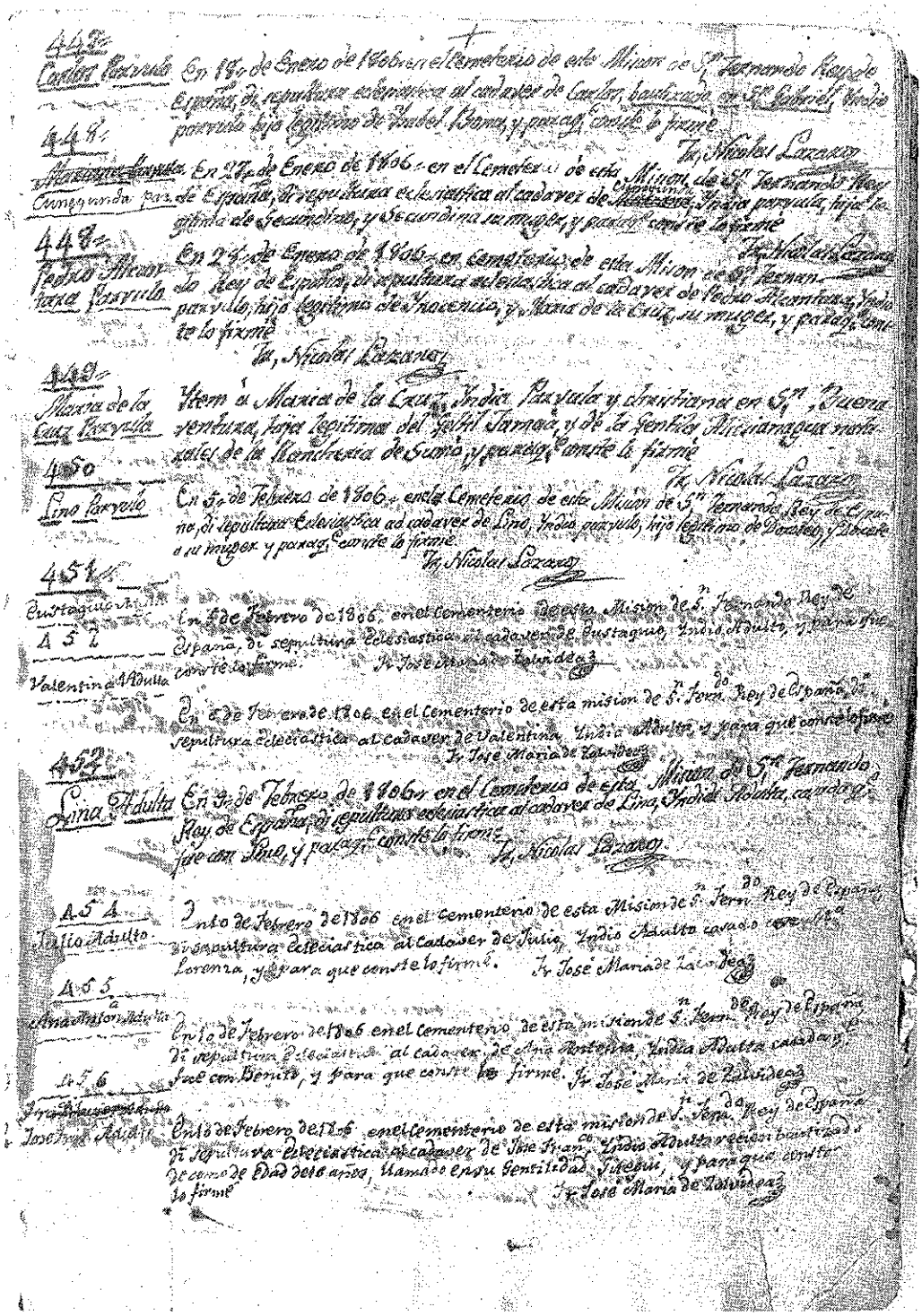


Figure 4.4 A page from the Mission San Fernando burial register, January and February, 1806. This page is an example of problems sometimes encountered in mission register entries, e.g., corrected mistakes, variability in handwriting, and ink bleeding through from the reverse side of the page. Entries 449, 453, and 456 are of people native to Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains. Lina, wife of Lino, was from *Humaliwo*. José Francisco Gitegui was a sixteen year old boy from *Sumo*.

*Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County*

baptismal register would be included in other registers, e.g., town of origin and names of parents or other close relatives. Therefore, data omitted at the time of baptism may be found in a person's confirmation, marriage, or burial entry or in the *padrón*.

The *padrón*, or census register, served as an up-to-date means for the missionaries to keep track of the Indian neophytes living at their missions. Separate sections were kept for families, widows, widowers, and single people. These were either alphabetically organized by a person's Spanish name (by husband's name for families), or in several instances, by Chumash town of origin. A list of transfers to and from neighboring missions was sometimes appended to the *padrón* as were an alphabetically-organized index that referenced the page number where a person could be found. In the first *padrón* of Mission La Purísima, a list of pregnant women was kept, presumably to keep track of those excused from certain kinds of work responsibilities. Baptisms and births were added to the *padrón* as they occurred, and people who died were deleted. Typically, a *padrón* was used over a period of many years and became filled with lined-out entries as people died or were widowed or orphaned and moved to other sections of the register. The *padrón* is valuable as a reference document because it not only reconstructs basic family units but fully cross-references people's baptismal entries and adds additional information not found in other mission books. When identifications or relationships are unclear or omitted in other registers, the *padrón* often provides solutions to such problems.

The information recorded in the mission registers, invaluable as it is for reconstructing Chumash history, is not without expectable clerical errors, misidentifications, and cross-cultural misunderstandings. These have been detailed in a study by Johnson (1988b) and will only be briefly summarized here. Spanish names, native names, and town names appear with different spellings that sometimes may be confusing to even the experienced researcher. The Spanish language lacked many of the sounds present in the Chumash languages, and vice versa, which led to misrecordings. Many instances of garbled names require detailed sleuthing to determine identities. A typical example of a name change that resulted from phonological difficulties was the confusion between people named Bernardo (or Bernarda) and Fernando (or Fernanda). The pronunciation of these two names by speakers of the various Chumash languages is virtually identical. The Spanish sounds [f] and [b] are both pronounced as [p] in the Chumash languages, while Spanish [r] is rendered as [n] or [l], and [d] is pronounced as [t]. At least five instances of confusion between these two names have been documented, including a case involving Fernando Librado, who was originally baptized as "Bernardo" (Johnson 1982b). During research conducted for the present study, we encountered two children of the same parents baptized at Mission San Buenaventura as Bernardo and Fernando, and sure enough, these individuals became confused in later records. The priest noted in the 1825 *padrón* that he was puzzled by the absence of a known baptismal entry for "Fernando" (actually Bernardo), crossed up by the fact that the brother actually named Fernando had died some years previously.

Occasional entries are missing -- including people buried or married for whom no baptism record may be found, people who are noted as being married for whom no marriage record is documented, and people baptized for whom no burial record exists. Some of these situations arose when missionaries misidentified individuals or simply forgot to make entries in the registers. People who died in their native

towns, who ran away from the missions, or who passed away while visiting at another mission outside Chumash territory often were not noted in the burial registers of their home missions. Analogous situations explain missing birth and marriage records to some extent. The failure to trace people's identities between registers becomes much more of a problem in the period following mission secularization because of emigration by part of the former neophyte population and poorer record-keeping by resident priests. By this time the priests were reduced to one missionary per mission, often suffering from ailments in their old age, disillusioned by the missions being broken up, and frequently unfamiliar with the local Indians by virtue of having been recently transferred to fill a vacancy caused by death of a former priest.

## Comparison of Registers Extant for Each Mission

A mission-by-mission appraisal of the completeness and accuracy of available registers follows, going from north to south. The registers extant for five of the six missions included in this study have been summarized in Johnson (1988b).

Mission San Luis Obispo, the northernmost of the six missions considered here, was also the first founded in Chumash territory in 1772. In the early years of the mission's existence, sparse information was recorded for many of the entries in the baptismal register. Fortunately, missing data may be extracted or reconstructed from other registers, especially the confirmation register, which supplies information on the town ("ranchería") of origin for many individuals (King 1984). Photocopies of the two books of baptisms (1772-1869), two books of burials (1772-1884), three *padrones* (1833-1841), and the marriage register (1772-1902) may be consulted at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. The original registers are located at the Monterey Archdiocese Archives. An early *padrón* (1792) -- which is not as detailed as later *padrones* elsewhere since it lacks baptismal numbers, native names and names of native towns -- is in the Vallejo Papers in the Bancroft Library. The absence of detailed *padrones* at Mission San Luis Obispo before 1833 hampers reconstruction of family relationships, identification of certain individuals, and provision of missing data, especially for people baptized after 1794, when confirmations were no longer made.

San Luis Obispo's data caused problems because of the linguistic distinctiveness of its population and the smaller sizes and impermanence of many rancherías in its territory. Town names in Northern Chumash (or Obispeño) are often completely unlike the names for the same towns recorded at missions to the south. For example, the name "Stacamo" at San Luis Obispo is not at all similar to "Sisolop" at La Purísima, and yet these two names can be shown to refer to the same town, *Shisholop*, at Cojo Bay near Point Conception. An explicit comment in the baptismal register equates Stacamo with "El Cojo", and people baptized from Stacamo at San Luis Obispo later are listed as from Sisolop in La Purísima's *padrón* when they transferred between missions. Although several other town names can be correlated in this manner between missions, not all can; for example, Saljuaya, Nucsuni, and Lachicto are three names at San Luis Obispo that almost certainly refer to towns where Mission La Purísima also drew converts (King 1984), yet the corresponding Purisimeño names remain conjectural.

To the north of Mission San Luis Obispo was an even more distinctive linguistic boundary, between the unrelated Salinan language and Northern Chumash. Here again, there exists a situation where some (perhaps many) names that appear to be different in the registers of Missions San Luis Obispo and San Miguel actually refer to the same towns. Not many correlations between Salinan and Northern Chumash versions of town names have yet been identified because less scholarly attention has been devoted to this problem, and the registers of Mission San Miguel have yet to be analyzed intensively in a manner comparable to missions in Chumash territory to the south.

Mission La Purísima was founded in 1788. Its location was moved in 1813 after the original mission buildings were badly damaged by a major earthquake at the end of 1812. Two books of baptisms, two books of burials, and a marriage register cover the years between 1788 and 1851. After 1851, entries for Indians still living in the Purísima vicinity appear in the registers of Santa Inés Mission. The eight *padrones* at La Purísima cover most of the period from 1799 to 1845, greatly facilitating cross-references between registers as well as the reconstruction of family relationships. Photocopies of all La Purísima's registers are available for research at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. The original registers are kept at the Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives at Mission San Fernando.

Mission Santa Inés was founded in 1804 and received much of its seed population from neophytes previously baptized at Missions La Purísima and Santa Bárbara who had originally come from towns in the territory that subsequently came under the jurisdiction of Santa Inés. The book of baptisms covers the years up until 1886, the book of burials extends to 1917 but seems to contain some gaps, and the book of marriages goes to 1904. As with Mission La Purísima, copies of all of the registers are at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library and originals are at Mission San Fernando. Likewise, all of the Santa Inés *padrones* kept by the missionaries were preserved, which permits more extensive cross-referencing, supplementing, and double-checking of information between registers. Unfortunately, the additional data supplied by the *padrones* does not overcome a serious shortcoming: the missionary with the longest service at Mission Santa Inés, Fr. Xavier Uría, recorded some of the least detailed information. For example, Fr. Uría omitted town names for the vast majority of Indian people he baptized from the Channel Islands.

Mission Santa Bárbara, founded at the end of 1786, has a book of baptisms extending to 1858, a book of burials that reaches to 1841, and a book of marriages that was completed in 1857. After those years, records of Indian baptisms, marriages, and burials were entered into the Santa Barbara presidio and Our Lady of Sorrows parish registers. Originals and copies of the mission and presidio registers are at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library. A single *padrón* survived at Mission Santa Bárbara that covers the years from 1815 up until 1833, just prior to mission secularization. The lack of an early *padrón* for Mission Santa Bárbara has resulted in fewer reconstructed marriage and family relationships compared to what is possible for La Purísima and Santa Inés (Johnson 1988a:79-80).

Mission San Buenaventura, the second mission founded in Chumash territory, was established in 1782 (Plate III). The Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library has copies of three books of baptisms, two books of burials, the marriage register, and a single *padrón* that covers the years 1825-1840. An earlier

fragmentary *padrón* exists in the Archdiocese Archives of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando along with the originals of the first two books of baptisms and other registers. Unlike other missions in the Chumash region, the priests who kept the registers at Mission San Buenaventura began renumbering from 1 each time they began a new book of baptisms, which means that record keeping must take into consideration the particular book in which the entries were made, in addition to an individual's baptismal number.

Mission San Buenaventura was blessed with the long tenure of an extremely intelligent and meticulous priest, Fr. José Señán, whose register entries are the most accurate and complete of those kept at any mission. Fr. Señán was fluent in the Ventureño Chumash language and seems to have been most knowledgeable about the Indian culture. These abilities certainly facilitated his capacity to obtain information that other missionaries were unable or uninterested in pursuing. Only at Mission San Buenaventura were women's names consistently provided. This may reflect Chumash taboos against giving one's personal name or indicate that most missionaries regarded native names for women as unimportant for their records. It is fortunate that Señán and the missionaries who worked with him seem to have learned how to ask questions in the right way in order preserve this aspect of Chumash culture for posterity. Another very valuable characteristic of San Buenaventura's baptismal register, begun from the earliest entry onward, was the practice of recording town affiliations for each person baptized in the margin adjacent to their entries. This was not practiced at any other mission in the study area, all of which have a number of people for whom no origin may be determined.

The southernmost mission that drew considerable numbers of Chumash peoples was Mission San Fernando. It was established in 1798, in the territory of groups speaking an unrelated language now called Fernandeño or Tongva. Chumash residents at Mission San Fernando generally came from two regions: (1) the Santa Monica Mountains or (2) the Tejon Pass vicinity (upper Piru Creek and Castac Lake). Besides dialects of Ventureño Chumash and Fernandeño/Gabrielino, other languages spoken by Indian people who went to San Fernando were Tataviam (Alliklik), Kitanemuk/Serrano, and Cahuilla. This multilingual situation makes the town name situation complex, similar to the problems encountered in identifying names in the registers of Mission San Luis Obispo.

To compound the difficulty in interpreting town names, the record-keeping at Mission San Fernando was the worst of any mission that incorporated large numbers of Chumash peoples into its population. Many baptismal entries, especially for women and children, lack town-of-origin information entirely. Similarly, cross-references to relatives were much less often recorded than for other missions. No *padrón* is known to exist for this mission, which otherwise might remedy incomplete record-keeping in other registers. At times, cross-references were provided by priests for a person's baptismal number when that person later married, had children, or was buried. Unfortunately, the priests seem to have been confused about these identifications fairly often, and several instances have been found of two different individuals with the same name living at the same time being incorrectly identified with the same baptismal number. All of these problems make it difficult to determine the linguistic affiliation (Chumash, Fernandeño, Tataviam, etc.) of a great many people baptized at San Fernando.

The original registers of Mission San Fernando are located in that mission's archives, but only the baptismal register, covering the years 1798 to 1855, has a direct photocopy available for perusal at the Mission Santa Barbara Archive Library. A typewritten transcription of the marriage register and of selected entries in the baptismal and burial registers was made in 1964 by Thomas Workman Temple and was the basis for much of the data entry for the current work. Temple's work was augmented by additional work with the original registers. After the mission registers for Mission San Fernando were filled, entries for its remaining Indian population were made in the registers of the Plaza Church of Los Angeles, a fact that was not discovered until the data collection phase of our project was nearing completion. As a result, the registers of the latter church have not been systematically studied for records of Chumash descendants.

The six missions included in this study may be ranked according to completeness of basic information recorded for each individual (i.e., native name, age, village of origin, and family relationships) and capacity for tracking individuals between registers to supply additional information and determine life history statistics. Completeness of recorded information is mostly dependent on the thoroughness of data recorded in baptismal entries. Capacity for cross-reference between registers is dependent on the survival of *padrones* that cover a substantial portion of the Mission Period and the prevalence of the use of baptismal numbers to identify people in the various registers. In terms of completeness, the missions may be ranked in the following order: (1) San Buenaventura, (2) La Purísima, (3) Santa Bárbara, (4) Santa Inés, (5) San Luis Obispo, (6) San Fernando. In terms of capacity for cross-reference, the ranking is: (1) La Purísima, (2) Santa Inés, (3) San Buenaventura, (4) Santa Bárbara, (5) San Luis Obispo, (6) San Fernando. To summarize these evaluations, the overall accuracy and dependability of mission register data for reconstructing the vital statistics and genealogical relationships of Chumash peoples is best for La Purísima and San Buenaventura, good for Santa Inés and Santa Bárbara, fair for San Luis Obispo, and least satisfactory for San Fernando.

## Mission Register Data Collection

To take advantage of prior research using mission register data, information extracted over the past twenty years from the six missions within the study area by four ethnohistorians was combined and then supplemented by additional data (see Appendix III). A new extension to an existing computer program, LAB ASSISTANT (Edmondson 1993), was developed during the course of the project that facilitated data collection and entry into a data base consistent between all six missions. Seven Chumash research assistants were hired to assist in mission register research using the computer program. Experience with the program resulted in suggestions for improvement that were incorporated into ever-more useful versions.

# CHAPTER 5

# THE CHUMASH SOCIAL-POLITICAL GROUPS ON THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

John R. Johnson

## Sources for Cruzeño Chumash Ethnogeography

Systematic efforts to gather information regarding the locations of Chumash towns on the Channel Islands began in 1884 with collaborative work between linguistic fieldworker Henry Henshaw and a native Ventureño Chumash speaker, Juan Estevan Pico (Heizer 1955; Henshaw 1884 and Appendix IV). At some time during his life, Pico, a lifelong resident of the San Buenaventura Indian community, was afforded educational opportunities beyond that typically received by Chumash children. Being literate, very intelligent, and very inquisitive about his language and native cultural background, he not only worked extensively with Henshaw but also authored his own manuscript on the Ventureño Chumash language. Based on his knowledge of Spanish orthography, Pico developed his own system for writing the Chumash languages in a much more accurate way than that used by Henshaw, representing consistently all the distinctive sounds of Ventureño Chumash including glottalized stops (see Chapter 2).

Pico prepared for Henshaw a beautifully-written list of Chumash town names and placenames, all carefully transcribed in his orthography, signed and dated November 21, 1884 (see Appendix IV). To prepare this list, Pico presumably consulted elderly Ventureño Chumash and Cruzeño Chumash speakers who were still living in Ventura in the 1880s. The list is quite complete for the areas Pico and those he consulted can be presumed to have known best: Ventureño territory and the Channel Islands. This is most fortuitous for our attempts to reconstruct the locations of Chumash towns named in the mission records and thereby to correlate these important social-political units with specific sites in areas under National Park Service stewardship.

The Cruzeño Chumash pronunciation of town names provided in this study was established from Pico's list, thanks to the accuracy of Pico's orthography. The town names thus established have been respelled in the linguistic orthography suggested by Whistler (1980) and associated with the village names recorded for converts in the mission registers. (See Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1, which give numbers of people baptized from each town for each mission.)

The linguists and ethnohistorians involved in the project met and compared mission register recordings of island placenames with those in Pico's list as well as with those recorded by Henshaw, Pinart, and Harrington, arriving at a consensus as to the range of variant spellings associated with each town's name.

**Figure 5.1**

Cruzeno Chumash Towns
of the Northern Channel Islands

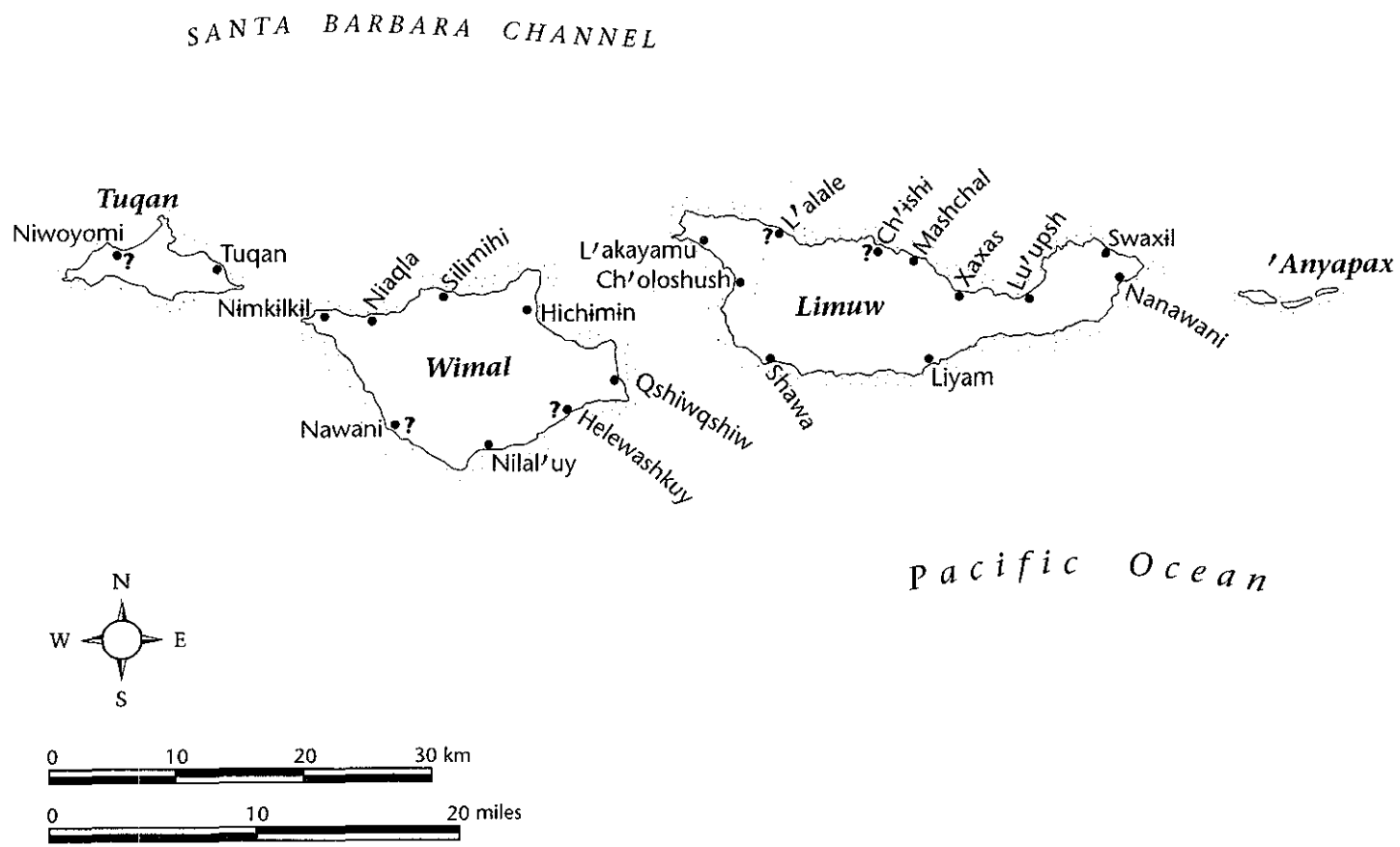


**TABLE 5.1**
**Chumash Baptisms from the Channel Islands**

| VILLAGE | MLP | MSI | MSB | MBV | MSF | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SANTA CRUZ ISLAND | | | | | | |
| *Xaxas* | | | 107 | 22 | | 129 |
| *Mashchal* | | | 68 | 1 | | 69 |
| *Ch'ishi* | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| *L'alale* | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | 5 |
| *L'akayamu* | 1 | 4 | 31 | 14 | | 50 |
| *Ch'oloshush* | 5 | 3 | 18 | 2 | | 28 |
| *Shawa* | | | 3 | 6 | | 9 |
| *Liyam* | | 1 | 26 | 84 | 6 | 117 |
| *Nanawani* | | | 1 | 60 | | 61 |
| *Swaxil* | | | 25 | 180 | | 205 |
| *Lu'upsh* | | | 2 | 61 | | 63 |
| SUBTOTAL | (8) | (8) | (285) | (431) | (6) | (738) |
| SANTA ROSA ISLAND | | | | | | |
| *Qshiwqshiw* | 31 | 53 | 30 | 5 | | 119 |
| *Hichimin* | 5 | 61 | 5 | | | 71 |
| *Silimihi* | 49 | 4 | | | | 53 |
| *Niaqla* | 7 | 1 | 2 | | | 10 |
| *Nimkilkil* | 39 | 8 | 4 | | | 51 |
| *Nawani* | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 |
| *Nilal'uy* | 36 | 8 | 2 | 2 | | 48 |
| *Helewashkuy* | 1 | 9 | 27 | | | 37 |
| *Wimal** | | | 2 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| SUBTOTAL | (169) | (144) | (73) | (8) | (4) | (398) |
| SAN MIGUEL ISLAND | | | | | | |
| *Tuqan* | 29 | | 5 | | | 34 |
| *Niwoyomi* | 3 | | | | | 3 |
| SUBTOTAL | (32) | 0 | (5) | 0 | 0 | (37) |
| UNLOCATED | 4 | 83 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 97 |
| TOTAL | 213 | 235 | 367 | 440 | 15 | 1,270 |

*Native Name for Santa Rosa Island

This was done in order to provide the National Park Service with names that are recorded as accurately as possible for use in interpretive programs, exhibits, and publications.

McLendon's reconstruction of the timing and sequence of Henshaw's work on Chumash languages indicates that Pico probably prepared his list of Chumash town names in response to Henshaw's questioning, sometime in November of 1884. While we do not know how early Pico began compiling information for his Ventureño manuscript, in all probability he knew, learned from, and possibly consulted three women of the previous generation who were still living in 1884 according to census and church records. These women were Juliana de Jesús Salazar (1811-1891), Martina *Leqte* (1814-1884), and Monica de Jesús (1806-1885). Two of these knowledgeable women, Juliana de Jesús Salazar and Martina *Leqte*, had also been interviewed at Ventura by the French linguist Alphonse Pinart, who recorded vocabularies from them in the fall of 1878 (Heizer 1952; Johnson 1988b:184).

Juliana Salazar was a speaker of the Santa Paula dialect of Ventureño Chumash and had been married for 23 years to a *Humaliwo* Chumash man, José Antonio Aliguanunaze (1797-1860), who owned an adobe and farmed on the east side of the lower Ventura River, before she married Roberto Salazar. Martina *Leqte*, a native of Santa Cruz Island, had been raised most of her life among Island Chumash families at Mission Santa Bárbara but lived her last years at Ventura. Monica de Jesús was born to parents from *Shisholop* and *S'omis* and had been married to a Chumash man named Santiago (1808-1858?) from *Kayiwish* (Cayegues).

Henshaw specifies that some of the Ventureño forms he recorded in 1884 "were given me by 2 old women" but were "not distinguished as they were usually verified by Pico" (Henshaw, 1884, BAE Ms. 3075). These women must have been Juliana Salazar and Monica de Jesús, because Martina *Leqte* had died at the end of October, just prior to Henshaw's arrival in Ventura.

We can surmise that Pico's principal consultants for town names in the Santa Monica Mountains, Santa Clara River, and Ventura River regions were also Juliana Salazar and Monica de Jesús, because their parents and husbands had come from those areas. Almost certainly Martina *Leqte*, and possibly Báltazar Sulupiyauset (1812-1882), an elderly Cruzeño Chumash man who also lived in Ventura, were Pico's sources for his Island Chumash town names and locations. All subsequent attempts to map Chumash placenames have depended upon Pico's list for the locations of a number of towns that could not otherwise be pinpointed with precision. This is especially true for the Channel Islands.

## HISTORY OF ATTEMPTS TO MAP ISLAND CHUMASH TOWNS

### Santa Cruz Island

Pico's list gives twelve placenames on Santa Cruz Island. It begins with the name for the whole island (*Michumash*) and then gives the name of the important town of *Xaxas* (Jajas) at Prisoners Harbor ("El puerto principal"), followed by the name for the large ranch established in the center of the island in the mid-nineteenth century, where many Chumash people worked ("El rancho grande"). Pico then names towns ("rancherías") moving counterclockwise around the island. The town sites are identified mostly by

directional information relative to the placenamed previously on the list ("En dirección al oeste," "Mas al oeste," etc.). Alfred Kroeber (1925) was the first to attempt to place these names from Pico's list on a map. Unfortunately he erred in the beginning by placing *Xaxas* (which he respelled "Hahas"), the initial principal reference point, at China Harbor, which resulted in the rest of the towns being also misplaced.

A subsequent map by Alan Brown (1967) mirrored Kroeber's earlier work but deleted the two places not attested as occupied towns during the Mission Period and added a name not found in Pico's list, "Gelguascuy" (*Helewashkuy*), at Posa Anchorage. Brown was the first to map the relative sizes of island towns using circles of differing diameters, based on the number of baptisms tabulated from mission registers.

Chester King (1975) corrected Kroeber's error regarding *Xaxas* and then added his personal knowledge of archaeological indicators of historic occupation to map the remaining names in Pico's list, preserving their relative order. Following Brown's lead, King also placed *Helewashkuy* on Santa Cruz Island, tentatively at Christy Beach. Campbell Grant's map in the California volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Heizer 1978), prepared prior to the publication of King's map, was based upon Brown's earlier work and thus also shows the towns mislocated.

Johnson (1982a) reviewed the earlier attempts to map Santa Cruz Island settlements and added further evidence from mission documents to revise King's map. Three town locations in particular were revised. *Helewashkuy* was moved to Santa Rosa Island, based on ethnographic testimony that correlated the name with that island. On Santa Cruz Island, *L'akayamu* was moved to Forney Cove and *Ch'oloshush* was placed at Christy Beach. The resulting map matched Pico's specification of locations and known archaeological evidence fairly well and took into account marriage links between neighboring towns as revealed by mission records.

In 1805 the missionaries explicitly stated that ten rancherías were occupied that year on this largest of the Channel Islands. Pico's list includes names of all ten of these towns plus one more, *Ch'ishi*, which is tentatively correlated with an island town first recorded in the mission records in 1814, under the oddly-spelled name "Forsteche" (or "Tonsteche"). Only three old women were baptized here, so perhaps it was a seasonal camp or had largely been abandoned by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Additional revisions to Johnson's 1982 map have been suggested by Arnold (1990), occasioned by further discoveries of European trade goods at particular sites. These proposed revisions have been reviewed by Johnson (1993b:41), and one has been adopted in the maps that appear in this report (Figures 3.1 and 5.1): i.e., *Shawa* has been placed at Morse Point instead of Willows Anchorage. Arnold's suggestion that *Swaxil* was located on Smugglers Cove instead of the Scorpion Anchorage vicinity contradicts direct testimony by Fernando Librado that *Swaxil* was at Scorpion. Librado should have known this location well since his mother was from *Swaxil*, as were many of the old Cruzeño Chumash he knew at San Buenaventura when he was a boy. He had himself worked as a sheep shearer at Scorpion Anchorage with other Chumash who may also have known the town name and its location (Harrington 1913). Librado's statement must therefore be considered to be strong evidence. Now that the eastern end of Santa Cruz Island has come fully under National Park Service stewardship, archaeological fieldwork

has established that a site containing Historic Period beads does indeed exist at Scorpion Anchorage, so there is no longer any reason to doubt that *Swaxil* once existed at this location (Don Morris and Douglas Kennett, personal communication).

### Santa Rosa Island

As was the case with Santa Cruz Island, Pico's list is the principal source for reconstructing town locations on Santa Rosa Island. His list includes seven town names, all of which occur in mission records. In 1805, the President of the California missions, Fr. Estevan Tapis, confirmed that he believed there to be seven towns on Santa Rosa. However, there are two additional "ranchería" names found in mission records which are probably from this island but are not represented in Pico's list. These are *Helewashkuy* (Elehuascui), and *Xonashup* (Jonachup).

The mapping of Chumash town names on Santa Rosa Island, unlike those on Santa Cruz Island, has changed little from the time of Kroeber's initial attempt at mapping in 1925 to the present day. Refinements have been based on archaeological studies which revealed European trade goods at particular sites. These sites were then correlated with names in Pico's list (Johnson 1982a; King 1975; Orr 1968;).

The process of identifying sites with evidence of Mission Period occupation has recently been reinvigorated now that the island is under National Park Service stewardship. At least one new site with evidence of historic occupation has been identified while other previous candidates now appear less likely, based on recent surveys and observations of surface artifacts by Channel Islands National Park archaeologists (D. Morris, personal communication).

### San Miguel Island

San Miguel Island had only two town names associated with it in mission records, and only one of these appears in Pico's list. The principal (for Pico, the only) town on the island, *Tuqan*, has not been precisely pinpointed, although one or two sites in the Cuyler Harbor vicinity are probable candidates. It is known that glass trade beads came from a site in that area in the nineteenth century (Dall 1874; D. Morris, personal communication). The other town, *Niwoyomi*, was represented in the mission records by only a single household and cannot be mapped based on current knowledge.

## SOCIAL-POLITICAL GROUPS ON SANTA CRUZ ISLAND

During ethnographic interviews with J. P. Harrington, Fernando Librado stated that only the four largest towns on Santa Cruz Island had chiefs in residence. Librado didn't specify which ones these were, but he did say, "the chief *wot* was from ... *Liyam*, his title being *'ayetla liyam paqwot*" (Hudson et al. 1977:14). Librado was born twenty years after the last chief had left Santa Cruz Island and did not himself experience directly the native island society. Nonetheless, it is significant that mission register evidence substantiates his assertion that only the four largest towns had chiefs (Johnson 1982a:116-117).

Social network analysis of marriage patterns demonstrates that *Liyam* was the most centrally situated in relation to other towns in terms of its control, frequency, and efficiency of social interaction (Johnson 1993b:33). Although towns were the basic political unit in Chumash society, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence offers tantalizing support that on Santa Cruz Island the ten or eleven towns could have participated in a larger chiefdom, or at least a federation similar to that described for *Syuxtun* on the mainland.

A previous study has presented detailed information regarding the locations and marriage patterns of individual towns on the Northern Channel Islands (Johnson 1982a:127). That information will not be presented again here. Instead, a brief summary statement will be provided for each town, only elaborating when new information is available. The order in which these towns are discussed follows their order in Pico's list (Heizer 1955:197; and Appendix IV).

The preferred linguistic spelling of the name in Cruzeño Chumash is given first in italics, followed by the most common spelling of the name given in mission documents, underlined in parentheses. The mission document spelling can sometimes be seen to be a reflection of the name of the town in the Central Chumash language spoken in the mainland mission where the name was recorded, rather than in the Cruzeño Chumash language. In one case a name on Pico's list does not denote a contact-period town with a name that appears in mission documents. This is *Nimatlala*, glossed by Pico as "El rancho grande," which clearly refers to the ranch established in the middle of the island in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

### *Xaxas* (Cajats)

This town was the second largest on Santa Cruz Island, as measured by number of baptisms, and it was located at Prisoners Harbor, at the entrance to the largest canyon on the island. In 1804 Fr. Estevan Tapis reported its adult population to be 124 individuals (Johnson 1982a:111). The name means 'the sand', referring to the dunes and beach at the harbor (Applegate 1975b:31).

The name of the town in the Central Chumash languages was pronounced "*Kaxas*" (written by Applegate "kahas"). The mission records seem primarily to reflect this Central Chumash pronunciation, although Dumetz, who was at Mission San Buenaventura from 1782 to 1797, wrote the name "Jajas," thus reflecting quite accurately in Spanish orthography of the Cruzeño Chumash pronunciation.

In 1814 the chief of this town was Pedro Sninay, who was baptized in that year at Mission Santa Bárbara at about 40 years of age (MSB Bap. 3648). His wife was baptized as María Petra, 26 years old, from the neighboring town of *Mashchal* (MSB Bap. 3802). They had a three-year-old son, Pedro Sipayamchet, who had been born at *Mashchal* in 1811 (MSB Bap. 3788).

Geographic analysis of town locations and population sizes reveal that *Xaxas* was the most centrally-located town within the Northern Channel Islands. In other words, it was the Island Chumash town most accessible to the overall population of its region (Johnson 1993b:29). *Xaxas* was located directly across the Santa Barbara Channel from the most important town in the Santa Barbara region,

*Syuxtun*, whose principal chief, Pedro Yanonali, had two children born at *Xaxas* (Warren 1977). Mission registers also reveal that a colony of islanders from *Xaxas* was residing at *Heliyik*, one of the Goleta Sough towns (Johnson 1982a:60-61). The geographic centrality of *Xaxas* at the principal harbor on Santa Cruz Island and its kinship connections to mainland towns underscore its importance in cross-channel trade.

### *Mashchal* (Maschal)

*Mashchal*, the fourth-largest town on Santa Cruz Island, was located at Orizaba Cove west of Prisoners Harbor. The meaning of its name has not been worked out, although the initial *m-* could be the locative 'place of'. Fernando Librado suggested to Harrington that the name was associated with clear, reflective pools of water (Harrington 1913).

The chief of this town was Ramón Yahuscat, 45 years of age at the time he was baptized in January, 1815 (SB Bap. 3733). He died within a few months, being lost at sea with three other men from *Mashchal*, while crossing the channel between the islands and mainland (SB Bur. 2505-2508). His wife, Ramona, was 26 years old (SB Bap. 3752). They had two small children, one born after his father's death (SB Bap. 3691, 3988). Ramón Yahuscat also had three children from previous marriages: Justina of *Xaxas* (SB Bap. 3943), Pablo Nuniyaut of *Mashchal* (SB Bap. 3649), and Fortunato Jalaye of *Xaxas* (SB Bap. 3655).

### *Ch'ishi* (Forsteche/Tonsteche?)

Pico identifies *Ch'ishi* as more to the west from *Mashchal* (at Orizaba Cove) and before Punta del Diablo. No town name in the mission records clearly reflects this name. The name "Forsteche" (Tonsteche) mentioned only once in the records, could be a garbled version reflecting the missionaries' difficulty in hearing the initial glottalized *ch'* followed by an equally hard to hear and transcribe *i*. During a visit by a neophyte interpreter from Mission Santa Barbara to Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa Islands at the end of 1814, three old women were baptized at this town; one of them was identified as from the Santa Cruz Island town of *Ch'oloshush*. The town was visited after the interpreter stopped at *Hichimin* and *Qshiwqshiw* on Santa Rosa Island, and was the last island town where baptisms were performed before he returned to the mainland (Johnson 1982a:71). This is not much of a basis for placing this town with respect to other known towns or to archaeological sites. It seems possible that the interpreter had crossed back over to Santa Cruz Island, since the only other specified town of origin of people who were baptized at Forsteche/ Tonsteche is on Santa Cruz Island. The transcription of the name into the Santa Barbara baptismal register and *padrón* by Fr. Ramón Olbés – a recent arrival at the mission – as "Forsteche" is an obvious error because the sounds */f/* and */r/* do not occur in Chumash languages (see Chapter 2). In a subsequent single burial entry, the name was corrected to "Tonsteche."

### *L'alale* (Lalale)

Pico's list equates *L'alale* with Diablo Point ("Punta del diablo"), a major landmark on the north coast about midway between the east and west ends of the island. Fry's Harbor is the closest location to Diablo Point where a town might have existed, but twentieth-century quarrying activities have obscured archaeological evidence at the mouth of the canyon. Farther west from Diablo Point near Cueva Valdez is another candidate site for *L'alale*, CA-SCRI-436, although no Mission Period artifacts have been noted there.

According to Librado, *L'alale* meant 'west' in Cruzeño Chumash. Attribution of origin for persons from a town with a directional name is somewhat problematic, because the missionary may have misunderstood whether it was an actual town name or the general direction of the town that was being given. Of the mere five baptisms linked to *L'alale*, two were said to be from other towns in later mission register entries. *L'alale* may have only consisted of a few families or may have been in the process of abandonment well before its last inhabitants were baptized in 1814.

### *L'akayamu* (Lacayamu)

*L'akayamu* was described as being "more to the west" from *L'alale* in Pico's list. Kroeber and others interpreted this to mean that the town was on the north coast, but the coastline west of Cueva Valdez is characterized by high, abrupt cliffs. It is not until one reaches Forney Cove, around the west end of the island, that an adequate town site may be found. Here a well-developed complex of sites (CA-SCRI-328 to 330) contain abundant evidence of Mission Period occupation (Arnold 1990; Johnson 1982a). Librado etymologized *L'akayamu* as 'it is piled up', an apt description of the location of the Forney site. Here one finds house depressions packed tightly together on neighboring hillocks that overlook the cove.

### *Ch'oloshush* (Cholosos)

*Ch'oloshush* was described by Pico as being "in the direction to the southwest," but it is actually southeast of *L'akayamu* at Christy Beach, based on a "best fit" interpretation using archaeological and ethnohistoric evidence (Johnson 1982a:137). Possibly, Pico's directional reference was intended to be in relation to the last name given that specifically identified a topographic feature, i.e., *L'alale* near Diablo Point. If *L'alale* was indeed meant as the directional reference for *Ch'oloshush*, then its identification with Christy Beach truly is correct, being southwest of the former.

Applegate (1975b) hypothesized that the similar Ventureño name *Ch'oloshush* meant 'very strong', but a more likely etymology for *Ch'oloshush* was proposed by Librado. He told Harrington that the name referred to 'a gathering of maritime birds'. The name *ch'olo* means 'gull' in Cruzeño Chumash (Beeler and Klar n.d.), and Christy Beach is indeed the gathering place for thousands of gulls, attracted by the abundant squid and schools of small fishes found there, as well as by the availability of fresh water from the spring-fed stream that enters the ocean at the beach.

### *Shawa* (Chahua)

The name *Shawa* meant 'stranger', according to Librado. He reported a tradition that *Shawa* had been composed of a colony of people from the town of *Qasil* at Refugio Beach, who eventually returned to the mainland and founded the inland town of *Soxtonokmu'* (Johnson 1982a:139). *Shawa* is now correlated with an archaeological site that shows evidence of historic occupation at Morse Point (Arnold 1990).

María Solares, Harrington's main consultant for Ineseño Chumash language and culture, told him that *'alap-shawa* was a name for a Chumash clan (Johnson 1988a:230). However, *'alap-* means 'inhabitant of' in Ineseño Chumash (Applegate n.d.), and it seem likely that Harrington, who was looking for evidence of moieties, was misled. María Solares, whose mother had been Tachi Yokuts and therefore participated in the Yokuts clan system, seems to have been thinking primarily about her mother's side of the family when she answered Harrington positively as to the existence of clans. When she specifically referred to her father's side of the family, she switched to terms such as *'alap-shawa*. This may imply that town affiliation was seen as a functional substitute/analogue for the Yokuts clan system, at least by bi-cultural people such as María Solares.

Only nine baptisms of persons born at *Shawa* are recorded in mission registers. Most of these are older adults whose children are identified in the mission records as born at other towns. This fact suggests site abandonment, but the presence of one child born at *Shawa* in 1812 indicates that the town was occupied by at least one family in that year.

### *Liyam* (Liam)

As mentioned previously, *Liyam* was the reported capital of all the towns on Santa Cruz Island and third largest in terms of number of baptisms. Fr. Estevan Tapis reported that the adult population of this town was 124 persons in 1804 (Johnson 1982a:111). Pico recorded its location as east of *Shawa*, sufficient to correlate it with the large Mission Period archaeological site at Coches Prietos. In 1813 Librado imagined that this town was in the center of the island (Hudson et al. 1977); but since Pico was more accurate because of his access to firsthand information from surviving islanders in the 1880s, his location must be given primacy.

The last chief from the islands to be baptized at the missions came from *Liyam*. His name was José Crespín *Kamuliyatset* (Camuluyatset), and he arrived from Santa Cruz Island in 1819 when he was 38 years old (MSB Bap. 4126). His wife, Cecilia *Leqte*, was from *Xaxas* (MSB Bap. 4134). They were parents of Teófilo, who had been born at *Liyam* in 1810 (MSB Bap. 4075). José Crespín and Cecilia lived past the mid-century mark and were well remembered by Chumash Indian people interviewed by Harrington in the early twentieth century. During post-Mission times José Crespín served as chief of a small community of people, mostly islanders, who lived near the mouth of the Goleta Slough (see Chapter 8) at *Qwa'*. He is described as a canoe-builder and fisherman who maintained Chumash religious

and ceremonial customs (Harrington n.d.b; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:178). He was also the source for the earliest written vocabulary of the Cruzeño Chumash language, recorded by Fr. Antonio Jimeno of Mission Santa Bárbara in 1856 (Heizer 1973:40).

*Liyam*, as mentioned earlier, ranked as the most central town on Santa Cruz Island in terms of its social network. Geographic analysis confirms that *Liyam* had a greater number of marriages in many cases than would be expected based purely on population and locational distributions, suggesting greater social-political "pull" (Johnson 1993b:40). These patterns accord well with Librado's assessment of *Liyam*'s political pre-eminence (Hudson et al. 1977:14).

### *Nanawani* (Nanaguani)

*Nanawani* was "more to the east" from *Liyam* according to Pico. Two archaeological sites that were occupied in Mission times have been identified in the vicinity of Smugglers Cove, CA-SCRI-138 and CA-SCRI-135 (Johnson 1982a:142). Both may represent separate residential communities of the town of *Nanawani*, although Arnold (1990) argues that one may be the remains of *Swaxil* (cf. Johnson 1993b:41).

All but one of the 61 people baptized from *Nanawani* went to Mission San Buenaventura. The single exception was Antonino Niguajai, who had been living with his wife at *Xaxas* and was baptized at Santa Bárbara in November, 1815 (MSB Bap. 3822). His wife, christened Justina, was baptized a year later (MSB Bap. 3943). She was the daughter of the deceased chief of *Mashchal*, Ramón Yahuscat. The baptismal entry for Antonino explicitly states that his wife had not traveled with him initially because she was pregnant. Their infant son, Galo was baptized in June, 1816 (MSB Bap. 3873).

### *Swaxil* (Yshguagel)

The most populous town on any of the Channel Islands was *Swaxil*, with an adult population counted at 145 in 1804 (Johnson 1982a:11). *Swaxil* was identified by Pico as "at the point to the east." Two excellent harbors are present on either side of East Point, one at Smugglers, which has been suggested to be *Nanawani*, and the other at Scorpion Anchorage. As mentioned earlier, the latter is probably the site of *Swaxil*, based on Librado's testimony and recent archaeological findings at CA-SCRI-423 and CA-SCRI-507 (Kennett 1998:212).

Although a majority of persons born at *Swaxil* went to Mission San Buenaventura, the chief, Leopoldo Guigmai, was baptized at Mission Santa Barbara (MSB Bap. 3927). His age was reported as 50 years in 1816. He was married to Leona, 40 years old, also from *Swaxil*. (MSB Bap. 3942). They had two children, Revocata and Tirso, 18 years old and 6 ½ years old respectively (MSB Bap. 3893, 3938). Revocata was married to a man from *Xaxas*, Ysidoro Sutajaitset (MSB Bap. 3923), whose sister was married to the son of Ramón Yahuscat, the chief of *Maschal*. Ysidoro's and Revocata's son, Antero Xaxuiuitset (MSB Bap. 3890), became a well-known organist at Mission Santa Bárbara and was one of two Santa Cruz Island Chumash who spoke fluent Spanish during the first half of the nineteenth century. Librado reported that Antero used to act as translator for José Crespín *Kamuliyatset*, the former chief of

*Liyam*, who served as the chief of the post-secularization community of *Qwa'* (Hudson 1979:49,102). The president of the California Missions, Fr. Narciso Durán, lamented in 1845 that Antero, one of his best musicians, had run away (Engelhardt 1923:242). Antero died a year later at Mission Santa Inés (MSI Bur. 1543).

### *Lu'upsh* (Luupsh)

*Lu'upsh* was "in the direction to the north" from the east point of the island according to Pico. The probable site of *Lu'upsh* is actually within China Harbor, which is due west from East Point, but one must go northward from *Swaxil* before swinging around back down the coast of the island southwest to China Harbor.

Extensive archaeological work has been undertaken by Arnold within the China Harbor vicinity in order to define the evolution of an industry of lithic specialization, i.e., the manufacture of microblades used in *Olivella* bead money manufacture (Arnold 1987; 1992). *Lu'upsh* became the principal production center of this industry during the Late Period, as is evidenced by the millions of cores and bladelets present in archaeological deposits at the town site (Arnold 1987; King 1976). That *Lu'upsh* was abandoned much earlier during Mission times than to all other island towns (Johnson 1982a:98-99) has been attributed to the collapse of the microblade industry caused by the introduction of metal needles as the preferred tool for drilling beads (Arnold 1987:249-250).

## SOCIAL-POLITICAL GROUPS ON SANTA ROSA AND SAN MIGUEL ISLANDS

No explicit testimony exists regarding the degree to which towns on Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands were integrated into a single political system, but there is indirect evidence that a situation existed comparable to that of Santa Cruz Island. Geographic and marriage analyses point to the town of *Qshiwqshiw* as playing a role equivalent to *Liyam* on Santa Cruz Island in terms of social network centrality. *Qshiwqshiw* was explicitly stated to have four chiefs in residence in 1810, while no other island town had more than one (Brown 1967:16; Johnson 1982a:116). The towns on Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands cluster as a group when marriage networks are analyzed, suggesting that the San Miguel Island was fully integrated into the Santa Rosa Island interaction sphere. Besides *Qshiwqshiw* two other towns on Santa Rosa Island, *Hichimin* and *Nilal'uy*, and *Tuqan* on San Miguel Island had chiefs in residence.

Our ability to study the Santa Rosa Island kinship network is hampered by the incomplete recording of town names by Fr. Xavier Uría at Mission Santa Inés (Johnson 1982a:91). Johnson's previous work found a total of 114 persons from the islands who were unassociated with any town of origin in the Mission Santa Inés registers. For the present study, genealogical diagrams were prepared to see if town determinations could reasonably be associated with particular individuals. Two assumptions were applied to assist in this effort: (1) an assumption of matrilocal residence and (2) an assumption that siblings came from the same town. While exceptions exist to these two rules, both are statistically significant patterns within Chumash society (Johnson 1988a: Chap. 6; Pfeiffer 1977). In this way, the number of unknown

islanders in the Santa Inés records was reduced by 30, leaving a total of 84 Islanders unassociated with a specific town of origin. The totals presented in Table 5.1 reflect the addition of newly-assigned town identifications based on the application of these two assumptions, as well as some changes derived from further checking in other mission register entries. They therefore supersede totals presented elsewhere (Johnson 1982a:97; 1993b:22).

### *Qshiwqshiw* (Siucsiu)

The largest town on Santa Rosa Island and the first listed by Pico was *Qshiwqshiw*. Its adult population was reported to be 120 in 1804 (Johnson 1982a:111). As a placename, *Qshiwqshiw* exemplifies reduplication, a Chumash grammatical form indicating reference to multiple objects, in this case, lots of *qshiw* 'bird droppings'. There apparently was a seabird rookery in the vicinity of the town.

Pico equated *Qshiwqshiw* with Rancho Viejo, which would place it very near the eastern point of Santa Rosa Island. As noted in the section devoted to the history of mapping island towns, all subsequent researchers have preferred to place *Qshiwqshiw* at the southern end of the broad confines of Becher's Bay, perhaps just southeast of Water Canyon where David Banks Rogers excavated in 1927 (Rogers 1929:329). Pico's testimony cannot be rejected out of hand, given his reliability regarding other town locations, but it must be remembered that his probable sources of information for island town names came from Santa Cruz Island, not Santa Rosa, and they may not have been as familiar with the latter's geography. Nonetheless, Morris (personal communication) and Kennett (1998: 217) report that the location given by Pico in the vicinity of the mouth of Rancho Viejo creek indeed possesses a large archaeological site complex with evidence of Mission Period occupation. Marriage patterns indicate that another town, *Helewashkuy*, not found in Pico's list, may also exist on the east side of Santa Rosa Island, further complicating efforts to correlate archaeological sites with particular town names.

### *Hichimin* (Cheumen)

The second largest town on Santa Rosa Island was *Hichimin*, placed by Pico at "the port." This information is sufficient to identify the site as CA-SRI-60 on Ranch House Creek. The chief of *Hichimin* was Ángel Alaya, 22 years of age in 1815 (MSI Bap. 706). His deceased father, Aliquaya, was once chief of *Qshiwqshiw*, according to the baptismal entry of a relative (MSB Bap. 3717). Ángel's sister was married to Donato Miachet (MSI Bap. 877), who was the son of the principal chief of *Qshiwqshiw*, Apolonio Ssetey (MSI Bap. 891). Intermarriage among chiefly families has been documented frequently using mission register evidence and was a common means of strengthening political relationships between Chumash towns (Johnson 1988a:174-179; Warren and Hodge 1980; and Chapter 3).

### *Silimihi* (Silimi)

Pico reported that *Silimihi* was "in the direction to the west" of *Hichimin*. Most researchers have suggested the location to be at Cañada Verde on the north coast of the island. At this location is a well-

known archaeological site, SRI-40, with many house depressions and glass trade beads (Jones 1956:204-205; Orr 1968:177). Mission registers do not indicate that a chief was in residence at this town, and the modest number of baptisms suggests that *Silimihi* was much smaller in Mission times than the number of house depressions might lead one to believe, or that the town had suffered serious depopulation before missionization began.

### *Niaqla* (Niacla)

*Niaqla* was "more to the west," according to Pico. The small number of baptisms and the mostly older age of people from this town are reminiscent of the case of *Shawa* on Santa Cruz Island. Archaeological investigations by Orr (1968) at CA-SRI-2, "Skull Gulch," revealed a few glass trade beads, but most of the identified occupation appears to date prior to the Protohistoric Period (King 1990:41; Orr 1968:218). This town may have been in decline by the time of European contact, and perhaps no more than a few families resided there during Mission times.

### *Nimkilkil* (Nimquelquel)

Still "more to the west," *Nimkilkil* was perhaps located at Abalone Point, where house depressions are in evidence at CA-SRI-15. Evidence to confirm Mission Period occupation is not known at this time (Kennett 1998:220). *Nimkilkil* was comparable in size to two other Santa Rosa Island towns, *Silimihi* and *Nilal'uy*, according to numbers of baptisms. Aapparently no chief resided there.

### *Nawani* (Nahuani)

Pico's list places *Nawani* "in the direction to the south" from *Nimkilkil*. It was probably situated somewhere along the southwest coast of the island, but an archaeological site containing Mission Period artifacts has not yet been identified in this little-visited part of the island (Kennett 1998:223). *Nawani* meant 'sky' in Cruzeño Chumash (Beeler and Klar n.d.).

This town was represented by only two baptisms, both 12-year-old boys. Both boys' families were residing elsewhere, one at *Shish'uchi* on the mainland in 1801 (MSB Bap. 1748) the other apparently at *Qshiwqshiw* in 1815 (MLP Bap. 2789). The latter boy would have been born about 1803, three years prior to the outbreak of a measles epidemic which according to the President of the Missions, Fr. Estevan Tapis, took more than 200 lives on the islands (Johnson 1982a:63). *Nawani* may not have been very large to begin with, and it could have been extinguished as a viable town during the epidemic year.

### *Nilal'uy* (Nilalui)

"More to the south" from *Nawani* was the town of *Nilal'uy*, identified with CA-SRI-62, a site at Johnson's Lee containing glass trade beads (Orr 1968:228). *Nilal'uy* is the smallest of the three towns on Santa Rosa Island that had a chief named in mission documents. This man was Santos Chacú, baptized at

40 years of age in 1815 (MLP Bap. 2834). His wife was also from *Nilal'uy*, as were all four of his children, two from a previous marriage.

The town was comparable in size to *Silimihi* and *Nimkilkil*, according to number of known baptisms. However, the lack of specified town of origin for many of the Santa Rosa islanders baptized at Mission Santa Inés renders size comparisons problematical. The effect of the measles epidemic on town size is another unknown variable.

### *Helewashkuy* (Elehuascui)

*Helewashkuy* does not occur on Pico's list but is always referred to as a "ranchería" in mission register entries. Some question remains whether it could have been a name used by the Santa Rosa islanders to describe their entire island as a homeland. Anacleto ("Aniceto") *Pahililaitset*, who was baptized from *Helewashkuy* with his parents and brother in 1816 (MSB Bap. 3869), gave Henshaw a vocabulary that included this name as his "tribe's own name" and as a name for "Santa Rosa Island Indians" (Heizer 1955). Nevertheless, it is possible that Henshaw misunderstood what Anacleto told him, or vice versa, since Henshaw thought he was receiving an Island Chumash vocabulary from Anacleto when he actually was given a word list in Barbareño Chumash (Beeler and Klar n.d.). Since towns are the fundamental social-political unit in Chumash society, if *Helewashkuy* was a town name, its use for "tribe's own name" would be an appropriate response to Henshaw's question. *Helewashkuy*'s kinship connections are mainly to other Santa Rosa Island towns towards the east end of the island and to towns towards the west end of Santa Cruz Island, which would suggest a location in the Rancho Viejo or Becher's Bay vicinities. Recently Kennett has suggested that a Late Period midden near Ford Point, CA-SRI-432 with twelve house depressions, might represent the former site of *Helewashkuy* (Kennett 1998:225-226).

### *Xonashup* (Jonachup)

No entries in the baptismal registers give anyone's origin as *Xonashup*, but two other records mention the existence of this town. In one case, an 8-year-old girl from *Silimihi* is stated to be the daughter of a deceased father from "Jonachup" (MLP Bap. 2509). In the second instance, Aniceta, a woman originally baptized from *L'alale* (MLP Bap. 2664) is listed in the record of her second marriage record and in the *padrón* as being from "Jonaxup" (MLP Mar. 876). Aniceta's first marriage was to a man from *Tuqan*, whom she actually had wed in native society prior to their emigration to Mission La Purísima in 1813 (MLP Mar. 766). Although her baptismal entry associates her with a Santa Cruz Island town name, the missionary stated that "Lalale" was on "la ysla grande," a descriptive term he had previously used for Santa Rosa Island (as opposed to "la ysla chica" for San Miguel). The evidence is slim, but would tend to favor a Santa Rosa Island location for *Xonashup*.

### *Tuqan* (Toan)

*Tuqan* is given as both the name for the Island of San Miguel and for the largest town located there, which was almost certainly in the Cuyler Harbor vicinity. The chief of the island in 1813 was Cristóbal Mascál, 35 years old, who went through four marriages at Mission La Purísima between 1813 and 1836. Librado told Harrington that many people lost their lives in a fierce storm during the period when Indians were removed from San Miguel Island. This story has not been substantiated by surviving historic records, although each of the principal missions where islanders were baptized do record incidents where men were lost at sea (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:148-150; Johnson 1982a:72-73). If the canoe accident described by Librado did occur, then the number of baptisms from *Toqan* may underrepresent the population of that town towards the end of its period of occupation.

### *Niwoyomi* (Niuoiomi)

A single household represents *Niwoyomi* in the mission registers of La Purísima (MLP Bap. 2676-2678). A woman named Generosa, 50 years of age, and her two teenage daughters were baptized in 1813 from this "ranchería" that was stated to be near *Tuqan*. Generosa's husband, who was father of the girls, was José Cupertino Camiol from *Nilal'uy* on Santa Rosa Island (MLP Bap. 2672).

## CONCLUSION

This brief overview of Cruzeño Chumash ethnogeography has identified all town names found in mission documents with the primary goal of elucidating the basic social-political groups in island society. An ethnohistoric baseline is thereby provided to understand the subsequent experience of the islanders and their descendants during and beyond the Mission Period.

# CHAPTER 6

# THE CHUMASH SOCIAL POLITICAL GROUPS IN THE SANTA MONICA MOUNTAINS

Chester King and John R. Johnson[8]

## Sources for Ventureño Chumash Ethnogeography

Information about Native American placenames in the Santa Monica Mountains is derived from many sources. In 1542, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, the first European explorer in the area, recorded town names along the coastline between what is today Point Mugu and Point Conception, including two in the Santa Monica Mountains area: Mugu (*Muwu*) and possibly Hueneme (*Wene'mu*).[9] After Cabrillo there is no evidence of anyone recording native placenames until the founding of Franciscan missions in California beginning in 1769. The baptismal records that these missions kept of their recruits usually listed the native name of the town from which the convert came. Names and locations of Indian settlements were also recorded in land title documents and on maps, and are often preserved in placenames developed after the Europeans arrived, some of which are still in use today.

Two educated men in Southern California who were interested in the traditions of California Indians began recording the names of traditional native social and political groups in the Santa Monica Mountains area during the mid-nineteenth century. Hugo Reid, whose wife, Victoria, was Gabrielino (Tongva), published a series of letters concerning the Indians of the Los Angeles Basin in the *Los Angeles Star* in 1852. He listed the names of many Gabrielino settlements together with their modern equivalents (Dakin 1978:220-221; Heizer 1968). Alexander Taylor published a series of articles on California's native peoples under the title "Indianology of California" in the *California Farmer* between 1860 and 1863 (Taylor 1860-63; Heizer 1978:7,13), based on material he had begun collecting much earlier. Both Taylor and Reid combined information gleaned from records and documents with information from interviews with native peoples and early non-Indian residents to prepare their descriptions of native Californian societies.

In 1884, systematic information on the native names and locations of Chumash towns in the Santa

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[8] This chapter was written by Chester King and supplemented by the second author based on further research.

[9] When the forms that were recorded are sufficiently accurate, the town names are given in italics in a practical phonemic alphabet. When such evidence is not known, the most commonly occurring Spanish-derived spelling found in mission records and other ethnohistorical sources is not italicized, to alert the reader to the fact that the Spanish based spelling may not accurately reflect the true native pronunciation.

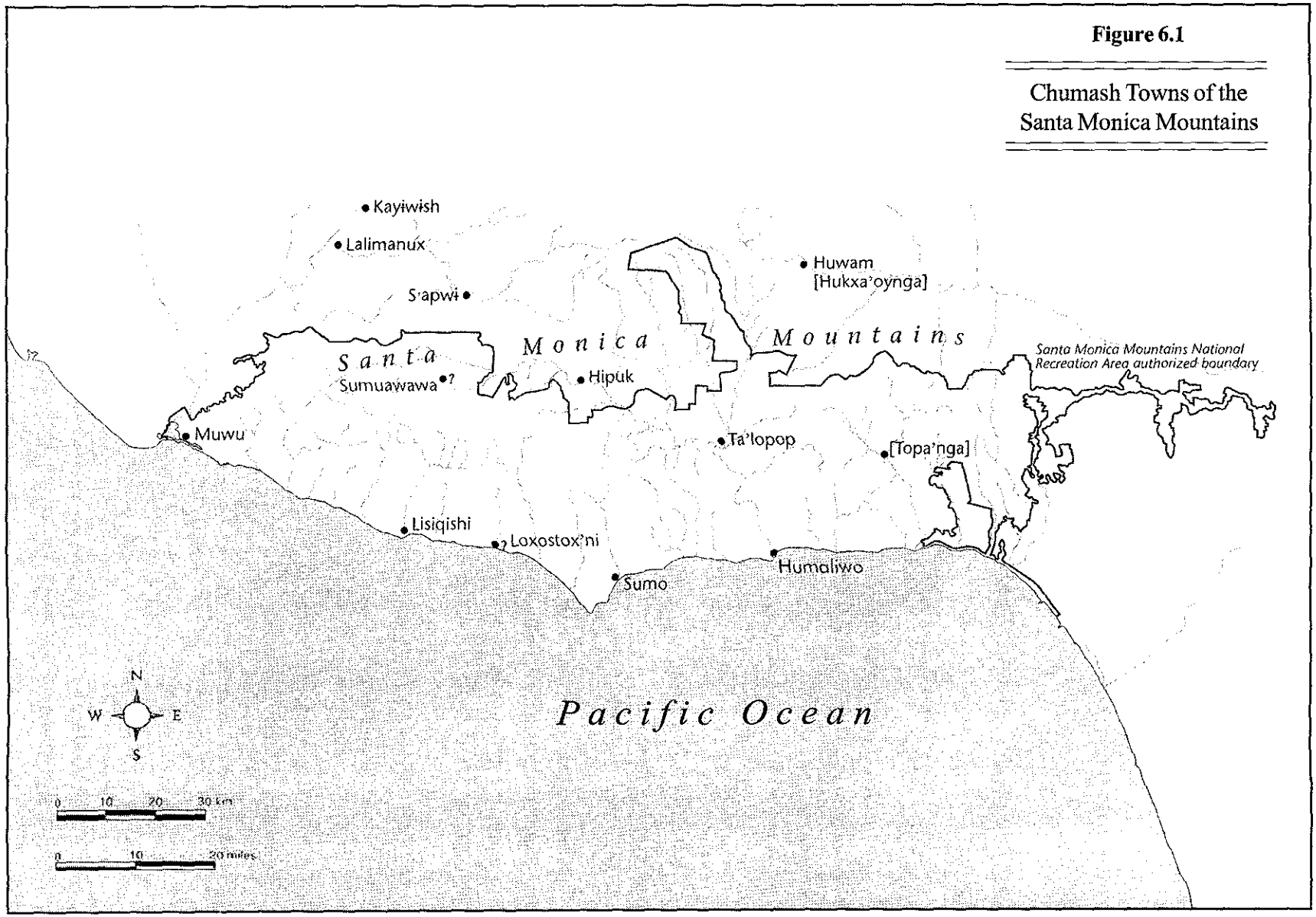


**Figure 6.1**

Chumash Towns of the Santa Monica Mountains

Monica Mountains was assembled and transcribed by Juan Estevan Pico, a native Ventureño speaker of exceptional linguistic talent, for Henry W. Henshaw (see Chapter 2 and 5 for details andAppendix IV for original recording). Despite the accuracy of Pico's recordings, several of the names he recorded in the Santa Monica Mountains cannot at present be associated with names of native towns in that area recorded in the mission registers. This is surprising, given the degree of match between mission record names and the names recorded by Pico on the Channel Islands, and the fact that Pico was a native of the Ventura area, not the Islands, and so might be expected to have known the Santa Monica Mountains area better.

There are at least four possible explanations for this mismatch. (I) Memory of town names and locations had changed over the roughly 80 years that had elapsed between the recording of the names in the mission registers and the time of Pico's writing. In particular, since the acute depopulation experienced by the Chumash peoples recruited into the missions resulted in there being no living descendants from some towns, memory of the names and existence of these towns may have faded. (2) A related possibility is that Pico may not have had firsthand knowledge of some parts of Ventureño territory, and there may not have been knowledgeable descendants from that area who could be consulted, as there were for the Channel Islands. (As mentioned in Chapter 5, however, Pico surely knew and consulted Juliana Salazar whose second husband had come from a town on the coast, *Loxostox'ni*, and she should thus have been familiar with the coastal settlements.) (3) Some town names and locations may have changed since the time when the priests recorded the native towns of their converts, and Pico may have reflected these later names in his list. (Fernando Librado later provided some corroboration for this possibility--see below under *Muwu*.) (4) Some towns may have had smaller populations to provide recruits to the missions, and these town names would therefore occur infrequently in the registers. If these names were inaccurately recorded by the priests, it would be particularly difficult to associate them with a correct recording by Pico. It is also possible that Pico simply erred, but since his identifications of the towns on the Santa Barbara Channel and on the Islands match up so closely with the town names recorded in the mission registers, this seems less likely.

In 1912 John Peabody Harrington began interviewing knowledgeable elderly speakers of Ventureño Chumash at Ventura while carrying out a dialect survey (see Chapter 5). For the next two decades he worked intermittently on the Ventureño Chumash language and culture, consulting Ventureño speakers Fernando Librado, Simplicio Pico, and Cecilio Tumamait for the "commonized" Ventura Mission dialect; José Juan Olivas for Interior Chumash; and also José Peregrino Romero (*Winai*), Candelaria Valenzuela, and Juan Pacífico ("Chocolate"). He "re-heard" Juan Estevan Pico's list of town names (see Chapters 2 and 5) and other early vocabularies during his interviews with Librado, Simplicio Pico, Candelaria Valenzuela, and others. August 9 to 31, 1913, Harrington and Fernando Librado spent on a trip to locate placenames, visiting and/or discussing a number of places, many in the project area, including Hueneme, Point Mugu, Russell Valley, Point Dume, Piru, and Santa Paula (Harrington n.d.b). The material which they all jointly thus assembled is a remarkable record of traditional knowledge, oral history, and language documentation (Mills and Brickfield 1986:2-8, 35-43).

Between 1930 and 1935, Richard Van Valkenburgh was employed by the Los Angeles County Museum under the sponsorship of the State Emergency Relief Act. He obtained ethnographic information concerning archaeological sites by interviewing Native American consultants, especially with regard to places in the western Santa Monica Mountains, and also consulted John P. Harrington about native placenames. On the basis of this research, Van Valkenburgh compiled lists of archeological sites and correlated many of them with native town names (VanValkenburgh 1933, 1935). Unfortunately he did not specify the sources on which these correlations were based. Perhaps VanValkenburgh did document his sources for these names in his original notes, but their whereabouts are unknown at present.

## CHUMASH TOWNS IN THE SANTA MONICA MOUNTAINS

The distribution of towns in the Santa Monica Mountains at the time of recruitment into Spanish missions is shown on the map in Figure 6.1, and the numbers of Chumash people baptized from each of these settlements is presented in Table 6.1. Research with the registers of Mission San Buenaventura (founded in 1782) Mission San Fernando (founded in 1797) and Mission San Gabriel (founded in 1771) has resulted in a synthesis of information on the populations of towns, the pattern of mission recruitment, and types of kinship connections, including links between native towns (see also Chapter 11 and Appendix VII).

Historic and archaeological data indicate that towns in the Santa Monica Mountains were permanent settlements occupied over long periods of time. Many towns mentioned in mission records have been identified to a fair degree of certainty with archaeological sites where historic artifacts have been discovered. The correlation of historic settlements with archaeological sites provides a baseline against which the distribution of earlier settlements can be compared, revealing both continuities and changes in settlement distribution over time.

The account of the 1542-1543 Cabrillo voyage and the diaries of the 1769-1770 Portolá expedition to found the Monterey Presidio contain detailed information about protohistoric settlement distribution along the Santa Barbara Channel mainland coast between Point Mugu and Point Conception. These explorers did not provide similar accounts for the Santa Monica Mountains, but their descriptions of coastal villages can be compared with information drawn from known archaeological sites to supplement the historic record.

At the beginning of intensive European contact in the last third of the eighteenth century, the distance between settlements along the mainland Channel coast was usually less than 6.4 kilometers (4 miles). Two centuries earlier, the lists of Chumash town names recorded during the Cabrillo voyage – coupled with archaeological data – indicate that most towns along the coast were no more than 4.8 to 6.4 kilometers (3 or 4 miles) apart. In some cases they were even closer. The Cabrillo lists of towns indicate that on the coast west of Goleta, Tucumu [*Tuxmu'*] at Arroyo Hondo (abandoned before the first Spanish land expedition in 1769) and Aguin [*'Axwin*] at Las Llagas were both occupied in 1542 (King 1975). These settlements were only 2.1 kilometers (1.3 miles) apart. During the early historic period towns were also very close to each other in places such as Dos Pueblos and the Goleta Slough. The distribution of

**TABLE 6.1**
**Chumash Baptisms from the Santa Monica Mountains[a]**

| VILLAGE | MSB | MBV | MSF | MSG | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **COASTAL AREA** | | | | | |
| *Muwu* | 2 | 188 | 1 | | 191 |
| *Lisiqishi* | | 56 | 4 | | 60 |
| *Loxostox'ni* | | 32 | 3 | 2 | 37 |
| *Sumo* | 2 | 19 | 16 | 1 | 38 |
| *Humaliwo* | 2 | 28 | 87 | 1 | 118 |
| SUBTOTAL | (6) | (323) | (111) | (4) | (444) |
| **CENTRAL AREA** | | | | | |
| *Sumuawawa* | | 55 | | | 55 |
| *S'apwi* | | 62 | | | 62 |
| *Hipuk* | | 24 | 13 | | 37 |
| *Ta'lopop* | | | 29 | | 29 |
| La Amarga | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Yegeu | | | 2 | | 2 |
| SUBTOTAL | 0 | (141) | (45) | (0) | (186) |
| **NORTHERN AREA** | | | | | |
| *Lalimanux* | | 28 | | | 28 |
| *Kayiwish* | 1 | 123 | 4 | | 128 |
| *Kimishax* | | 13 | 8 | | 21 |
| *Shimiyi* | | 2 | 22 | | 24 |
| *Ta'apu* | | 7 | 69 | | 76 |
| SUBTOTAL | (1) | (173) | (103) | (0) | (277) |
| **OTHER** | | | | | |
| El Escorpión [*Huwam* or *Hukxa'oynga*[b]] | | 1 | 74 | | 75 |
| *Topa'nga*[b] | | | 5 | | 5 |
| Ongobepet[c] | | | 4 | | 4 |
| Unid. Origin[d] | | | 11 | | 11 |
| SUBTOTAL | (0) | (1) | (94) | (0) | (95) |
| **TOTAL** | 7 | 638 | 353 | 4 | 1,002 |

[a] Some of the towns listed here are not found in Figure 6.1, either because their identifications remain hypothetical or because their locations are north of the area mapped.

[b] Fernandeño (Tongva) towns with significant numbers of Chumash baptisms

[c] Probably the Fernandeño (Tongva) name for *Humaliwo*.

[d] People of probable Santa Monica Mountain Chumash affiliation.

known protohistoric settlements along the Santa Monica Mountains coast is similar to settlement distribution of protohistoric settlements along the Santa Barbara Channel mainland coast at the same period of time.

Chumash towns were often located on one site but could include separate sites. In 1782, *Shisholop* near Point Conception was composed of four house clusters separated by as much as 2.9 kilometers (1.8 miles) (King and Craig 1978: Map 1, B-1). Settlements such as *Muwu*, at the western end of the Santa Monica Mountains, were composed of more than one archaeological site and covered large areas. These settlements were similar to tribelets in central California, which often included more than one settlement.

## COASTAL SETTLEMENTS

Like the coast of the Santa Barbara Channel to the north, the Malibu coastline east of the Point Mugu area trends east to west. Along the coast are many places well suited to boat launching, and cold-water upwelling offshore provided a rich marine environment. These conditions contributed to a high density of population along the coast. Four Chumash towns occupied during the period of recruitment to Spanish missions between 1785 and 1810 have been identified along the Malibu coast east of *Muwu*. In probable order west to east, these were the villages of *Lisiqishi*, *Loxostox'ni*, *Sumo*, *Humaliwo*. Several studies have discussed these settlements and proposed locations for them (Brown 1967; Edberg 1982; King 1992).

A number of personal names that are possibly Chumash suggest that some of the population of another town, *Komixroyvet* to the east of *Humaliwo,* may have been speakers of one of the Chumash languages or of Chumash descent. This town's Gabrielino (Tongva) name, along with the fact that the mission records document its marriage links only with other Gabrielino (Tongva)-speaking towns, suggest that *Komixroyvet* may have been the westernmost Tongva coastal town.

Juan Estevan Pico lists seven placenames between *Muwu* and *Humaliwo* in the following order and with the following locations:

| | |
|---|---|
| 40. *Muwu* | "La bocana del estero" [mouth of the lagoon]<br>[Henshaw has written "Point Mugu" across this entry] |
| 41. *Simo'mo* | "Al norte del estero" [to the north of the lagoon] |
| 42. *Wixatset* | "Punta pedregosa" [stony, rocky point] |
| 43. *Shalikuwewech* | "Las lajas" [the flat slabs of rocks]<br>[according to Applegate (1975b:42), *Shalikuwewech* means 'it is piled up' in Ventureño Chumash] |
| 44. *Lulapin* | "Boca de la cueva" [mouth of the cave] |
| 45. *Ka'saqtikat* | "Bajada de la cañada 1.ª" [descent/slope of the first canyon] |

46. *Shuwalaxsho* "Cañada de los alizos" [canyon of the sycamores]
47. *Loxostox'ni* "La tercera cañada" [the third canyon]
48. *Humaliwo* "El rancho de Maligo" [Maligo ranch]

Of these names in Pico's list, only *Muwu, Loxostox'ni*, and *Humaliwo* have been positively associated with town names preserved in the mission registers. *Simo'mo* and *Wixatset* were known by Fernando Librado and possibly refer to successive sites for the principal settlement of the *Muwu* polity. *Simo'mo* is actually mentioned once in a mission register entry as a *paraje* 'place' but not a town (see discussion below).

Pico locates three of the remaining five names at successive canyons, moving east from *Muwu*:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ka'saqtikat* | 'Slope of the first canyon' |
| *Shuwalaxsho* | 'Canyon of the Sycamores' |
| *Loxostox'ni* | 'The third canyon' |

Only the last, *Loxostox'ni*, can be matched to a town name occurring in the mission records. There are more than three canyons along the Malibu coast between *Muwu* and *Humaliwo*, so it is not transparent which was Pico's "first canyon" or which his third, although 'Canyon of the Sycamores' would seem to be either Big Sycamore Canyon or Little Sycamore Canyon.

The mission registers recorded baptisms of people from two towns, "Lisichi" and "Sumo," which are identified as on the coast but are not clearly identical with any of the names recorded by Pico. John P. Harrington (n.d.b and Applegate 1975b:34,43) was able to document the Chumash pronunciations of these towns as *Lisiqishi* and *Sumo*.

### ***Muwu* (Mugu)**

V. 'beach'[10]

Pico List Number 40: "La bocana del estero"

Richard VanValkenburgh (1935) noted:

> *Muwu* – a part of the word *muwu-tspu* was a locative name for the Magu Lagoon, the interpretation being 'hand of the beach'.

A sixteenth-century list preserved in the account of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's experiences along the Santa Barbara Channel contains the name "Mugu." *Muwu* was probably the town Cabrillo called "Pueblo de las Canoas" (Wagner 1929:334, n. 7). In 1913-1914 Candelaria Valenzuela told George Henley:

> The Asnona of Mowu (mowu is the name for playa, or sea shore, where these Indians lived) spoke a dialect akin to those settled at Ventura and along the Santa Clara River as far as the mouth of the Piru Creek. The language or rather fractions thereof,

[10] V. is the abbreviation used to indicate the Ventureño Chumash language.

> which I recorded is that spoken by the Ventura, Santa Clara and Sespe branches. It appears they were valley dwellers and never entered very far into the mountainous section to the north [Blackburn 1963: 142].

The importance of *Muwu* as a capital and ceremonial center is indicated in Harrington's notes (Hudson et al. 1977). Stephen Bowers (1897) also collected information concerning the importance of *Muwu*.

People who were natives of residential localities in the vicinity of Mugu Lagoon were apparently baptized at Mission San Buenaventura as from the town of *Muwu*. No settlements closer than *Lalimanux* to the north, *S'apwi* to the northeast, and *Lisiqishi* to the east are listed in the mission registers. The ranchería of *Muwu* apparently included residential areas which were separated by substantial distances. People who lived in La Jolla Valley and Big Sycamore Canyon as well as people from different areas around Mugu Lagoon may have been baptized as from *Muwu*. Archaeological evidence indicates that during the historic and protohistoric period there were several clusters of houses near the shores of Mugu Lagoon. Many of the places in the vicinity of *Muwu* could have been settlements under the jurisdiction of *Muwu*, or successive habitation sites of the polity of *Muwu*. Fernando Librado told Harrington:

> *Muwu* was the first village. Its people died of pestilence. Only two or three families survived. *Simo'mo* was then established. *Wixatchet* was founded after the whites had discovered the country. Its name meant the "third family" in the San Fernando language [Harrington n.d.b]

suggesting that some sites were sequentially founded. Henshaw notes in the margins of Pico's list that "These 3 towns [*Muwu*, *Simo'mo*, and *Wixatset*] were close together." Sites in the *Muwu* area which were occupied during the early historic period and apparently had their own cemeteries include CA-Ven-110, CA-Ven-11 *Wixatset*, CA-Ven-24 *Simo'mo*, and CA-Ven-100.[11]

### *Wixatset*

Pico List Number 42: "Punta Pedregosa"

Richard Van Valkenburgh (1935) noted of archaeological site CA-Ven-11 in the vicinity of Point Mugu: "Wihatset, this site has been erroneously known as *Muwu*."

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[11] Archaeological sites are designated by a system established by the Smithsonian Institution. CA refers to California; LAN refers to Los Angeles County; the number which follows the county designation refers to the particular site. The records of sites in Los Angeles County are maintained at the Archaeological Information Center at UCLA.

### *Simo'mo* (Simomo)

V. 'the saltbush patch'

Pico List Number 41:. "Al norte del estero"

According to Fernando Librado:

> *Simo'mo* was between the beach at *Lulapin* and the "Morro".... *Simo'mo* was the name of the rancheria. The houses of this rancheria resembled a plant which grows up with a thick round top – shape of bunchgrass. This plant was called *mò*.... Village was on the point side of the laguna there. [Harrington n.d.b]

Simplicio Pico told Harrington: *"Simo'mo* was a place by Mugu he thinks. Means saltbrush place [Harrington n.d.b]." One of the baptisms at Mission San Buenaventura (MBV Bap. Bk. 1: 2616) is of a child born to a San Juan Capistrano neophyte while in transit south in 1808. The child "was born close to the Village of Mugú, at the place called Simono [sic]" (Brown 1967: 43).

Fernando Librado confirmed the association of *Simo'mo* with *Muwu* when he told Harrington that "the *wot* of *Simo'mo* and *Muwu* was named *Halashu*." (Hudson et al. 1977:11). Librado also related *Muwu* to *Simo'mo* when he said:

> *Kwaiyin* was appointed *wot* by the people of *Simo'mo* when *Halashu* died. The *'emechesh* or common people had a meeting in the dance half-circle upon the death of *Halashu*. They unanimously wanted *Kwaiyin* to become the new *wot* of *Muwu*... The official title held by *Kwaiyin* was *wot 'ishap 'anishomo Simo'mo*, meaning "captain of the rancheria of *Simo'mo*." He was born at *Simo'mo* like his father, but unlike him ... had Cruzeño Chumash blood [Hudson et al. 1977: 17].

*Halashu* and *Kwaiyin* are known only to oral tradition, because neither were baptized at the missions. *Halashu*'s other son, *Wataitset'*, however, was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1802 as Mariano Guatahichet (MBV Bap. Bk.1 1522) and identified as chief of Mugu, 45 years old. Fernando Librado told Harrington that the "son" (sic) of Captain *Wataitset'* of *Muwu* was Mateo *Wataitset'*.[12] Mateo *Wataitset'* was offered the position of chief of *Muwu* in 1862 but declined. Librado stated that Mateo *Wataitset'* met with captains of other post-contact native towns to the west and northeast to pick another successor:

> Mateo was offered the position of *Muwu* captain during a San Miguel fiesta day in Ventura in 1862. He refused the position, though, since he was too poor to afford the expenses of the office. So at the house of José María Guadalupe, a Ventura Indian and former gran sacristan at Mission San Buenaventura, the various captains held a meeting to select a representative to be captain at *Muwu*. In the presence of Captain Justo of

[12] The mission registers document Mateo as the grandson of *Wataitset'* (see discussion of *Muwu* Lineage 1 in Chapter 11).

> Santa Barbara, Captain Luis Francisco of *S'apwi*, Captain Marcelino of *Sohtonokmu'*, and Captain Rogerio of San Fernando, who was himself tied into the village of *Humaliwo*, Mateo *Wataitset'* appointed Pomposa as the captain to represent *Muwu*. Pomposa was of *Muwu* rancheria on her grandfather's side and still represented that village [Hudson et al. 1977: 31].

Archaeological site CA-Ven-24 was identified by Van Valkenburgh and Harrington as the site of *Simo'mo*. The Los Angeles County Natural History Museum, California State University Northridge, and University of California Los Angeles have conducted excavations at this site. It has recently been looted by artifact collectors.

The baptismal and marriage records of Mission San Buenaventura indicate kinship links between *Muwu* and other coastal towns: *S'axpilil* (Saspili) and *Shisholop* (Sisolop) to the west, *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi) and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu) to the east. *Muwu* also had links to the inland towns of *'Awhay* (Aujay), *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua), *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), and *Kasunalmu* (Casulnamu), as well as, so it seems, to the Gabrielino (Tongva) town of *Wa'achnga* (Guachinga?).

### *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi)

The name "Lisichi" is recorded in the registers of San Buenaventura and San Fernando Missions, though most people from this town were recruited by San Buenaventura Mission. The Mission San Fernando registers state that the village was at the beach. Juan Estevan Pico did not include this name on his list, and Fernando Librado did not know of it either. Harrington noted that a U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey map gives "Cañada Isique" for Arroyo Sequit. There was apparently a shift over time from *Lisiqishi* to "Isique" and then to ""Sequit," a Spanish word for 'cracked earth'.

Site CA-LAN-52 near the mouth of Arroyo Sequit is probably *Lisiqishi*. The site was excavated by the Heye Foundation's Littleton expedition of 1941-2, the Archaeological Survey Association of Southern California, University of California Los Angeles, and the California Department of Parks and Recreation. Pacific Coast Highway (State Route 1) passes through the site. Large areas of relatively intact deposits remain (Burnett 1944; Curtis 1959, 1963).

The baptismal registers of San Buenaventura and San Fernando Missions indicate kinship links between *Lisiqishi* and other towns, including *Muwu* (Mugu), *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni), *Sumo*, and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu)on the coast, and *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua), and *Kayiwish* (Cayegues) inland.

### *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni)

Pico List Number 47: "La Tercera Cañada"

In 1884, Juan Esteban Pico placed this town between "Cañada de los alizos" (either Big or Little Sycamore Canyon) and "El Rancho de Maligo" (Malibu), identifying it as "the third canyon."[13] The third major canyon east of Big Sycamore Canyon could be either Lechuza or San Nicolás Canyon. Historic artifacts have been reported from a site in the vicinity of the mouth of Lechuza Canyon (Burnett 1944). *Loxostox'ni* was possibly located there.

Recruitment from the village apparently ended in 1804 or 1805, according to evidence from the mission registers. Most people were recruited to San Buenaventura Mission, but at least three were baptized at San Fernando Mission. The baptismal records of Mission San Buenaventura and San Fernando indicate kinship links on the coast with *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi), *Sumo*, and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu), and inland with *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua), *Hipuk* (Ypuc), *Ta'apu* (Taapu) and *Kayiwish* (Cayegues).

A Mission San Buenaventura *padrón* begun in 1808 listed Gorgonio Cashtepecotsh of *Loxostox'ni* as a transfer from Mission San Gabriel. Gorgonio married Acacia Supuashmenahuan, a woman from *Shuku* (Rincon Point) on August 14, 1813 (MBV Mar. 735). The marriage entry describes him as the son of a deceased heathen father and Teresa of San Gabriel Mission. Gorgonio and his wife had a child who was baptized at San Buenaventura ( MBV Bap. Bk. 2: 497). Further analysis is necessary to identify Gorgonio and his mother, Teresa, in the registers of Mission San Gabriel.

### *Sumo* (Sumo)

V. 'abundance'?

*Sumo* (now Zuma) apparently referred to all of the Point Dume area and possibly included all the marine terraces between Little Sycamore and Malibu Canyons. *Sumo* was said to mean 'abundance' in the *Humaliwo* Chumash dialect (Applegate 1975b:43). This name abundance is reflected by the high density of archaeological sites in the Point Dume area. It appears that the area was intensively used by the ancestors of the Chumash peoples. It is probable that the coastal terrace area between Malibu and Little Sycamore Canyon was managed with fire to increase production of seeds and bulbs.

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[13] Harrington read Pico's *Tercera* as *Terrera*, "declivity or steep ground." Steep Hill Canyon is the present name of a small canyon approximately half a mile east of Encinal Canyon. The "steep hill" is apparently the "steep hill" between Encinal and Steep Hill Canyons.

[14] Taylor confounded *Sumo* with *S'omis*, a town originally located near the confluence of San Antonio Creek and the Ventura River.

In 1863 Alexander Taylor (1860-1863) wrote:

> Somes[14] [sic] or Somo near hills of that name. ... Malico, range of hills south [east] of Somo.... The old Mugu or Muguigi rancheria near the sea and close to where the Sierra de Sumo comes down to the ocean near the boundary of Los Angeles County [July 24, 1863 pp. 171].

Between 1912 and 1915 Fernando Librado told Harrington:

> Sumo extends out into the sea and at the end of the point was the hill. Sumo is called in nautical language Dume. Dume was a rancheria of the San Fernando tribe, opposite Santa Barbara Island. A colony from Dume lived on Santa Barbara Island [Harrington n.d.b].

People were baptized from the village of *Sumo* at San Fernando and San Buenaventura Missions. Historic artifacts were found at archaeological site CA-LAN-207 at Paradise Cove (Frazen et al. 1960), which is probably the site of the village of *Sumo*. The area has been disturbed by construction at Paradise Cove, and the extent of intact deposit has not been determined. Much of the site is apparently covered by fill.

Other towns on the coast linked to *Sumo* by kinship include *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni), *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi), *Humaliwo* (Humaliu), and *Mishopshno* (Carpinteria), while inland they include *Sumuawawa*, *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Hipuk* (Ypuc), *Ta'lopop* (Talepop), and *Huwam* (El Escorpión). At Mission San Gabriel, an eighteen-year-old woman was baptized María Guadalupe on December 13, 1793 (MSG Bap. 2409). She was said to be of the village of Chacuapibit, and the same town of origin was also listed in the marriage register and the confirmation register (MSG Mar. 498 and MSG Confirm. 1760). On April 5, 1811, a woman named María Guadalupe Alsilmelelene, who was a neophyte of Mission San Gabriel but transferred to Mission San Buenaventura, was buried at Mission San Buenaventura (MBV Bur. Bk. 1: 1534). She was described as the daughter of María Expectación Casiliculelene, aged 68, of Sumo (MBV Bap. Bk. 2: 131). Since María Guadalupe was the only person listed from Chacuapibit in the Mission San Gabriel registers, this may indicate that Chacuapibit is the Gabrielino (Tongva) name for *Sumo*.

### ***Humaliwo* (Humaliu)**

V. '[the surf] sounds loudly'?

Pico List Number 48: "El Rancho de Maligo"

Fernando Librado told Harrington that *Humaliwo* was just east of the Sumo hills. Felipe *'Alilulay* of *Humaliwo* (MSF Bap. 2275 from the island of *Wimal* [Guima], Santa Rosa Island) told Fernando Librado

[15] In Chapter 11, Johnson suggests that Ongobepet may be the Gabrielino name for *Humaliwo* rather than the name of a settlement at Redondo Beach.

the following:

> *Tcułkumiacwit* was the name of a big captain that used to be in *Humaliwo*, and means "centro," for *Humaliwo* was capital (quiet water on coast of Humaliwo, and many good trails leading inland through the mountains to San Fernando and Calleguas). Felipe said that when *Tcułkumiacwit* died, *Tculaiwit* of a rancheria west of *Humaliwo* on the coast (Fernando thinks at Little Sycamore) became captain of *Humaliwo*. When *Tculaiwit* died, *K'waiaicu* of *Muwu* became captain of whole coast of *Humaliwo* and *Muwu*. (*Wataitset'* was brother of *K'waiaicu*) [Harrington n.d.b].

*Humaliwo* was linked by kinship with the coastal towns of *Sumo*, *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni), *Lisiqishi* (Lisicsi), and *Muwu* (Mugu); with the interior towns *Hipuk* (Ypuc) and *Ta'lopop* (Talepop); and Tongva towns Ongobepet (possibly *Ongoovanga* at Redondo Beach)[15], *Apenga* (Apevit), *Yangá* (Yana, downtown Los Angeles), and *Huya* (Juya) on Catalina Island. The wide range of marriage links both to Santa Monica Mountain Chumash and to Western Tongva settlements appears to reflect the central place of *Humaliwo* in the political organization of the Western Tongva and the Santa Monica Mountain Chumash.

Excavations were carried out at the site of *Humaliwo*, CA-LAN-264, by teams from UCLA between 1964 and 1971 (Gibson 1975). Much of the site is preserved. Another site, CA-LAN-690, under Highway 1 to the east, was also apparently part of this historic village (King 1989).

## COASTAL TOWNS THAT MAY HAVE HAD SOME CHUMASH PEOPLE IN RESIDENCE

### *Komixroyvet* (Comicraibit) and *Wa'achvet* (Guaspet)

*Komixroyvet* (Comicraibit) may have been located in the vicinity of Santa Monica. The name only appears in the registers of San Gabriel mission. The name *Komixroyvet* apparently can be analyzed as: *komi* 'east' + *-xro-* (< *xaro-* 'be in a place') + ? + *-vet* (Kenneth Hill, personal communication, see Appendix VI ), but the point of reference is unknown. If *Komixroyvet* is Santa Monica, then Geverovit (*Heverovet*), with which it had some kinship links, is probably the equivalent of San Vicente.[16]

Kinship links seen in the registers of Mission San Gabriel and particular time of mission recruitment from this village indicate that *Komixroyvet* was located on or near the coast in the vicinity of another settlement *Wa'achvet* (Guaspet). "Guaspita" was the name of a land-grant to Antonio Ignacio Ávila in 1822, 1837, and 1846. It became a part of the Sausal Redondo grant (Cowan 1977:38), the diseño of which shows "Guaspita" as a place that appears to be near the confluence of Centinella Creek with the Ballona Creek flood plain. A corral of Guaspita is also shown on the bluffs overlooking the Ballona wetlands near present Lincoln Boulevard. *Wa'achvet* (Guaspet) was apparently near the mouth of Ballona

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[16] The San Gabriel baptismal registers note that Geverobit was "a rancheria adjoining the Pueblo of Los Angeles" (McCawley 1996:57).

Creek, which was the mouth of the Los Angeles River prior to 1824 (Johnston 1962: 77). This location would be consistent with *Wa'achvet*'s apparent importance as a port town, and the presence of what appear to be Chumash names among the converts from there. Baptisms at Mission San Fernando from *Wa'achvet* (Guaspet) and transfers of people baptized at San Gabriel are similar to the patterns of transfers and baptisms from *Syutkanga* (Siutcanga) [Encino], *Kaweenga* (Cabuenga), and *Hahaamonga* (Jajamonga [Los Verdugos] (although a larger portion from *Wa'achvet* were baptized at Mission San Gabriel). The baptismal register of San Gabriel Mission indicates that *Komixroyvet* had ties with many other Tongva towns, but no Chumash ones (Table 6.2 and Appendix VII).

**TABLE 6.2**
**Summary of Kinship Links between *Komixroyvet***
**(Comicraibit and other settlements)**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guaspet | 4 | Seobit | 2 | Japchibit | 1 |
| Geverobit | 3 | Chaubit | 3 | Jajamobit | 1 |
| Yabit | 4 | Amupubit | 1 | Soabit | 1 |
| Jautbit | 1 | | | | |

Of the twelve personal names recorded at San Gabriel from *Komixroyvet* seven appear to be from a Chumash language while five appear to be Tongva:

Men's names ending with *-wit* or *-chet*, similar to men's names in Chumash towns:

MSB Bap. 3492: father = Michuit
MSG Bap. 3836 and MSG Bap. 3728: father = Minánachet (Minazachet)
MSG Bap. 3837: Muarguit, Doroteo

Men's names ending with *-nat* or *-nait:*

MSG Bur. 2268: Sucninait, Miguel Chief of Comicraibit
MSG Bap. 3839: Tupucenibuinat, Faustino
MSG Bap. 3864: Quitzeapuguinat, Onofre
MSG Bap. 3777: father = Menansunat

Names which are probably Tongva:

MSG Bap. 4948: Carony, children from Toppabit, Pimubit, and Apiagma
MSG Bap. 3491: father = Joaquich dead, mother = Yaxachoiguinan
MSG Bap. 3492: mother = Guiguian
MSG Bap. 3661: Vezavan

Other clues to the location of *Komixroyvet* are suggest by the non-Indian witnesses of baptisms at Mission San Gabriel:

Bap. 1836 in 1790: wife of Domingo Aruz, former soldier, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2058 in 1791: (as Soábit) wife of Juan Alvarez, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2133 in 1791: Joseph Antonio Domínguez
Bap. 2203 in 1792: Pasquala Lugo wife of Francisco Silva, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2215 in 1792: María Domínguez, wife of Juan Francisco Reyes, Los Angeles
Bap. 2286 in 1792: Antonio Eugenio Cota
Bap. 2295 in 1792: Francisco Sinoba, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2380 in 1793: Juan Joseph Domínguez, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2426 in 1794: wife of Joseph Moreno of Los Angeles
Bap. 2608 in 1795: José Nicasio, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2679 in 1796: Juachín Higuera, neighbor of Los Angeles
Bap. 2769 in 1796: wife of Bartolomé Tapia
Bap. 2770 in 1796: daughter of Antonio Eugenio Cota
Bap. 2271 in 1796: [Bartolomé] Miguel Ortega
Bap. 3066 in 1799: Bartolomé Miguel Ortega, husband of María Rosa

Perhaps Bartolomé Miguel Ortega and his Chumash wife, María Rosa, served as witnesses when people from *Komixroyvet* were baptized because there were Chumash people living at that village. It is possible that the Ortegas and Tapias were preparing to establish their ranchos Las Virgenes and Topanga-Malibu-Sequit and were serving as baptismal witnesses for recruits from villages on the land they would be granted.

The relatively frequent occurrence of people from *Komixroyvet* being baptized in danger of death at the pueblo of Los Angeles indicates that people from *Komixroyvet* frequently visited Los Angeles. Baptisms of people in danger of death include:

MSG Bap. 1900 in 1790 by Vicente Félix in Los Angeles
MSG Bap. 2161 in 1791 by Vicente Félix in the ranchería next to Los Angeles
MSG Bap. 2582 in 1795 by Luís Lugo in the ranchería next to Los Angeles
MSG Bap. 3157 in 1800 by Joaquín Higuera Alcalde of Los Angeles
MSG Bap. 3187 in 1800 by Manuel Valenzuela, in the ranchería next to Los Angeles.

Victoria, Hugo Reid's wife, was baptized as Bartholomea ( MSG Bap. 3502) on April 17, 1803, as an eight-month-old girl from Comicraibit. Reid's letter to Fray Tomás of Mission San Gabriel in 1837, stating their intention to marry, identifies her as "Bartolomea of Comicrabit" (Dakin 1978: 42, 294). She provided Reid much of the information contained in his letters concerning the Indians of Los Angeles.

### *Apunga* (Apunga/Apuvit)

*Apunga* was possibly the Fernandeño name of Santa Monica or San Vicente. Alternatively, it may have been the name of a settlement at Calabasas. An entry in the Mission San Fernando burial register (MSF Bur. 202-203) specifies:

> On April 1, 1803 the Captain of Apuvit [Domingo (MSF Bap. 1368)] advised us that the day before they had buried the mother and child who had been recently baptized. They had been baptized by [Bartolomé] Miguel Ortega, who then lived at Talepop, [MSF Bap. 1049, 1050] because it appeared they would die soon.

## INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS

### *Lalimanux* (Lalimanuc)

*Lalimanux*, named by the Spaniards San Pedro y San Pablo was a village near La Mojonera near the Conejo Grade. It was described by the Anza Expedition and occurs on the Longinos Martínez list. Its citizens were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. This village is one of the archaeological sites near the base of the Conejo Grade, several of which have been destroyed by recent construction. Font described the site in 1776:

> At the foot of the Cuesta Grande, near a small village, there is a spring of water like a well; and at twelve paces from it there is a good-sized spring of asphalt which rises right there...[Bolton 1930:247].

The baptismal records of Mission San Buenaventura document kinship links between *Lalimanux* and one coastal town, *Muwu*, and a number of interior towns: *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Tal'opop* (Talepop), *Kimishax* (Quimishag), *Sisxulkuy* (Sisulcuy), and *S'eqp'e* (Secpe).

### *Kayiwish* (Cayegues)

V. 'the head'

Pico List Number 52: "Rancho Cayeguas"

Harrington's notes contain the following information:

> The father of Estevan Pico was Cesario Pico, and an uncle of Estevan Pico was José. They told Fernando that *kayiwish* meant 'the head'-- there was a gap there where the road formerly went up to the Conejo. They said that it meant also the 'principal place' for the word was used also of a chief man for some purpose. The name refers to the gap which we saw from the train east of Camarillo's ranch. The first *kayiwish* was on the other side of the gap where a man named Romero had a house-- a jump in this place is called "el salto". The second *kayiwish* is where Camarillo is now--right there.

> The Indians who lived at *kayiwish* talked the Ventura language [Harrington n.d.b].

The first Portolá expedition visited this village on its return from Monterey. On August 16, 1795, the expedition to locate the site for San Fernando Mission stopped there as well:

> We arrived at the Ranchería of Cayeguez, distant from the Camino Reál two leagues to the north [Engelhardt 1927: 4].

CA-Ven-71 is probably the remains of this settlement. The boundaries of the historic village have not been determined.

Citizens of *Kayiwish* were baptized at Missions San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and San Fernando. The baptismal records reveal kinship links with the interior towns of *Lalimanux* (Lalimanuc), *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Kach'antuk* (Cachantuc), *S'eqp'e* (Secpe), *Mat'ilxa* (Matilja), *Mupu*, *Sisxulkuy* (Sisulcuy), *Kasunalmu* (Casunalmu), *Ta'apu* (Taapu), *Kimishax* (Quimishag), and *Hipuk* (Ypuc). *Kayiwish* was also linked with towns on the coast: *Shisholop* (Sisolop), *Muwu* (Mugu) and *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi).

### *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua)

The only information concerning the location of this settlement is that all of the people who were baptized from this town were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura, and that they had kinship links to other towns along the coast west of Point Dume and in the interior to the north. In the synopsis of kinship links (Appendix VII), the greatest number (7) are to *S'apwi* and the next greatest are to *Lisiqishi* (3). Alan Brown (1967:44) suggested that *Sumuawawa* was a coastal town, perhaps at Big Sycamore Canyon.[17] However, the kin links which show more extensive affiliation with inland towns, especially *S'apwi*, suggest that *Sumuawawa* may have been away from the coast. A strong candidate for the location of this town is archaeological site CA-Ven-865 near the southwest end of Hidden Valley. Larry Wilcoxon (personal communication, 1993) reports that test excavations have revealed evidence of historic occupation at this major residential site.

The baptismal register of San Buenaventura Mission indicates that *Sumuawawa* had kinship links with other towns, including *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Hipuk* (Ypuc), *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), *S'eqp'e* (Secpe), and *Kimishax* (Quimishag) in the interior and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu), *Sumo*, *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni), *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi), and *Muwu* (Mugu)on the coast.

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[17] Brown identified the mission register town "Sumuahuahua" with Pico's *Shuwalaxsho* in Big Sycamore Canyon. Phonetically this is not so unlikely an association as the different spellings suggest. However, the people from this town were baptized in 1806 at Mission San Buenaventura, where their town name was recorded by Father José Francisco de Paula Señán, who was normally one of the most careful and attentive recorders of native names.

### *S'apwi* (Sapue)

V. 'house of the deer'

The San Buenaventura mission registers equate the village of "Sapue" with the place El Conejo (also called San Bernardino [MBV Bap. 400] or San Lucas [MBV Bap. 412]). The name El Conejo was used as early as 1776 to designate the Thousand Oaks-Newbury Park area by Fr. Font of the Anza Expedition (Bolton 1930:247). It appears again in a letter of 1783 in which the Indians of El Conejo and El Escorpión were accused of stealing cattle (Bancroft Library MS: CA 23:130). Most of the people from this village were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. The baptismal registers of Mission San Buenaventura reveal kinship links both to other interior towns – *Lalimanux* (Lalimanuc), *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua), *Hipuk* (Ypuc), *Kimishax* (Quimishag), and *S'eqp'e* (Secpe), – and to several coastal settlements, *Muwu* (Mugu), *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi), *Sumo*, and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu).

On their return from Monterey, the Portolá expedition crossed the Santa Clara River, entered the Santa Rosa Valley from the east, passed by the village of *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), and hiked southeast up the Arroyo Conejo. Crespí describes their journey on Saturday, January 13, 1770:

> We set out early in the morning from the San Higinio Creek and Village [*Kayiwish*] here, keeping on the Southeasterly Course. At once upon setting out we entered a good-sized Hollow [Santa Rosa Valley] among high Mountains, good grass-covered soil and a great many Live oak trees; on going through it about a league we climbed a good Mountain Pass, with a good-sized flow of Water dropping down it from the Mountain Heights, into the Hollow we have just left; a grand place for a fine Settlement. I named it the spring of Water at the Cañada de los Reyes [Conejo Arroyo]. We reached the top of the Pass, where the good spring rises in a small depression on top of the Mountains; from its source the Soldiers gathered many cresses. Going about half a league through the Mountains beyond this Spring, we came to another Heathen Village, where there were some houses roofed with close-woven rushes; as soon as they saw us, the people all came out unarmed. I named it the Los Reyes Village; they all wished us to stop there, and gave us many half-baked heads of the Century-plant [yucca], which is common in these Mountains; they were given [glass] Beads, with which they were well pleased, and we continued on ... [Brown 1968: 357; also see Costansó 1911:115 for a similar but less detailed account by Miguel Costansó and Bolton 1926:254 for a shorter account by Crespí].

The village named Los Reyes may be archaeological site CA-Ven-261, located north of Newbury Park. When Crespí returned on April 29, 1770, he observed that Los Reyes spring rose at the foot of a hill and had a good flow of at least two *regaduras* (Brown 1968). There is a large spring that fits this description on the east side of the Arroyo Conejo north of CA-Ven-261. Furthermore, Crespí describes Los Reyes village as lying roughly one and one-half leagues to the north by northwest of the San Pedro Mártir village at Lake Sherwood (Brown 1968).

Another village site, CA-Ven-737 (in the vicinity of the Thousand Oaks Golf Course), has visible house depressions and contains historic artifacts. This may have been Los Reyes village, but probably it was part of the historic village of El Conejo. It is possible that Los Reyes village seen by the Portolá expedition was abandoned before people were recruited to Mission San Buenaventura. Stephen Bowers excavated in an historic cemetery on the Conejo Plateau before 1887 (Bowers 1963).

### *S'aptuhuy* (San Pedro Mártir?)

V. 'house of the rain'

Pico List Number 50. "El Conejo"

Crespí named a town located in Hidden Valley San Pedro Mártir. This is probably the Canterbury Lake village site at Lake Sherwood (CA-Ven-179). Crespí said:

We continued on, and about three leagues from San Higinio [*Kayiwish*] came into another Hollow where there was a good amount of Live-oak trees and another Village with some eight Houses, like the last one [los Reyes]. Close by they had a good little Stream of Water, at which we set up Camp, and I named this Village San Pedro Martyr [Brown 1968:357-358].

In April of 1770, Crespí noted that the San Pedro Mártir village lay one league west of the Triunfo village (*Hipuk*) and one and one-half leagues south of the Los Reyes village (Brown 1968:17-18). This village may be *S'aptuhuy* (Applegate 1975b:41; Harrington n.d.b.; King 1975:173). *S'aptuhuy* is not mentioned in the mission registers, indicating that it was probably abandoned before 1795. When Crespí visited San Pedro Mártir, on January 14th, he noted "some eight houses" (Brown 1968:358). When he returned on April 29th he noted a "small-sized Village with some twelve Grass Houses" (Brown 1968:17; Piette 1946:112).

Richard Van Valkenburgh equated the Canterbury Lake site CA-Ven-179, from which a Los Angeles County Natural History museum expedition excavated burials with glass beads, with the village of *S'aptuhuy* (1935). Some of this site has been destroyed by recent grading.

### *Hipuk* (Ypuc)

(V. 'elbow' [Malibu dialect])

Pico List Number 49: "El Triunfo"

El Triunfo Valley or Russel Valley is now the site of Westlake Village, a housing development constructed in the late 1960's. El Triunfo appears in the baptismal registers of San Buenaventura (MBV Bap. Bk. 1: 439 and 1524) and San Fernando (MSF Bap. 1299 and 2412) as an alternative name for *Hipuk* (Ypuc). This town was mentioned in the diaries of several early expeditions. On January 14, 1770, Crespí described the town as having ten grass houses (Brown 1968:358), and Portolá described it as having 30

people (Smith and Teggart 1909:49). Costansó (1911) simply described Triunfo as a small village. Thirty-seven people from *Hipuk* were baptized at Missions San Buenaventura and San Fernando.

In 1792, José Longinos Martínez traveled from Calabasas to El Triunfo. He rode three leagues from Calabasas to Las Virgenes, thence three leagues to Agua Amarga (Medea Creek), and thence four leagues to El Triunfo (L. Simpson 1939:79). Longinos Martínez's leagues were much less than the true Spanish league; however, if one compares the relative distances traveled, contemporary Westlake lies the proper distance from Medea Creek. Apparently the entire site of *Hipuk* (CA-LAN-186 and CA-LAN-242) was destroyed by the construction of Westlake in 1966.

Kinship links are documented in the registers of San Fernando and San Buenaventura Missions to the interior towns of *Kayiwish* (Cayegues), *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua), *S'apwi* (Sapue), *Ta'lopop* (Talepop), Tusip (Medea Creek?), and *Hukxa'oynga* (Jucjauynga, El Escorpión). Coastal towns linked with *Hipuk* are *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni) *Sumo*, and *Humaliwo* (Humaliu). Harrington (n.d.b) noted that a song of Martina's went: "I am from *hipuk*, I am from *minimol* [north], I am from *michumásh* [Santa Cruz Island]".[18]

## Agua Amarga (Medea Creek)

[Yegeu?, Tusip?]

On January 15, 1770, Crespí noted a small village in the vicinity of Medea Creek, and on April 28, 1770, he described the community as having twelve grass-roofed houses. The Medea Creek village was probably occupied until at least 1776, since the Anza Expedition reported seeing four small villages in the inland Santa Monica Mountains that year (Bolton 1930:247). The village apparently was abandoned by 1792, however, for in that year José Longinos Martínez passed through the Santa Monica Mountains and did not encounter it. Agua Amarga ('Bitter Water') was a place located halfway between Las Virgenes and El Triunfo. Martínez noted that it was a place with water, and not an Indian village (L. Simpson 1939:79). Agua Amarga was probably renamed Medea Creek in the 1830s with the regranting of the Rancho Las Virgenes. Medea Creek bisected this new grant.

It may be that this village was not mentioned under its native name in mission registers because few natives of the area were baptized before 1797, and there was apparently at least a five- or six-year hiatus between the abandonment of this village and the recruitment of converts from adjacent villages. It is also possible that some of the natives of this settlement are recorded in the registers of San Fernando Mission as from the unlocated settlements of "Tusip" or "Yegeu" (Edberg 1982). One person is recorded at Mission San Fernando as from Amarga, however. A three-year-old boy, Miguel, baptized January 1, 1803 as "de la Amarga" (MSF Bap. 749). His father was said to be *gentil* (unbaptized) and his mother described as a *catecumena* (a person receiving religious instruction before being baptized). His parents

[18] See Chapter 10 for a brief biography of Martina, a Santa Cruz Island Indian woman from *Kaxas*.

have been tentatively identified as Francisco Antonio Mitolo and Francisca Antonia from El Escorpión (MSF Bap. 1263 and 1264).

The town name "Tusip" appears in only the Mission San Fernando registers, and of six individuals baptized, one (MSF Bap. 271) was the mother of José Tiburcio (MSF Bap. 168), an eight-year-old boy from the ranchería of *Hipuk*. This indicates that Tusip may have been near *Hipuk*.

Yegeu is another town which may have been located at Medea Creek or Lindero.[19] Two people from Yegeu, a mother and daughter, were baptized at San Fernando, and the village had a link with *Loxostox'ni*. María Lorenza Solotimeu (MSF Bap. 99), a native of Yegeu, was baptized on the same day as people from the villages of Tutaburunga and Tusip. She was an aunt of a boy named Pablo, who was the first person baptized from *Humaliwo* at Mission San Fernando(MSF Bap. 755). Pablo's uncles were Juan and Luis; the latter may have been Luis of Cabuenga (MSF Bap. 117) and Juan, also of Cabuenga (MSF Bap. 331).

A further piece of evidence supporting Yegeu's identification as a Ventureño Chumash town in the Santa Monica Mountains is contained in the San Buenaventura baptismal register. On July 7, 1807, an infant named María Josefa Sualienahuan was baptized at *Loxostox'ni* by José Antonio Ortega, sixteen-year-old son of Bartolomé Miguel Ortega and his Cruzeño Chumash wife, María Rosa, residents of Las Virgenes. The unbaptized father of this child, Subuc or Sulucucazé, was said to be from "Yegehue" (MBv Bap. Bk. 1:1963). The parents' native names recorded in this infant's baptismal entry, permit their identification after they were baptized at Mission San Fernando. The father, Miguel Sulucucase (MSF Bap. 1546) was said to be from *Sumo* at the time of his baptism, and the mother, Michaela Jultimelelelene (MSF Bap. 1457) was from *Loxostox'ni*. Yegeu's connections to *Loxostox'ni, Sumo*, and *Humaliwo* on the coast and to *Kaweenga* (Cabuenga) in the San Fernando Valley are what might be expected for a town located in the vicinity of La Amarga.

### *Ta'lopop* (Talepop)

The town of *Ta'lopop* is identified with Las Virgenes in the mission registers. No diary entries have been found describing this settlement, which was south of the main route taken through the mountains. Nonetheless, the valley that extends northward from Malibu Creek State Park, past Brents Junction and onto the Ahmanson Ranch, has been known as Las Virgenes Canyon ever since the Portolá expedition of 1769. Archaeological investigations at CA-LAN-229 indicate it is the historic village of *Ta'lopop* (King et. al 1982). This is apparently the most intact historic village in the interior of the Santa Monica Mountains.

Twenty-nine people were baptized at Mission San Fernando as natives of *Ta'lopop*. The registers of San Fernando and San Buenaventura Missions indicate that *Ta'lopop* had kinship links to *Humaliwo* (Humaliu), *Sumo,* and *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni) on the coast, and to *Hipuk* (Ypuc), *Lalimanux* (Lalimanuc)

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[19] Although we have taken the position here that Yegeu might be La Amarga, the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely that this name is but a dialectical variant or unusual spelling for Cayegues (*Kayiwish*).

and *Huwam* (El Escorpión) in the interior.

The name for the *Ta'lopop* village appears in a number of variant forms in the baptismal and marriage registers of Mission San Fernando. Clemence abstracted the San Fernando registers and recorded *Ta'lopop* as: "Aleepo en el rancho de Miguel Ortega", "Jolopoc," "Jolopop," "Talepop," and "Taleypop" (Merriam 1968). In the Temple notes, it is variously spelled as "Talepop" (MSF Bap. 813 and 814), "Taleypop" (MSF Bap. 869), "Teleyopo" (MSF Bap. 870), "Tolopoc" (MSF Bap. 982), "Tolopop" (MSF Bap. 987), "Tolopo" (MSF Mar. 662), "Aleepo" (MSF Mar. 754), and "Talopóp" (MBV Bap. Bk. 1: 1869) (Temple 1964). *Ta'lopop* was also referred to as Ortega's Rancho (MBV Bap. Bk. 1: 1869) or Rancho Las Virgenes.

## INLAND TOWNS THAT MAY HAVE HAD SOME CHUMASH PEOPLE IN RESIDENCE

### El Escorpión
### [*Hukxa'oynga* (Jucjauynga) or *Huwam* (Huam)]

The town of El Escorpión in Bell Canyon at the western end of the San Fernando Valley was one of the larger villages in the San Fernando Valley during the period of recruitment from the area by San Fernando Mission. Seventy-five people were baptized from El Escorpión. Many of the native names of people from this village have endings characteristic of names in Chumash languages. The kinship links documented in the mission registers (Table 7.3) indicate that at the end of the eighteenth century most close ties and marriages with non-El Escorpión people were with people born in the adjacent Chumash-speaking towns of *Ta'lopop* (Las Virgenes) at Malibu Creek State Park, *Hipuk* at Westlake Village, and *Ta'apu* in Tapo Canyon north of Simi Valley, plus *Shisholop* at Ventura. Roughly half as many kinship links are documented with the Tongva-speaking towns *Momonga* in Chatsworth, Giribit, and Santa Monica (*Komixroyvet*?). Archaeological site CA-LAN-413 was apparently the remains of the village of El Escorpión. A large area of the site has been destroyed by development (Romani 1978).

Candelaria Valenzuela, an authority on Ventureño Chumash language and culture (Blackburn 1963), was of mixed Fernandeño and Ventureño Chumash ancestry, according to John P. Harrington (1942). Both of her parents were from *El Escorpión* (see Figure 11.34 and discussion of El Escorpión Lineage 3 in Chapter 11).

The El Escorpión land grant of 1/2 league was granted in 1845 to Odón Chijuya, Urbano, and Manuel (Indians) who were claimants for 1110 acres, patented Sept 26, 1876 (Cowan 1977:34). John P. Harrington was told that Odón Chijuya was a native of *Humaliwo*.[20] Espíritu, the eldest daughter of Odón Chijuya, the sole surviving Indian grantee of the Rancho El Escorpión, married Miguel Leonis. Their house, now known as the Leonis Adobe in Calabasas, contains exhibits about the history of the El Escorpión grant. (see also Cohen 1989; Gaye 1965; Johnson 1997b; Phillips 1993).

[20] See El Escorpión Lineage 3 in Chapter 11 for a full discussion of Odón Chijuya's probably identity in mission records.

**TABLE 6.3**
**Number of Kinship Links Documented between El Escorpión and Other Villages**

| Settlement | Links |
|---|---|
| *Ta'lopop* - Las Virgenes | 2 |
| *Hipuk* - Westlake Village | 2 |
| *Ta'apu* - Tapo Canyon | 3 |
| *Shisholop* - Ventura | 1 |
| Momonga - Chatsworth | 2 |
| Giribit [unlocated] | 1 |
| *Komixroyvet?* - Santa Monica? | 1 |

### *Topa'nga* (Topanga)

Sétimo López, a native speaker of the Fernandeño (Tongva) language, told Harrington that *topá'nga* was the original pronunciation for Topanga, and he considered the name to be derived from the Ventureño Chumash language. José María Zalvidea, another Tongva speaker, told Harrington that Topanga Canyon referred to

> point that the mountain range which ends there in the sea. Road through the mountains from *topá'nga* to San Fernando. There was a cemetery there close to the beach with whale ribs erected over the graves. Zalvidea has many ancestors buried there (Harrington n.d.b).

The fathers of three *Topa'nga* children baptized on March 6, 1803 had names with the endings *-chet* and *-wit* as is common in Chumash men's names. They were Chinachet (possibly MSF Bap. 1307 Chinina of *Ta'lopop*), Arinapachet (MBv Bap.Bk. 1:2047 Alinapachet of *Loxostox'ni*), and Yayachet (possibly MSF Bap. 1393 Jayyachet of *Humaliwo*). Only one child was baptized at Mission San Gabriel from *Topa'nga*.

### *Syutkanga* (Siutcanga)

"El Encino"

El Encino and *Syutkanga* (or *Syutkavet*) are correlated on the basis of information in the San Fernando and San Gabriel Mission registers along with information given to Harrington by Sétimo López and José Juan Olivas. Harrington (n.d.b) noted that "Sétimo López said *Syutkanga* was El Encino, while *syútka* was 'any encino.'"

José Juan Olivas claimed the Ventureño Chumash name of this town was *Siyuhi* (Harrington n.d.).

Brown (1967:8) commented that the Portolá expedition observed near Encino:

> ... a large village or villages showing, as the Spanish writers themselves realized, typical Channel traits: multiple chiefs, regularly arranged grass-roofed dwellings, underground dance houses, beads and beautifully carved wooden flutes.

*Syutkanga*'s kinship links to other villages in the registers of San Gabriel and San Fernando Missions are all to Tongva-speaking towns. Three men's names were recorded from *Syutkanga* that end in *-chet* or *-uit* and look like Chumash names: Amaguináchet (MSG Bap. 3842), Najaguit (MSG Bap. 3897), and Tomapiyunachet (the father of MSF Bap. 105).

A provisional grant, called Encino, one league in size, was made about 1840; on July 18, 1845, it was regranted to three Indians: Román, Francisco Papabubaba, and Roque (Gudde 1969:102; Johnson 1997b:260). Francisco Papabubaba was a Tataviam Indian, and Roque was an emancipated Barbareño Chumash Indian from Mission Santa Bárbara. They were sons-in-law of Tiburcio Cayo, a Chumash man from *Ta'apu* who had married Teresa, a woman born at *Syutkanga* (Johnson 1997a).[21] Vicente da la Ossa later obtained this land from Rita, a daughter of Francisco Papabubaba, and he later was claimant for 4461 acres, patented Jan. 8, 1873 (Cowan 1977:34). The archaeological site of *Syutkanga* is CA-LAN-43, in the vicinity of the intersection of Ventura Boulevard and Balboa Boulevard. A portion of the site is probably present at Encino State Park. The extent of the site has not been determined, but a large part has been destroyed by recent redevelopment work in the area.

## CONCLUSIONS

### Frequencies of Baptisms from Native Towns

The minimum population of settlements in the Santa Monica Mountains area can be inferred from the mission baptismal registers. Many baptisms at San Fernando do not include settlement designations;

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[21] Descendants of Tiburcio Cayo and Teresa through their granddaughter, Rita, are active in Chumash community affairs today and attended two of the National Park Service meetings that were held in April 1993 to explain the nature of this project.

therefore, the numbers of people from these towns baptized at San Fernando is probably greater than indicated. It is probable that the number of people who were recruited by the missions represents about half the population that lived at the towns prior to 1770 and the introduction of diseases by the Spanish colonists (see Chapter 7). Some of the interior Santa Monica Mountain towns were abandoned between 1770 and 1800 prior to recruitment by missions. People from some of these towns seem to have moved to other towns that were occupied into the mission period.

Those towns that grew were associated with cattle ranches. Archaeological remains from the post-1782 occupation at CA-LAN-229 (*Ta'lopop* at Malibu Creek State Park) and post-1782 burials at the historic village of *Humaliwo* indicate that the peoples of Santa Monica Mountain Chumash towns were involved with the operation of the large cattle ranches founded during the last decade of the eighteenth century. The abandonment of some communities may have resulted from the migration to cattle ranches at Malibu, Las Virgenes, El Conejo, Encino, Simi and Cahuenga as well as from population loss due to newly introduced diseases (Edberg 1982: 41).

The abandoned communities included San Pedro Mártir (*S'aptuhuy*?) and Agua Amarga (Medea Creek). There may have been others which were not visited by the explorers or which were not recorded by Harrington. It is also possible that one or two of these were not abandoned during the mission period, but instead have simply not been recognized in the mission registers. This abandonment pattern is indicated by the small population counts for Calabasas, Topanga (*Topa'nga*), Yegeu (Medea Creek?), and Tusip, which were evidently near the point of abandonment during the mission period.

At the village of *Kayiwish*, the number of baptisms (128) is twice the number of people reported residing there in 1770 (60). At *S'apwi*, the number of baptisms (62) is also greater than the 1770 accounts, and at *Hipuk*, the number of baptisms (37) is equal to the 1770 accounts (30-50). Those interior villages which survived into the mission period have recorded populations greater than or equal to those noted in the earlier explorers' accounts. It appears that in the period between 1770 and 1800, some villages were abandoned by their inhabitants, who joined other villages that were then occupied into the mission period.

## Chumash-Tongva Boundary

In 1966, Jack Forbes observed:

> Chumash-speaking groups may have resided further to the east than has usually been supposed. The Simi Valley and Las Virgenes-Triunfo region was inhabited by the Chumash, but in addition, the personal names of Indians converted from El Escorpión, Topanga, Siutcanga [Encino] and Castac are definitely Chumash. ... Tentatively, it would appear that the Chumash inhabited the coast as far as Topanga, and perhaps beyond, and in the El Escorpión section of the San Fernando Valley [1966:138].

Alan Brown also noted that the western San Fernando Valley and Topanga appeared to be Chumash:

> Though Malibu is the last Chumash place-name on the shore toward Los Angeles, the few personal names unequivocally reported at Shoshonean-speaking Mission San Fernando from Topanga, just beyond Malibu, are Chumash, and the same is clearly true of the much larger inland village called El Escorpión by the Spaniards, at the northwest end of the San Fernando Valley: the language boundary is drawn accordingly on Map 1. ... In mission records, occasional Chumash personal names occur as far and beyond Encino, where the explorers of 1769 had found a large village or villages showing, as the Spanish writers themselves realized, typical Channel traits [Brown 1967:8].

It appears that the missionaries recorded the settlement names along the Chumash-Tongva Boundary in the language most commonly spoken at the mission when that mission began to baptize native converts. At San Fernando and San Gabriel Missions, Chumash villages may have been recorded under their Tongva names. The registers of other missions show a similar pattern of recording settlements under the names given by Indians residing at missions, even for towns located a short distance beyond language boundaries. Analysis of existing information indicates that the Chumash-Tongva boundary could possibly have been east of Topanga near Santa Monica Canyon and in the vicinity of El Escorpión at the west edge of the San Fernando Valley.

**Plate IV.** Ventureño presentation basket, Mission Period.
*Courtesy of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology.*

# CHAPTER 7

# CHUMASH POPULATION HISTORY

John R. Johnson

## Estimates of Population Size and Review of Missionization History

The original size of the population within the territory inhabited by Chumash-speaking peoples has been estimated by various researchers, using two types of data. One consists of the reports of the first Spanish expedition to pass through Chumash territory in 1769 led by Captain Gaspar de Portolá. These accounts describe the sizes of the towns they passed through, the number of houses in each, and often the number of canoes, as well as the number of people who came out to greet them. The second type of data consists of actual baptisms recorded at the missions.

The estimates have ranged from as low as 8,000 (Kroeber 1925:551) to as high as 25,000 (Cook 1976b:37-38), with each succeeding reevaluation tending to revise the total upward. Estimates of a total population of about 15,000, first proposed by Brown (1967), or 18,500, the mean of the probable range presented by Cook (1976b, 1978), have been most often cited in recent literature (e.g., Johnson 1989a; Keeley 1988; Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994). The total number of 9,972 Chumash converts recorded in the mission records, presented in Table 7.1 (Part 1), comes to either 66.5 percent or 53.9 percent, respectively, of the total original population estimates of 15,000 to 18,500. Tables 5.1, 6.1, and Tables VIII.1-VIII.12 in Appendix VIII, give the number of people baptized at each mission from each of the Chumash towns and those of their Takic neighbors.

Thus if the population estimates of 15,000 to 18,500 are accurate, great numbers of people were not baptized. There are a number of explanations that would account for this discrepancy: (1) The currently proposed estimates of population are too high, and Kroeber was closer to the correct number; (2) Large numbers of people abandoned their traditional territories and fled, presumably to the interior, out of the area under Spanish control; or (3) Great numbers of peoples died before missionization was complete, and thus do not appear in the mission registers.

The population estimates may well be too high. It is possible that members of the Portolá expedition were misled in estimating the populations of the towns they visited, thereby throwing off the population estimates that are based on these numbers. The crowds the Spaniards observed and counted may have included curious visitors from neighboring towns who wanted to see the remarkable new strangers.

**TABLE 7.1**
**Summary of Indians Baptized at Six Missions**
(Part 1)

| MISSION | YEARS COVERED | NORTHERN CHUMASH | BARBAREÑO INESEÑO PURISIMEÑO | ISLAND CHUMASH | VENTURA & SANTA CLARA CHUMASH | SANTA MONICA MOUNTAINS CHUMASH | CASTAC/ EMIGDIANO CHUMASH | PART 1 SUB TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| San Luis Obispo | 1772-1850 | 1,118 | 217 | | | | 2 | (1,337) |
| La Purísima | 1788-1858 | 41 | 1,814 | 213 | | | | (2,068) |
| Santa Inés | 1804-1886 | 1 | 445 | 235 | 2 | | | (683) |
| Santa Bárbara | 1796-1900 | 1 | 2,592 | 367 | 10 | 7 | 19 | (2,996) |
| San Buenaventura | 1782-1922 | | 232 | 440 | 1,122 | 638 | 37 | (2,469) |
| San Fernando | 1797-1855 | | | 15 | 21 | 353 | 30 | (419) |
| TOTAL | | 1,161 | 5,300 | 1,270 | 1,155 | 998 | 88 | (9,972) |

**TABLE 7.1**

**Summary of Indians Baptized at Six Missions**

(Part 2)

| MISSION | FERNANDEÑO GABRIELINO | TATAVIAM | UNID EARLY TAKIC | KITANEMUK SERRANO | YOKUTS & TUBATULABAL | OTHER | UNID. ORIGIN | CHILDREN BORN AT MISSION | PART 2 SUBTOTAL | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| San Luis Obispo | | | | | 187 | 4 | 32 | 1,327 | (1,550) | 2,887 |
| La Purísima | 1 | | | | 65 | | 5 | 1,198 | (1,269) | 3,337 |
| Santa Inés | | | | 22 | 61 | 1 | 11 | 1,009 | (1,104) | 1,787 |
| Santa Bárbara | | | | 3 | 15 | 4 | 7 | 1,903 | (1,932) | 4,928 |
| San Buenaventura | 2 | 2 | | | 20 | 5 | 11 | 1,849 | (1,889) | 4,358 |
| San Fernando | 519 | 429 | 28 | 114 | 5 | 56 | 135 | 1,312 | (2,598) | 3,017 |
| TOTAL | 522 | 431 | 28 | 139 | 353 | 70 | 201 | 8,598 | (10,342) | 20,314 |

## Evaluating the Possibility that Many Chumash Towns Fled When Confronted with Missionization

No evidence exists that any major component of the original populations who spoke Chumash languages remained apart from the missions by the close of the Mission Period with the exception of a few individuals who had married into Yokuts and Kitanemuk communities. Moreover, such a course of action would have been difficult to pursue. All parts of California, despite what Europeans of the time thought or reported, were fully inhabited by native peoples. Thus one group could only move to a new location with the permission and support of the group already controlling that area, or by forcing that group to cede its territory. Although Europeans seem to have thought that Indian people could find sustenance anywhere, native peoples in fact required access to a number of fixed basic resources: reliable water, oak groves, grain meadows, fish (either in the ocean or in spawning streams), game, etc. Locations which combined easy access to and control of these indispensable resources would have all been claimed, and they would already be supporting close to the maximum human population that environment could carry.[22]

A native group wanting to escape contact with the Spanish would either have to expel some other, more isolated group to gain access to the necessary resources, or convince them to share and risk exceeding the carrying capacity of their environment. A group with whom the fugitives were already much intermarried might be temporarily persuaded, but once the results of exceeding the carrying capacity of the environment began to be felt, dissension would surely have developed, and the displacing group would have once again been in difficulty.

A great deal of evidence exists that there was increased disease at this time and that it had mortal effects on native population size. There is evidence, too, that many towns experienced significant depopulation prior to missionization (see Chapter 6). For example, almost a decade before the majority of converts from the Channel Islands were recruited into the missions between 1814 and 1816, the missionaries reported a major measles epidemic in which more than 200 people died on the Channel Islands, thus reducing the number of people available for baptism (see Chapter 5). In fact, in arriving at their higher population estimates, Cook (1976b) and Brown (1967) assume a significant decline in population in the Chumash area prior to the establishment of missions.

## Missionization History

The first exposure of Chumash peoples to European diseases came in August of 1769 with the passage along the Channel of the overland expedition commanded by Portolá. This was the same expedition that also provided the information about town size on which population estimates have been based. The expedition traveled north from San Diego in search of Monterey and then returned, passing a second time through Chumash territories in January and February of 1770. Three journals were kept during the

[22] Regarding escape by individuals, see further discussion in Chapter 9.

expedition, by the engineer of the expedition: Miguel Costansó (1911, reprinted 1992); by Father Juan Crespí (Bolton 1927; Brown 1968, n.d.); and by Portolá himself (Smith and Teggart 1909). These provide fascinating, detailed descriptions of the many towns along the Channel and their inhabitants, and they constitute a major source of our knowledge about Chumash societies before contact with Europeans.

Even though Mission San Gabriel was founded in 1771 to the east of the area inhabited by Chumash peoples, and Mission San Luis Obispo a year later in the northwest area, most of the towns of the Chumash towns experienced only temporary, informal contacts with the Spanish during the subsequent decade. European trade goods and diseases spread, however, partly from one native group to another and partly through the Spanish parties that passed through their territories going between the missions. Thus the native population probably experienced some decline during this decade. A notch in the population pyramid reconstructed for Chumash peoples does indicate a higher death rate for children born in the 1770s – presumably the result of one or more epidemics. In the 1770s both typhus and measles epidemics reportedly occurred in Baja California (Jackson 1981; Johnson 1988a: Chapter 5; Johnson 1989).

Mission San Buenaventura was established in 1782, thirteen years after the Portolá expedition had first made contact in the area where Central Chumash was spoken. This initiated the process of proselytizing inhabitants of the towns speaking Chumash languages in the area that is now under the stewardship of the Santa Monica National Recreation Area. Brown (1967:77) estimates that a 30 percent decline in the population of the Channel coast had taken place during that thirteen-year interval.

A military base, Presidio Santa Barbara, was also established in 1782 on the densely- populated channel coast near the town of *Syuxtun* (contemporary Santa Barbara), with the assistance of the native population there, who helped in the necessary construction. Four years later the Mission of Santa Bárbara was founded in the same area. The next year Mission La Purísima Concepción was founded on the Santa Ynez River to the west (see map) in 1787, almost twenty years after the Portolá expedition had first passed through the territory.

Five years after that, Captain George Vancouver sailed from Point Conception to Mission San Buenaventura, while on his round-the-world voyage in 1792. He described seeing many populated native towns along the coast whose citizens seemed eager to have contact with the ships.

> Immediately to the eastward of Point Conception (the coast from thence taking an eastern direction) we passed a small Indian village [*Shisholop*], the first we had observed along the shores of these southern parts of New Albion. The inhabitants made a fire the instant we came within their view, but no one ventured to pay us a visit. The prevailing strong gale ... probably prevented their embarking. ...
>
> The coast continued in this easterly direction about twenty-three miles from Point Conception, to a point where it took a southerly turn, from whence the country gradually rose to mountains of different heights...notwithstanding the dreary appearance of the coast as we passed along, it seemed to be well inhabited, as several villages were

> seen at no great distance from each other in the small bays or coves that form the coast. ...
>
> [Anchoring at latitude 34° 24', longitude 240° 32'] ....About sun-set we were visited by some of the inhabitants in a canoe from one of the villages. Their visit seemed to be dictated by curiosity alone, which being satisfied, as they were about to depart, I gave them some iron and beads with which they appeared to be highly delighted ...
>
> The want of wind detaining us in this situation, afforded an opportunity to several of the natives from the different villages, which were numerous in this neighborhood, to pay us a visit. They all came in canoes made of wood, and decorated with shells like that seen on the 8th [just past Point Piedras Blancas] They brought with them some fish, and a few of their ornaments; these they disposed of in the most cheerful manner, principally for spoons, beads, and scissors. They seemed to possess great sensibility, and much vivacity, yet they conducted themselves with the most perfect decorum and good order ... These people either did not understand the Spanish language, or spoke it in such a manner as to be unintelligible to us ...
>
> On a light breeze springing up ... we directed our course along shore to the eastward ... About two in the afternoon we passed a small bay ...
>
> Within this bay a very large Indian village was pleasantly situated, from whence we were visited by some of its inhabitants; amongst whom was a very shrewd intelligent fellow, who informed us in the Spanish language, that there was a mission and Presidio not much further to the eastward [Vancouver 1984:1090-1092].

Thus, although the priests at La Purísima and Santa Bárbara Missions had already been actively proselytizing for five years and Europeans had been passing along the coast through their towns for 23 years, Chumash peoples at the end of the eighteenth century continued to live in their own towns along the Channel, pretty much where they had been since at least the sixteenth century when Cabrillo had visited them, and they continued to actively seek contact with Europeans. At the conclusion of his diary for the August 1795 expedition to locate a site for San Fernando Mission, Fr. Vicente de Santa María complained:

> ... I observed that the whole pagandom, between this Mission [San Buenaventura] and that of San Gabriel, along the beach, along the Camino Reál, and along the border of the north is fond of the Pueblo of Los Angeles, of the rancho of Mariano Verdugo, of the rancho of Reyes, and of the Zanja. Here we see nothing but pagans passing, clad in shoes, with sombreros, and blankets, and serving as muleteers to the settlers and rancheros, so that if it were not for the gentiles there would be neither pueblo or rancho and if this be not accepted as true let them bring proof. Finally these pagan Indians care neither for the Mission or the missionaries [Engelhardt 1927:9].

In 1796, 27 years after the Portolá expedition had first made contact, Captain Felipe de Goycoechea censused the towns along the Santa Barbara Channel. This census provides documentation that native

towns continued to exist in the area 15 years after the establishment of the Mission of San Buenaventura, 10 years after the founding of Mission Santa Bárbara, and nine years after the founding of Mission La Purísima Concepción. The next year the Mission of San Fernando Rey de España was founded at the edge of Chumash/Fernandeño territory. In 1798, Father Estevan Tapis and Captain Goycoechea crossed the Santa Ynez Mountains to locate a new mission site, and recorded 14 more towns or "rancherías" along the Santa Ynez River. In 1804 the Mission of Santa Inés was founded there in the interior.

To illustrate the rate of migration of Chumash peoples from their native towns to the missions, a map was prepared to show the ever-expanding influence of the missions within Chumash territory (Figure 7.1). The chronological spread of the conversion process is represented by contour lines in five-year intervals, based on the calculated mean year for each town's number of baptisms. It is apparent that Chumash peoples within areas now under National Park Service jurisdiction resisted proselytization longer than did many of their linguistic relatives. The year 1803 witnessed a massive recruitment campaign throughout the California missions, apparently as a result of a decision by the Viceroy Iturrigaray that settled a dispute between religious and secular authorities regarding conversion methods (Engelhardt 1930a:607; Johnson 1989a). With the exception of the sparsely-inhabited interior, the Santa Monica Mountains region was the last major area on the mainland to have the majority of its people unconverted by the end of 1804. Within the next five years they, too, had relocated to Missions San Fernando and San Buenaventura. With the transfer of the majority of the islanders to the missions in 1813-1817, only a handful of Chumash people remained who had not yet given up residence in their native towns.

Figures 7.2 to 7.7 chart the years in which Chumash peoples and their Takic-speaking neighbors were converted from the different regions, graphically demonstrating that aggregation of the population at the missions was virtually complete by the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, by 1810 the regions closest to the missions had been completely depopulated, the principal exceptions being the Channel Islands and interior mountains. Fr. Mariano Payeras, stationed at La Purísima, wrote at the beginning of 1810 to Fr. Estevan Tapis:

> Your Reverence is aware that hereabouts paganism is at an end. The [only] adult baptized so far this year was the mother of Esteban Machado, whom we succeeded in baptizing in Cacilo [*Qasil* at Refugio Beach] where she remained, as she was too old [to move] [Thomas and Osuna 1938:85].

## Demographic Profiles of Chumash Regional Populations

The mission register data base compiled for this project makes it possible to reconstruct the demographic makeup of Chumash populations and neighboring groups. We have divided the territory inhabited by Chumash-speaking peoples into six regions for purposes of comparative analysis: Northern Chumash (Obispeño), Central Chumash (Barbareño, Purisimeño, Ineseño, and Cuyama), Island Chumash (Cruzeño), Ventura and Santa Clara River Chumash (Western Ventureño), Castac Chumash (Interior Ventureño), and Santa Monica Mountains Chumash (Eastern Ventureño). Age and sex distributions for people re-

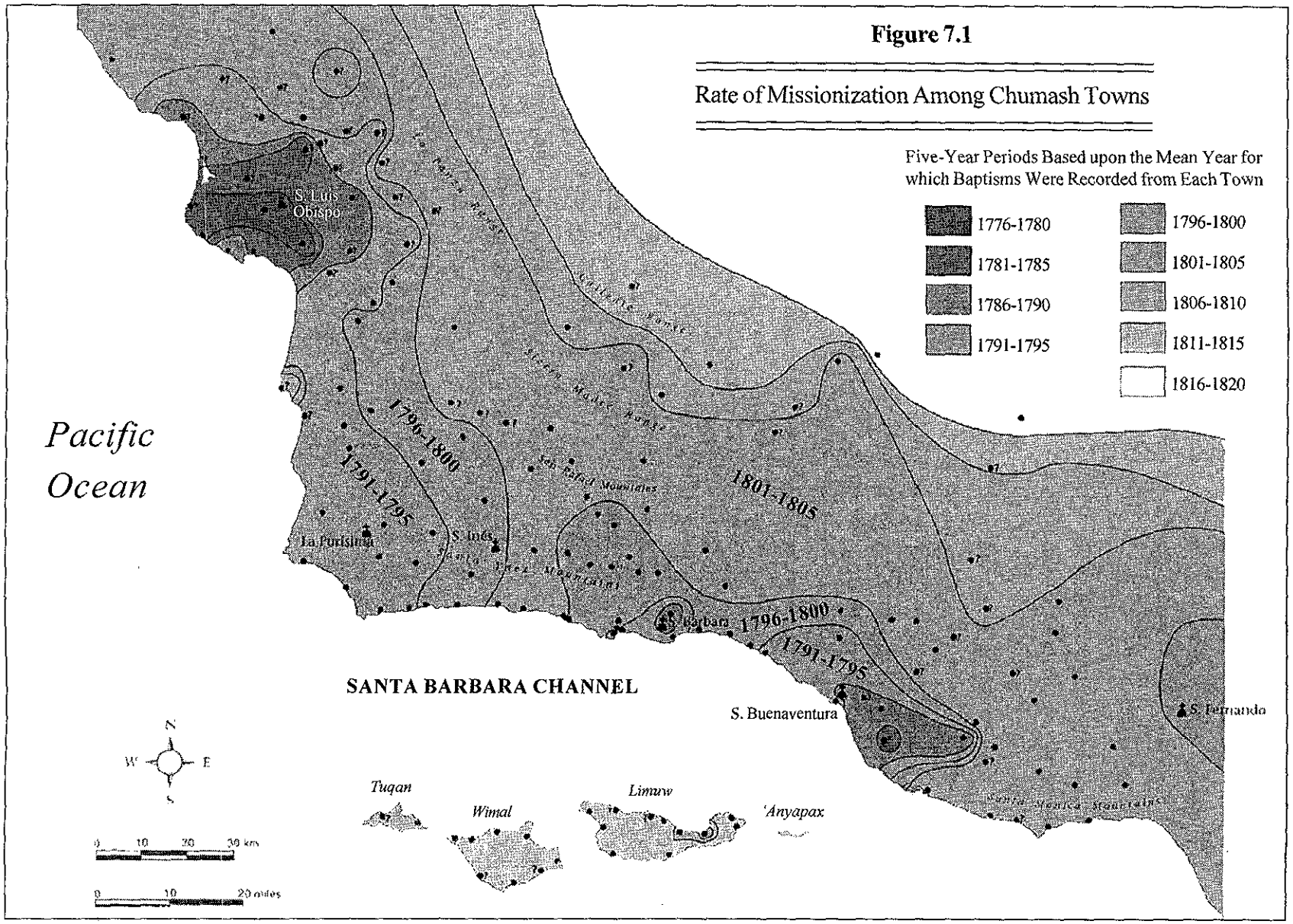
Figure 7.1
Rate of Missionization Among Chumash Towns
Five-Year Periods Based upon the Mean Year for which Baptisms Were Recorded from Each Town
1776-1780
1781-1785
1786-1790
1791-1795
1796-1800
1801-1805
1806-1810
1811-1815
1816-1820
Pacific Ocean
S. Luis Obispo
La Purisima
S. Inés
S. Barbara
S. Buenaventura
S. Fernando
1796-1800
1791-1795
1801-1805
1796-1800
1791-1795
SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL
Tuqan
Wimal
Limuw
'Anyapax
N
W
E
S
0 10 20 30 km
0 10 20 miles

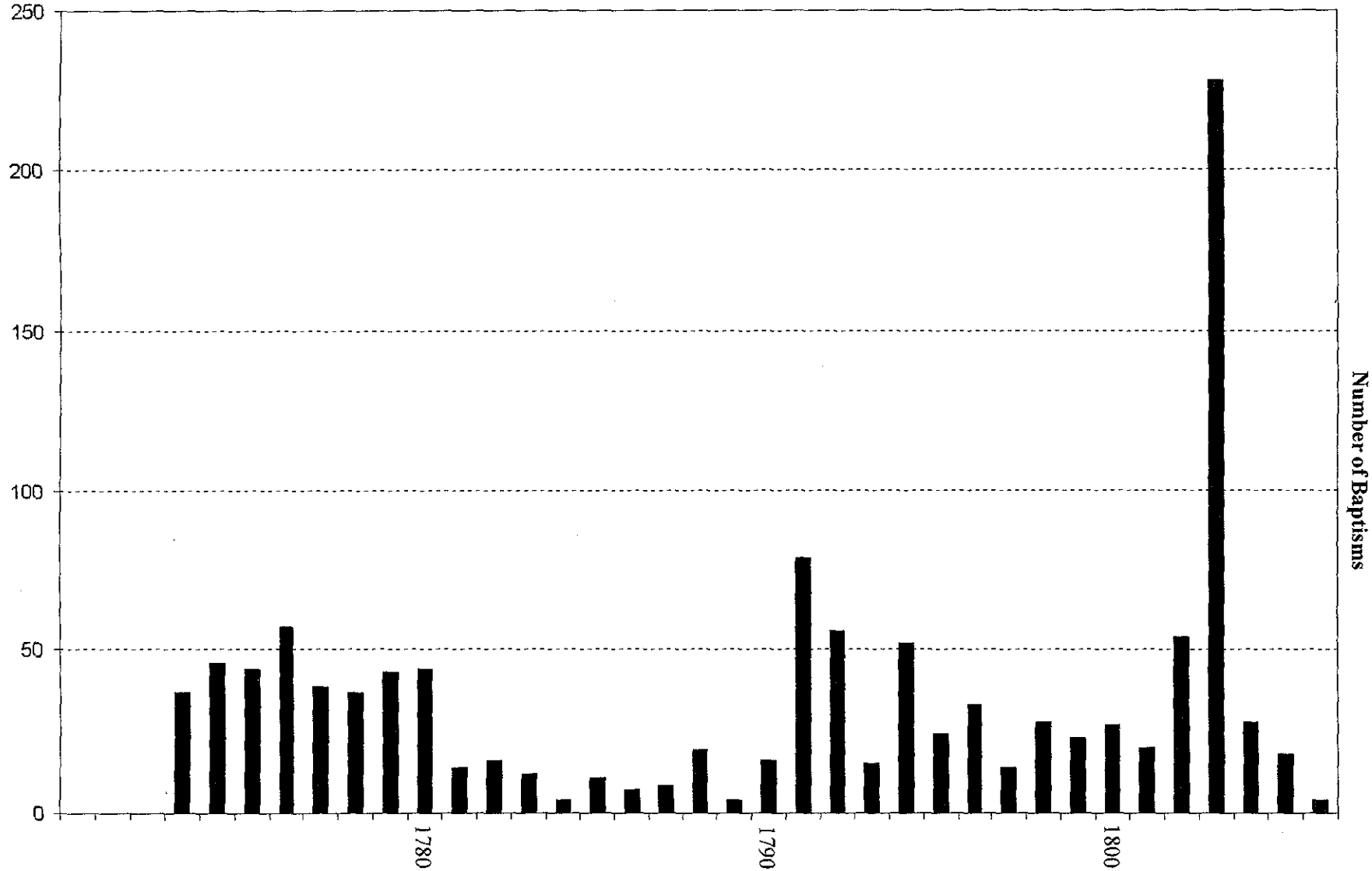


**Figure 7.2** Northern Chumash Recruitment Pattern

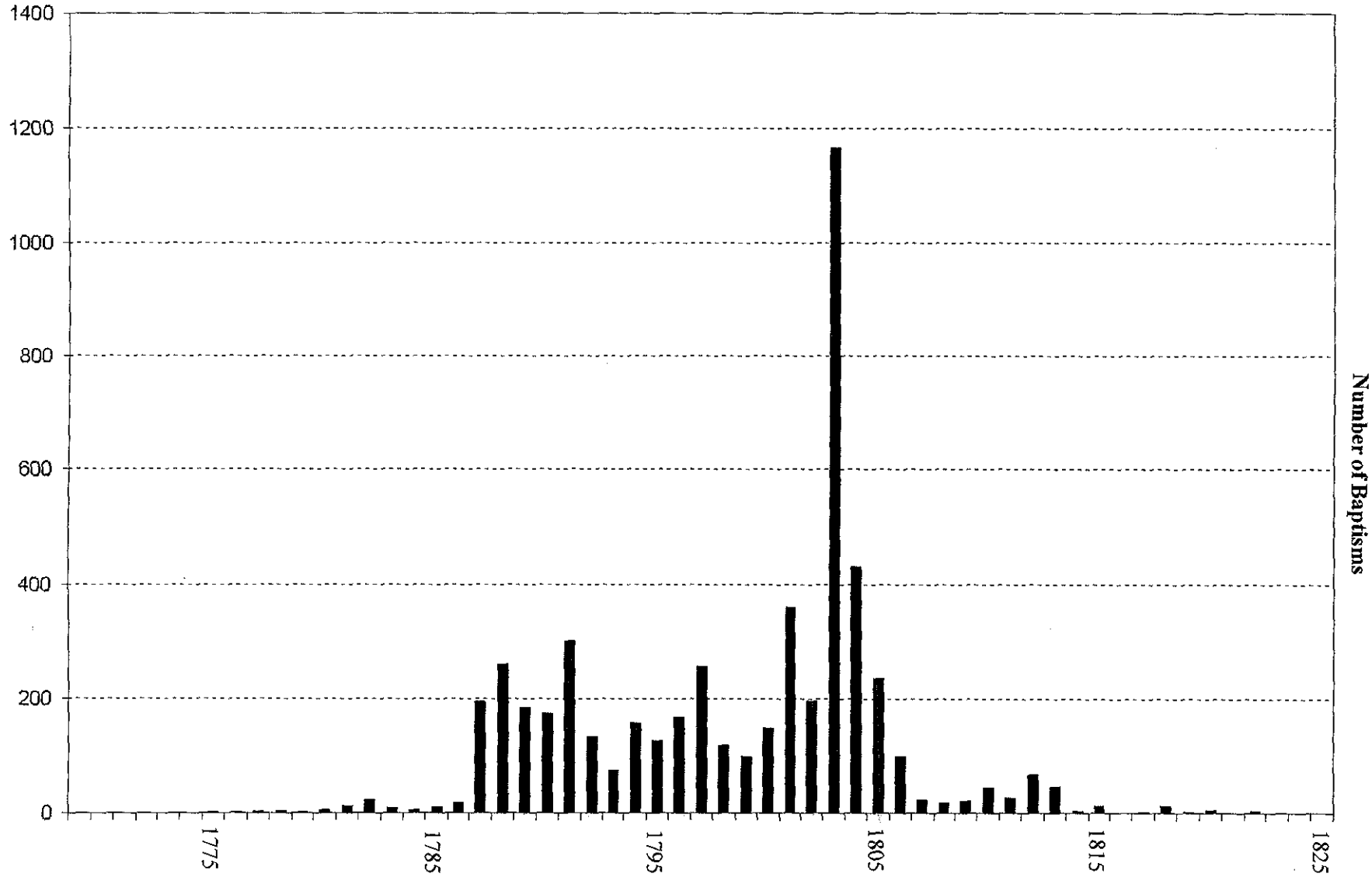


**Figure 7.3** Central Chumash Recruitment Pattern

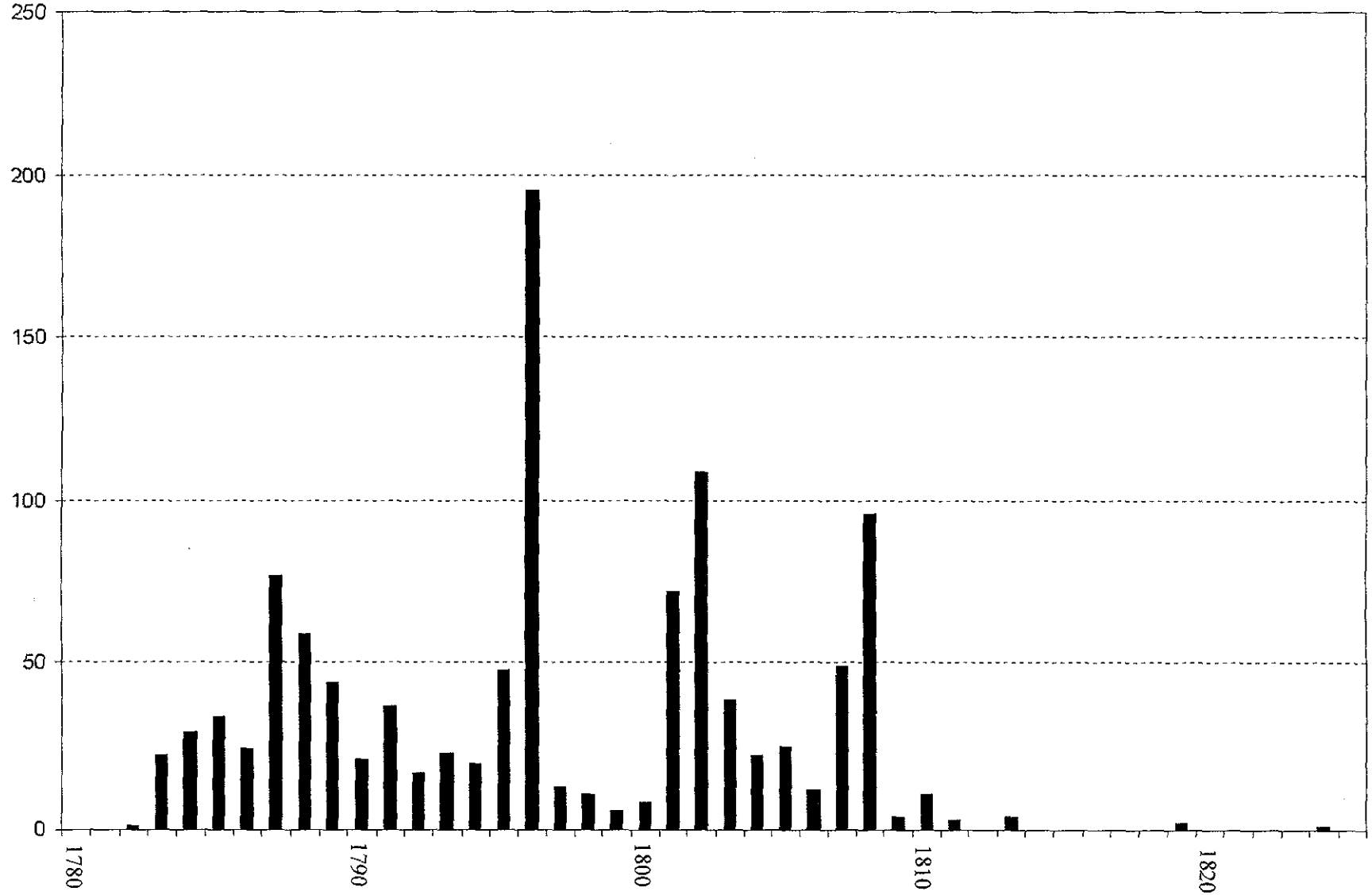


Figure 7.4 Ventura and Santa Clara River Chumash Recruitment Pattern

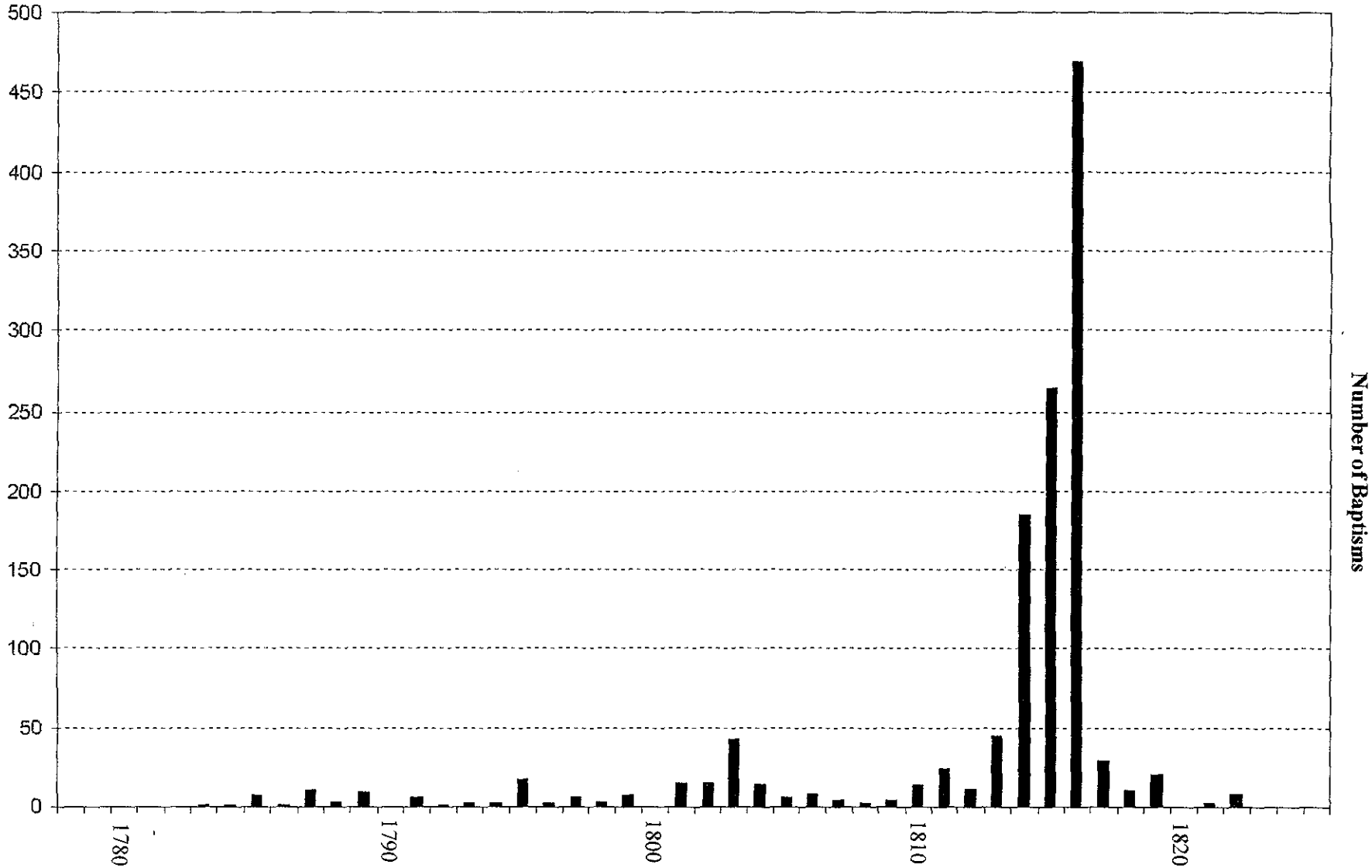


Figure 7.5 Island Chumash Recruitment Pattern

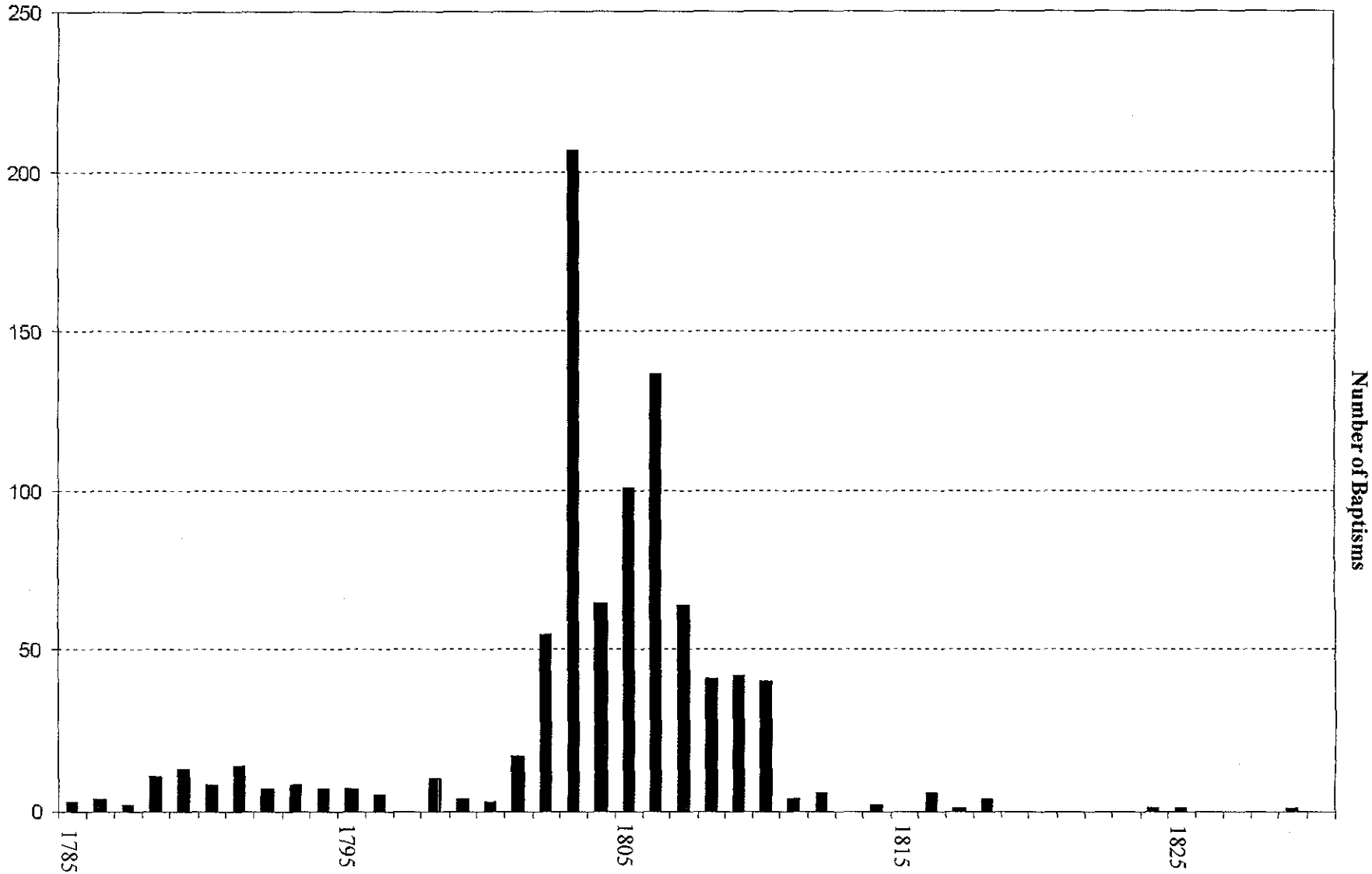


Figure 7.6 Santa Monica Mountains Chumash Recruitment Pattern

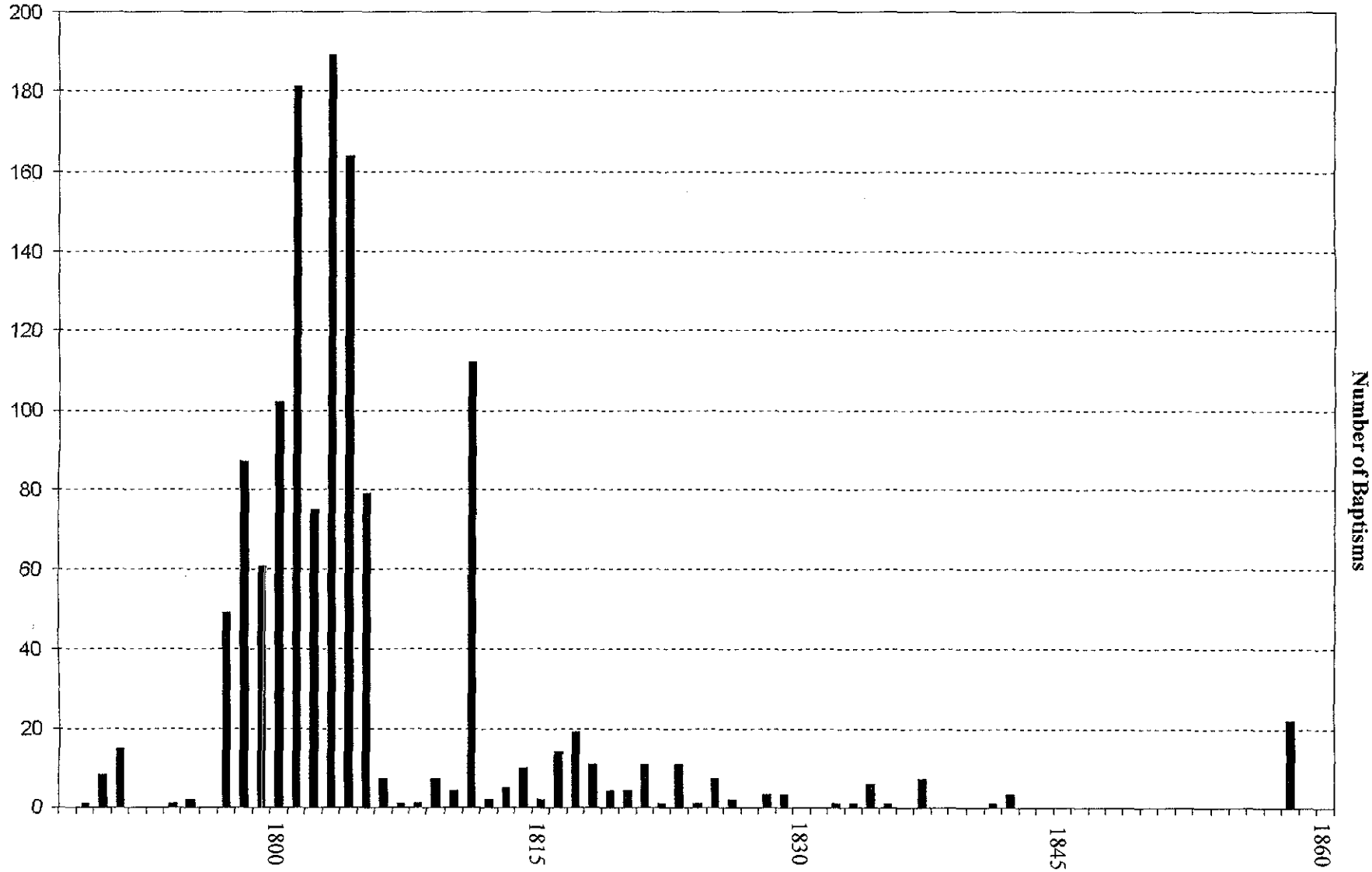


Figure 7.7 Takic Recruitment Pattern

cruited at each of the six missions are summarized in tables we have prepared for each of these six Chumash regions, for Yokuts baptized at the six missions, and for people from Takic language groups. Only the tables for the Channel Islands (Table 7.2) and Santa Monica Mountains (Table 7.3) regions appear within this chapter. The remaining tables are in Appendix IX.

It is instructive to make comparisons between the different regions and between the Chumash peoples as a group and other California Indians who went to the missions. First, the relatively lower proportion of children under 10 years of age compared to other groups is striking: it ranged from a low of 19.8 percent among the Central Chumash upwards to 26.3 percent among the Western Ventureño, in contrast to Salinan, Esselen, and Costanoan peoples at the six missions north of Mission San Miguel where children under 10 composed 27.3 to 47.7 percent of the people baptized (Cook and Borah 1979:198-202). Table IX.12 in Appendix IX shows that the percentage of children from Takic-speaking communities (30.6 percent) was also higher than among the Chumash. On the other hand, Yokuts distributions resembled the Chumash pattern, as did Mission San Miguel, which had a mixed Salinan, Northern Chumash, and Yokuts population (see Table IX.11 in Appendix IX and Cook and Borah 1979:197, 203).

The causes for the differences in numbers of children among native peoples in California is far from clear. Hypotheses that could account for the pattern may be that (1) the practice of abortion and infanticide among the Chumash, documented in ethnohistoric and ethnographic records, might have reduced the proportion of children (Beeler 1967:378; Kenneally 1965:378; L. Simpson 1961:56; Walker and Hudson 1993:107-108), or (2) there was a higher death rate among Chumash children because of greater sedentism, higher population densities, and greater frequencies of social and economic intercourse among towns (Johnson 1982a:103; Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994). Yokuts communities may have included fewer children because, being furthest removed, in general they were the last to join mission populations; their demographic profiles may reflect the high infant mortality.

Another pattern that has been elucidated by the present study is the disparity between numbers of men and women in adult age categories. The fact that women greatly outnumbered men had been noted previously for the islanders and Central Chumash (Johnson 1982a, 1989a; Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994). The expanded data base compiled for the current project allows us to extend these observations to other Chumash regions. The greatest disparity between numbers of men and women baptized in age groups older than 20 may be found among the Santa Monica Mountains Chumash where there is almost a 1:2 ratio (34.6 percent to 65.4 percent). The least disparity is among the islanders (44.3 percent to 55.7 percent), with the exception of the small numbers of Castac Ventureño from the far interior, for whom the sample is probably not representative. In contrast to the Chumash groups, the numbers of men and women baptized among both the Yokuts and Takic groups are more evenly balanced; however, the sample for the Takic case may be skewed because town names at Mission San Fernando were less often recorded for women, leaving many females in our unclassified or "problematic" category.

Causes for the greater numbers of women than men baptized at the missions may reflect losses from warfare, greater risk in economic pursuits (e.g., canoes lost in stormy weather while crossing the Santa Barbara Channel), or perhaps patterns of postmarital residence (Johnson 1982a:105-107, 1988a:139;

**TABLE 7.2**
**Island Chunash Age and Sex Distribution**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL BAPTISMS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 99 | 92 | 191 | 15.1 |
| 5-9 | 59 | 37 | 96 | 7.6 |
| 10-14 | 49 | 41 | 90 | 7.1 |
| 15-19 | 56 | 48 | 104 | 8.2 |
| 20-24 | 62 | 56 | 118 | 9.3 |
| 25-29 | 50 | 64 | 114 | 9.0 |
| 30-34 | 40 | 57 | 97 | 7.7 |
| 35-39 | 36 | 29 | 65 | 5.1 |
| 40-44 | 31 | 39 | 70 | 5.5 |
| 45-49 | 26 | 35 | 61 | 4.8 |
| 50-54 | 34 | 35 | 69 | 5.4 |
| 55-59 | 13 | 24 | 37 | 2.9 |
| 60-64 | 23 | 39 | 62 | 4.9 |
| 65-69 | 7 | 14 | 21 | 1.7 |
| 70-74 | 12 | 22 | 34 | 2.7 |
| 75-79 | 3 | 5 | 8 | 0.6 |
| 80-84 | 7 | 17 | 24 | 1.9 |
| 85 + | 3 | 3 | 6 | 0.5 |
| Unknown | 2 | 1 | 3 | |
| TOTAL* | 610 | 657 | 1267 | 100.0 |
| 0-19 | 263 | 218 | 481 | 38.0 |
| 20 + | 347 | 439 | 786 | 62.0 |

*Does not include people of unknown age.

**TABLE 7.3**
**Santa Monica Mountains Chumash Age and Sex Distribution***

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL BAPTISMS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 65 | 70 | 135 | 15.3 |
| 5-9 | 45 | 33 | 78 | 8.9 |
| 10-14 | 28 | 19 | 47 | 5.3 |
| 15-19 | 39 | 31 | 70 | 8.0 |
| 20-24 | 29 | 59 | 88 | 10.0 |
| 25-29 | 18 | 35 | 53 | 6.0 |
| 30-34 | 17 | 33 | 50 | 5.7 |
| 35-39 | 16 | 33 | 49 | 5.6 |
| 40-44 | 19 | 27 | 46 | 5.2 |
| 45-49 | 21 | 36 | 57 | 6.5 |
| 50-54 | 20 | 36 | 56 | 6.4 |
| 55-59 | 12 | 13 | 25 | 2.8 |
| 60-64 | 13 | 27 | 40 | 4.5 |
| 65-69 | 3 | 15 | 18 | 2.0 |
| 70-74 | 11 | 13 | 24 | 2.7 |
| 75-79 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 0.8 |
| 80-84 | 5 | 12 | 17 | 1.9 |
| 85 + | 7 | 13 | 20 | 2.3 |
| Unknown | 10 | 18 | 28 | |
| TOTAL** | 369 | 511 | 880 | 100.0 |
| 0-19 | 177 | 153 | 330 | 37.5 |
| 20 + | 192 | 358 | 550 | 62.5 |

*Does not include El Escorpión and *Topa 'nga*

**Does not include people of unknown age.

Walker and Johnson 1992). Analyses of Cruzeño and Central Chumash marriage patterns reveal that matrilocal postmarital residence was the predominant pattern for the general population, except for chiefs' families (Johnson 1988a: Chapt. 6; Pfeiffer 1977). In Chapter 6, King notes that a number of men's names recorded in mission records from Fernandeño and Gabrielino/Tongva towns seem to have name endings that are commonly encountered among the Chumash. He has proposed that these were indeed Chumash men who had married into their wives' communities. Thus, the smaller number of men recorded from Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains may be partly caused by the fact that they are "disguised" among people who were baptized at Missions San Fernando and San Gabriel as coming from towns with Tataviam or Gabrielino/Tongva names.

## Population Trends during the Mission Period

The cross-referencing of burial entries to baptismal entries makes it possible to study mortality trends at individual missions in very specific detail. Tables 7.4-7.8 summarize data on age group mortality at Missions La Purísima, Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, and San Fernando. Cross-referencing was incomplete for burial entries at San Luis Obispo, so a similar table was not prepared for that mission. These tables demonstrate the effects of high infant mortality on the Chumash population. Burials in mission cemeteries were mostly of babies and young children under 5 years of age, ranging from 26.2 percent of interments at Mission La Purísima to 41.5 percent at Mission San Fernando.

Tables were also prepared for people from the Channel Islands (Table 7.9) and from the Santa Monica Mountains region (Table 7.10). Both these areas are surprising in that the number of children less than five years of age who perished at the missions does not differ appreciably from death rates for other age groups. It may be that infant mortality in native villages is underrepresented because most children who died there within in a year – unlike those born at the missions – would not have been baptized at birth, and therefore would not be reported in mission records.

At the root of the difference between the overall percentages of deaths for each age group at the missions and those of people baptized from native town groups is the fact that all infants who were born at the missions were baptized, while most children who were born in their native towns and then died within their first year of life are not represented in mission records. Infant mortality at the missions was high for Islanders and Santa Monica Mountains converts, as the following tables will show, but the number of baptisms of the very young under-represents all children born in the native towns, making the percentages of death within the age group seem less than they probably actually were.

Tables 7.11-7.15 enumerate years of survival after baptism for the population who had been born in native towns. These tables were prepared only for the five missions for which we had completed cross-referencing baptisms to burials. These tables indicate that the majority of infants and elderly died within their first five years at the missions. At Santa Inés fully half of the infants born in native towns died within two years of being baptized.

**TABLE 7.4**
**Age at Death of Neophytes Baptized at Mission La Purisima**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 414 | 401 | 815 | 26.2 |
| 5-9 | 62 | 58 | 120 | 3.9 |
| 10-14 | 25 | 44 | 69 | 2.2 |
| 15-19 | 39 | 103 | 142 | 4.6 |
| 20-24 | 62 | 108 | 170 | 5.5 |
| 25-29 | 67 | 99 | 166 | 5.3 |
| 30-34 | 73 | 110 | 183 | 5.9 |
| 35-39 | 41 | 91 | 132 | 6.4 |
| 40-44 | 39 | 96 | 135 | 6.1 |
| 45-49 | 41 | 87 | 128 | 5.3 |
| 50-54 | 37 | 80 | 117 | 5.6 |
| 55-59 | 34 | 76 | 110 | 4.8 |
| 60-64 | 38 | 69 | 107 | 5.0 |
| 65-69 | 39 | 66 | 105 | 3.7 |
| 70-74 | 37 | 77 | 114 | 4.0 |
| 75-79 | 20 | 64 | 84 | 2.7 |
| 80-84 | 19 | 36 | 55 | 1.4 |
| 85 + | 10 | 34 | 44 | 1.3 |
| TOTAL | 1097 | 1699 | 2796 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.5**
**Age at Death of Neophytes Baptized at Mission Santa Inés**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 289 | 277 | 566 | 40.0 |
| 5-9 | 43 | 39 | 82 | 5.7 |
| 10-14 | 16 | 28 | 44 | 3.1 |
| 15-19 | 21 | 27 | 48 | 3.4 |
| 20-24 | 24 | 40 | 64 | 4.5 |
| 25-29 | 23 | 42 | 65 | 4.5 |
| 30-34 | 22 | 22 | 44 | 3.1 |
| 35-39 | 30 | 36 | 66 | 4.6 |
| 40-44 | 20 | 33 | 53 | 3.7 |
| 45-49 | 22 | 25 | 47 | 3.3 |
| 50-54 | 25 | 38 | 63 | 4.4 |
| 55-59 | 33 | 33 | 66 | 4.6 |
| 60-64 | 24 | 26 | 50 | 3.5 |
| 65-69 | 31 | 24 | 55 | 3.8 |
| 70-74 | 18 | 22 | 40 | 2.8 |
| 75-79 | 16 | 20 | 36 | 2.5 |
| 80-84 | 4 | 17 | 21 | 1.5 |
| 85 + | 5 | 16 | 21 | 1.5 |
| TOTAL | 666 | 765 | 1431 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.6**
**Age at Death of Neophytes Baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 580 | 622 | 1202 | 28.0 |
| 5-9 | 87 | 83 | 170 | 4.0 |
| 10-14 | 48 | 54 | 102 | 2.4 |
| 15-19 | 65 | 122 | 187 | 4.4 |
| 20-24 | 117 | 187 | 304 | 7.1 |
| 25-29 | 124 | 145 | 269 | 6.3 |
| 30-34 | 120 | 139 | 259 | 6.0 |
| 35-39 | 127 | 121 | 248 | 5.8 |
| 40-44 | 103 | 127 | 230 | 5.4 |
| 45-49 | 104 | 104 | 208 | 4.8 |
| 50-54 | 109 | 128 | 237 | 5.5 |
| 55-59 | 112 | 96 | 208 | 4.8 |
| 60-64 | 105 | 99 | 204 | 4.8 |
| 65-69 | 69 | 87 | 156 | 3.6 |
| 70-74 | 52 | 78 | 130 | 3.0 |
| 75-79 | 25 | 44 | 69 | 1.6 |
| 80-84 | 17 | 52 | 69 | 1.6 |
| 85 + | 7 | 32 | 39 | 0.9 |
| TOTAL | 1971 | 2320 | 4291 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.7**
**Age at Death of Neophytes Baptized at Mission San Buenaventura**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 560 | 551 | 1111 | 30.1 |
| 5-9 | 75 | 88 | 163 | 4.4 |
| 10-14 | 46 | 60 | 106 | 2.9 |
| 15-19 | 65 | 87 | 152 | 4.1 |
| 20-24 | 69 | 114 | 183 | 5.0 |
| 25-29 | 72 | 123 | 195 | 5.3 |
| 30-34 | 92 | 101 | 193 | 5.2 |
| 35-39 | 95 | 90 | 185 | 5.0 |
| 40-44 | 80 | 117 | 197 | 5.3 |
| 45-49 | 87 | 83 | 170 | 4.6 |
| 50-54 | 82 | 113 | 195 | 5.3 |
| 55-59 | 86 | 93 | 179 | 4.9 |
| 60-64 | 82 | 88 | 170 | 4.6 |
| 65-69 | 69 | 57 | 126 | 3.4 |
| 70-74 | 46 | 77 | 123 | 3.3 |
| 75-79 | 34 | 46 | 80 | 2.2 |
| 80-84 | 22 | 43 | 65 | 1.8 |
| 85 + | 31 | 64 | 95 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL | 1693 | 1995 | 3688 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.8**
**Age at Death of Neophytes Baptized at Mission San Fernando**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 448 | 416 | 864 | 41.5 |
| 5-9 | 55 | 45 | 100 | 4.8 |
| 10-14 | 17 | 29 | 46 | 2.2 |
| 15-19 | 22 | 54 | 76 | 3.7 |
| 20-24 | 28 | 50 | 78 | 3.7 |
| 25-29 | 25 | 62 | 87 | 4.2 |
| 30-34 | 38 | 46 | 84 | 4.0 |
| 35-39 | 41 | 48 | 89 | 4.3 |
| 40-44 | 39 | 34 | 73 | 3.5 |
| 45-49 | 41 | 32 | 73 | 3.5 |
| 50-54 | 37 | 35 | 72 | 3.5 |
| 55-59 | 34 | 27 | 61 | 2.9 |
| 60-64 | 38 | 51 | 89 | 4.3 |
| 65-69 | 39 | 43 | 82 | 3.9 |
| 70-74 | 37 | 35 | 72 | 3.5 |
| 75-79 | 20 | 23 | 43 | 2.1 |
| 80-84 | 19 | 26 | 45 | 2.2 |
| 85 + | 10 | 37 | 47 | 2.3 |
| TOTAL | 988 | 1093 | 2081 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.9**
**Age at Death of Neophytes from the Channel Islands**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 27 | 27 | 54 | 4.8 |
| 5-9 | 38 | 28 | 66 | 5.9 |
| 10-14 | 15 | 17 | 32 | 2.8 |
| 15-19 | 14 | 32 | 46 | 4.1 |
| 20-24 | 24 | 40 | 64 | 5.7 |
| 25-29 | 39 | 51 | 90 | 8.0 |
| 30-34 | 44 | 62 | 106 | 9.4 |
| 35-39 | 50 | 43 | 93 | 8.2 |
| 40-44 | 42 | 42 | 84 | 7.4 |
| 45-49 | 44 | 41 | 85 | 7.5 |
| 50-54 | 50 | 40 | 90 | 8.0 |
| 55-59 | 38 | 44 | 82 | 7.3 |
| 60-64 | 27 | 40 | 67 | 5.9 |
| 65-69 | 30 | 24 | 54 | 4.8 |
| 70-74 | 19 | 26 | 45 | 4.0 |
| 75-79 | 14 | 12 | 26 | 2.3 |
| 80-84 | 5 | 19 | 24 | 2.1 |
| 85 + | 9 | 11 | 20 | 1.8 |
| TOTAL | 529 | 599 | 1128 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.10**
**Age at Death of Neophytes from the Santa Monica Mountains**

| AGE GROUP | MALES | FEMALES | TOTAL | PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS IN AGE GROUP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0-4 | 22 | 22 | 44 | 5.7 |
| 5-9 | 13 | 7 | 20 | 2.6 |
| 10-14 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 1.4 |
| 15-19 | 15 | 22 | 37 | 4.8 |
| 20-24 | 14 | 21 | 35 | 4.5 |
| 25-29 | 14 | 39 | 53 | 6.9 |
| 30-34 | 19 | 38 | 57 | 7.4 |
| 35-39 | 28 | 31 | 59 | 7.7 |
| 40-44 | 26 | 28 | 54 | 7.0 |
| 45-49 | 20 | 23 | 43 | 5.6 |
| 50-54 | 24 | 42 | 66 | 8.6 |
| 55-59 | 25 | 34 | 59 | 7.7 |
| 60-64 | 20 | 26 | 46 | 6.0 |
| 65-69 | 19 | 20 | 39 | 5.1 |
| 70-74 | 20 | 26 | 46 | 6.0 |
| 75-79 | 11 | 16 | 27 | 3.5 |
| 80-84 | 6 | 19 | 25 | 3.2 |
| 85 + | 15 | 35 | 50 | 6.5 |
| TOTAL | 316 | 455 | 771 | 100 |

**TABLE 7.11**
**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from Mission La Purísima**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 28 | 15 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 29 | 76 | 39 |
| 2-4 | 11 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 33 | 65 | 71 | 30 |
| 5-9 | 6 | 10 | 22 | 14 | 58 | 99 | 89 | 38 |
| 10-14 | 7 | 9 | 21 | 20 | 63 | 92 | 75 | 17 |
| 15-19 | 7 | 21 | 29 | 21 | 58 | 69 | 55 | 6 |
| 20-24 | 6 | 15 | 24 | 19 | 45 | 64 | 39 | 4 |
| 25-29 | 8 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 32 | 40 | 28 | 1 |
| 30-34 | 4 | 11 | 12 | 10 | 36 | 24 | 9 | |
| 35-39 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 12 | 14 | 17 | 1 | |
| 40-44 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 3 | 15 | 11 | 2 | |
| 45-49 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 13 | 4 | | |
| 50+ | | 7 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 2 | | |
| TOTAL | 92 | 133 | 178 | 129 | 386 | 516 | 445 | 135 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | 30.4 | 11.3 | 6.7 | 3.9 | 3.1 | 5.6 | 17.1 | 28.9 |

**TABLE 7.12**
**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from Mission Santa Inés**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 17 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 16 | 21 | 14 |
| 2-4 | 5 | 9 | 7 | | 10 | 28 | 26 | 10 |
| 5-9 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 20 | 40 | 43 | 21 |
| 10-14 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 25 | 22 | 4 |
| 15-19 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 27 | 23 | 1 |
| 20-24 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 9 | |
| 25-29 | | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 22 | 11 | 1 |
| 30-34 | | 5 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 11 | 3 | |
| 35-39 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | |
| 40-44 | | 2 | | 1 | 4 | 11 | 1 | |
| 45-49 | | | 3 | | 3 | 2 | | |
| 50+ | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | |
| TOTAL | 34 | 53 | 39 | 21 | 90 | 205 | 159 | 51 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | | | | | | | | |
| | 50.0 | 15.1 | 15.4 | 19.0 | 7.8 | 7.9 | 13.2 | 27.5 |

**TABLE 7.13**

**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from Mission Santa Bárbara**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 36 | 27 | 24 | 14 | 53 | 69 | 113 | 53 |
| 2-4 | 14 | 29 | 20 | 17 | 75 | 98 | 122 | 60 |
| 5-9 | 8 | 15 | 26 | 33 | 106 | 118 | 113 | 54 |
| 10-14 | 3 | 18 | 39 | 45 | 121 | 90 | 80 | 13 |
| 15-19 | 8 | 22 | 35 | 19 | 86 | 80 | 47 | 4 |
| 20-24 | 10 | 23 | 28 | 27 | 55 | 65 | 40 | 1 |
| 25-29 | 9 | 13 | 13 | 24 | 54 | 44 | 10 | |
| 30-34 | 9 | 15 | 18 | 10 | 36 | 19 | 2 | |
| 35-39 | 3 | 1 | 13 | 14 | 22 | 20 | 4 | |
| 40-44 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 7 | 18 | 11 | 1 | |
| 45-49 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 12 | 7 | | |
| 50+ | 2 | 7 | 14 | 4 | 7 | 5 | | |
| TOTAL | 105 | 184 | 248 | 218 | 645 | 626 | 532 | 185 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | | | | | | | | |
| | 34.3 | 14.7 | 9.7 | 6.4 | 8.2 | 11.0 | 21.2 | 28.6 |

**TABLE 7.14**

**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from Mission San Buenaventura**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 88 | 15 | 31 | 16 | 22 | 38 | 75 | 57 |
| 2-4 | 31 | 25 | 16 | 15 | 33 | 58 | 77 | 43 |
| 5-9 | 13 | 13 | 15 | 28 | 62 | 91 | 119 | 57 |
| 10-14 | 10 | 20 | 18 | 24 | 69 | 102 | 71 | 23 |
| 15-19 | 20 | 17 | 27 | 25 | 48 | 65 | 57 | 19 |
| 20-24 | 20 | 14 | 16 | 22 | 53 | 58 | 31 | 2 |
| 25-29 | 22 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 27 | 29 | 17 | |
| 30-34 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 13 | 18 | 21 | 3 | |
| 35-39 | 4 | 6 | 13 | 14 | 21 | 14 | 5 | |
| 40-44 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 9 | 15 | 8 | 1 | |
| 45-49 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 9 | 11 | 1 | |
| 50+ | 9 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 12 | 4 | | 1 |
| TOTAL | 233 | 149 | 180 | 193 | 389 | 499 | 457 | 202 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | | | | | | | | |
| | 37.8 | 10.1 | 17.2 | 8.3 | 5.7 | 7.6 | 16.4 | 28.2 |

**TABLE 7.15**
**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from Mission San Fernando**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 39 | 24 | 11 | 0 | 14 | 29 | 44 | 46 |
| 2-4 | 23 | 21 | 12 | 11 | 28 | 35 | 40 | 27 |
| 5-9 | 2 | 10 | 9 | 6 | 29 | 49 | 62 | 13 |
| 10-14 | 2 | 4 | 11 | 5 | 22 | 36 | 25 | 6 |
| 15-19 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 22 | 27 | 21 | 8 |
| 20-24 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 3 | 10 | 26 | 23 | 7 |
| 25-29 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 8 | 29 | 18 | |
| 30-34 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 8 | 20 | 6 | |
| 35-39 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 11 | 24 | 2 | |
| 40-44 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 1 | |
| 45-49 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | | |
| 50+ | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | | |
| TOTAL | 97 | 93 | 93 | 38 | 161 | 288 | 242 | 107 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | | | | | | | | |
| | 40.2 | 25.8 | 11.8 | 0 | 8.7 | 10.1 | 18.2 | 43.0 |

For converts from the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains, these same patterns held true (Tables 7.16-7.17). Half of all infants from the Channel Islands died within their first two years at the missions, and two-thirds were deceased before five years had passed. The numbers thus far compiled for the Santa Monica Mountains, while not quite as high as for the Channel Islands, still reveal a high mortality for infants.

The final set of tables (Tables 7.18-7.22) detail the survivability of children born at five missions according to five-year cohorts. The same pattern is consistent among all missions: nearly two-thirds of all mission-born children died within the first five years of life. The total baptisms of all mission children are listed at the bottom of the tables. These numbers differ from those for whom burial entries were found for several reasons: because there were problems of identification, because some deaths went unrecorded

by the missionaries, and because some individuals died and were buried elsewhere. For all those born at the missions who could be cross-referenced to burial entries, from 84 to 87 percent died before reaching their twentieth birthday. If we express the total number of deaths of those who died before age 20 as a percentage of the total number of baptisms of children born at the missions before 1835, then mortality comes to about 75 percent. Because of unrecorded deaths, the true figure probably is around 80 percent.

## DISCUSSION

After the coming of Europeans, the Chumash peoples were exposed to infectious diseases against which native populations held no natural immunity. The impact of infectious disease was great both within and outside of mission communities, but it was undoubtedly exacerbated in the missions because of the aggregation of large numbers of people where disease transmission could occur more readily. Analysis of demographic profiles at intervals throughout the Mission Period reveal that the Chumash population was aging and that survivorship among men was much greater than among women, especially for women in their early reproductive years (Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994). This led to a reversal of the pre-Mission pattern where survivability among women seems to have been higher, according to age and sex distributions of those baptized at the missions (Tables 7.2-7.3 and IX.1-IX.12). Children were particularly vulnerable to the new diseases, and apparently the women who took care of them were more exposed and had a higher mortality rate. With fewer women in the population, the overall reproductive rate declined. The germ theory of disease spread was not yet known, and the common practice of washing of clothing (and babies?) in the lavanderías in front of the missions may have been the most common means for microbes to infect others.

No populations can sustain themselves for long under the high rates of mortality experienced by the Chumash and other Mission Indian people. The result was such a drastic decline in numbers of Chumash people by the time of secularization in the 1830s that they had become what was effectively a remnant population at most missions.

Despite the catastrophic demographic tragedy that Chumash peoples experienced, some people did survive, maintaining distinct communities that persisted beyond the Mission Period into the twentieth century (see Chap. 8). One community became a federally-recognized tribe, but others did not. All kept many cultural traditions alive, continuing to speak Chumash languages as well as Spanish, while adapting to Euro-American society. Their descendants are with us today.

**TABLE 7.16**
**Years of Survival after Baptism for Island Chumash**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 0-1 | 24 | 23 | 23 | 8 | 13 | 19 | 29 | 13 |
| 2-4 | 7 | 27 | 14 | 10 | 33 | 54 | 50 | 27 |
| 5-9 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 37 | 80 | 66 | 29 |
| 10-14 | 2 | 13 | 7 | 13 | 34 | 48 | 24 | 2 |
| 15-19 | 3 | 10 | 10 | 14 | 29 | 38 | 17 | 8 |
| 20-24 | 3 | 10 | 6 | 11 | 13 | 36 | 12 | |
| 25-29 | 3 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 21 | 3 | 1 |
| 30-34 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 12 | 10 | | |
| 35-39 | | 1 | 4 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 1 | |
| 40-44 | 1 | 2 | | | 7 | 4 | | |
| 45-49 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | | |
| 50+ | | 4 | | 1 | 2 | | | 1 |
| TOTAL | 51 | 111 | 84 | 85 | 199 | 316 | 202 | 81 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | 47.1 | 20.7 | 27.4 | 9.4 | 6.5 | 6 | 14.4 | 16 |

**TABLE 7.17**

**Years of Survival after Baptism for Chumash from the Santa Monica Mountains**

| | AGE OF CONVERTS | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEARS | 0-1 | 2-4 | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-24 | 25-44 | 45-64 | 65+ |
| 31 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 15 | 28 | 27 | 0-1 |
| 2-4 | 10 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 20 | 26 | 15 |
| 5-9 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 10 | 31 | 24 | 36 | 13 |
| 10-14 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 28 | 33 | 21 | 6 |
| 15-19 | 7 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 12 | 23 | 19 | 14 |
| 20-24 | 8 | 2 | 11 | 3 | 18 | 22 | 13 | 1 |
| 25-29 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 9 | 9 | 10 | |
| 30-34 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 9 | 6 | 2 | |
| 35-39 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 6 | |
| 40-44 | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 6 | | |
| 45-49 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | 7 | 1 | |
| 50+ | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | | |
| TOTAL | 77 | 33 | 58 | 42 | 139 | 173 | 162 | 76 |
| Percent Surviving less than 2 years | | | | | | | | |
| | 40.3 | 6.1 | 10.3 | 7.1 | 5.0 | 8.7 | 17.3 | 35.5 |

**TABLE 7.18**

**Years of Survival of Indian Children Born at Mission La Purísima according to Cohorts**

| AGE GROUP | 1785-1789 | 1790-1794 | 1795-1799 | 1800-1804 | 1805-1809 | 1810-1814 | 1815-1819 | 1820-1824 | 1825-1829 | 1830-1834 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 4 | 7 | 62 | 90 | 128 | 113 | 75 | 110 | 75 | 43 | 32 | 735 |
| 5 to 9 | 3 | 7 | 10 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 74 |
| 10 to 14 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | 32 |
| 15 to 19 | 1 | 7 | 11 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 12 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 67 |
| 20 to 24 | 1 | 5 | 12 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 8 | | 1 | 51 |
| 25 to 29 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 37 |
| 30 to 34 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | | | 27 | |
| 35 to 391 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 15 | |
| 40 to 44 | 6 | 4 | 4 | | 1 | | | | | 15 | |
| 45 to 49 | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | 3 | |
| 50 to 54 | 3 | | | | | 1 | | | | 4 | |
| 55 to 59 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| 60 to 64 | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 2 | |
| 65+ | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 | |
| Total 15 | 110 | 148 | 181 | 157 | 121 | 144 | 97 | 49 | 42 | 1064 | |
| Total Baptisms | 15 | 111 | 151 | 186 | 161 | 130 | 156 | 111 | 60 | 54 | 1135 |
| Percent of those baptized who died at 0-4 years of age | 46.7 | 55.9 | 59.6 | 68.8 | 70.2 | 57.7 | 70.5 | 67.6 | 71.7 | 59.3 | 64.8 |

**TABLE 7.19**

**Years of Survival of Indian Children Born at Mission Santa Bárbara according to Cohorts**

| AGE GROUP | 1785-1789 | 1790-1794 | 1795-1799 | 1800-1804 | 1805-1809 | 1810-1814 | 1815-1819 | 1820-1824 | 1825-1829 | 1830-1834 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 4 | 25 | 94 | 127 | 178 | 155 | 98 | 112 | 129 | 91 | 41 | 1050 |
| 5 to 9 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 23 | 18 | 6 | 10 | 81 |
| 10 to 14 | 4 | | 3 | 4 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 41 |
| 15 to 19 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 11 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 2 | 50 |
| 20 to 24 | 2 | 6 | 9 | 12 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 86 |
| 25 to 29 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 52 |
| 30 to 34 | | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 8 | | 1 | 1 | | 24 |
| 35 to 39 | | 3 | | 4 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 3 | | | 23 |
| 40 to 44 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | | | 1 | 9 |
| 45 to 49 | | | 2 | | 3 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | | 10 |
| 50 to 54 | | 2 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 6 |
| 55 to 59 | | 3 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 5 |
| 60 to 64 | | 1 | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| 65+ | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 3 |
| Total | 35 | 121 | 159 | 232 | 215 | 157 | 172 | 174 | 111 | 67 | 1443 |
| Total Baptisms | 35 | 128 | 162 | 241 | 239 | 171 | 190 | 189 | 133 | 98 | 1586 |
| Percent of those baptized who died at 0-4 years of | 71.4 | 73.4 | 78.4 | 73.9 | 64.9 | 57.3 | 59.0 | 68.3 | 68.4 | 41.8 | 66.2 |

**TABLE 7.20**

**Years of Survival of Indian Children Born at Mission Santa Inés according to Cohorts**

| AGE GROUP | 1785-1789 | 1790-1794 | 1795-1799 | 1800-1804 | 1805-1809 | 1810-1814 | 1815-1819 | 1820-1824 | 1825-1829 | 1830-1834 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 4 | | | 1 | 71 | 66 | 113 | 95 | 42 | 23 | 411 | |
| 5 to 9 | | | 1 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 39 | |
| 10 to 14 | | | | 10 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 18 | |
| 15 to 19 | | | | 2 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 20 | |
| 20 to 24 | | | | 5 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 26 | |
| 25 to 29 | | | | 6 | 5 | 3 | 4 | | 1 | 19 | |
| 30 to 34 | | | 1 | | 3 | 1 | 1 | | | 6 | |
| 35 to 39 | | | | 4 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 | | 18 | |
| 40 to 44 | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | | 4 | |
| 45 to 49 | | | | | 3 | | | | | 3 | |
| 50 to 54 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| 55 to 59 | | | | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | 4 | |
| 60 to 64 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| 65+ | | | | 1 | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | 6 | |
| Total 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 113 | 109 | 133 | 117 | 63 | 37 | 575 | |
| Total Baptisms | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 120 | 120 | 143 | 130 | 72 | 47 | 636 |
| Percent of those baptized who died at 0-4 years of age | N/A | N/A | N/A | 25.0 | 59.2 | 55.0 | 79.0 | 73.1 | 58.3 | 48.9 | 64.6 |

**TABLE 7.21**

**Years of Survival of Indian Children Born at Mission Santa Inés according to Cohorts**

| AGE GROUP | 1785-1789 | 1790-1794 | 1795-1799 | 1800-1804 | 1805-1809 | 1810-1814 | 1815-1819 | 1820-1824 | 1825-1829 | 1830-1834 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 4 | 21 | 65 | 87 | 119 | 167 | 90 | 110 | 96 | 65 | 45 | 865 |
| 5 to 9 | 6 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 57 |
| 10 to 14 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 1 | | 31 |
| 15 to 19 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 44 |
| 20 to 24 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 41 |
| 25 to 29 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 31 |
| 30 to 34 | 2 | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | | 1 | 1 | 15 |
| 35 to 39 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | | 9 | 3 | 3 | | 2 | 26 |
| 40 to 44 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | 14 |
| 45 to 49 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | 1 | 12 |
| 50 to 54 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | | | 8 |
| 55 to 59 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 9 | |
| 60 to 64 | | | | | 2 | | | | | 2 | |
| 65+ | 1 | | | 2 | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | 7 | |
| Total 49 | 87 | 118 | 149 | 198 | 145 | 149 | 125 | 78 | 64 | 1162 | |
| Total Baptisms | 52 | 91 | 130 | 155 | 213 | 173 | 181 | 168 | 102 | 85 | 1354 |
| Percent of those baptized whodiedat 0-4 years of age | 40.4 | 71.4 | 67.0 | 76.8 | 78.4 | 52.0 | 60.8 | 57.1 | 63.7 | 53.0 | 63.9 |

**TABLE 7.22**

**Years of Survival of Indian Children Born at Mission San Fernando according to Cohorts**

| AGE GROUP | 1785-1789 | 1790-1794 | 1795-1799 | 1800-1804 | 1805-1809 | 1810-1814 | 1815-1819 | 1820-1824 | 1825-1829 | 1830-1834 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 4 | | | 9 | 106 | 155 | 108 | 85 | 116 | 73 | 45 | 697 |
| 5 to 9 | | | | 2 | 5 | 8 | 12 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 47 |
| 10 to 14 | | | 1 | | 1 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 23 |
| 15 to 19 | | | | 3 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 33 |
| 20 to 24 | | | | 1 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | | 25 |
| 25 to 29 | | | | 1 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 2 | | 19 |
| 30 to 34 | | | | 2 | 3 | 4 | 2 | | | | 11 |
| 35 to 39 | | | | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 10 |
| 40 to 44 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| 45 to 49 | | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | 3 |
| 50 to 54 | | 3 | | | | | 1 | | | | 4 |
| 55 to 59 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| 60 to 64 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 | |
| 65+ | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 2 | |
| Total 0 | 5 | 10 | 117 | 188 | 148 | 119 | 144 | 89 | 57 | 877 | |
| Total Baptisms | 0 | 5 | 10 | 124 | 226 | 181 | 165 | 184 | 118 | 96 | 1109 |
| Percent of those baptized who died at 0-4 years of age | 0 | 0 | 90.0 | 85.5 | 68.6 | 60.0 | 51.5 | 63.0 | 61.9 | 46.9 | 62.8 |

# CHAPTER 8

# CHUMASH SOCIAL HISTORY AFTER MISSION SECULARIZATION

John R. Johnson and Sally McLendon

## Secularization and Chumash Post-Secularization Communities

The declining population of the missions and the growing non-Indian (*gente de razón*) population of the presidios and towns put increasing pressure on the Mexican government to redistribute lands to Spanish California residents and their families. The arguments for mission secularization were couched in terms of greater liberty for the Indians, but the effective result of the land grant program was to take away property that was to have been held in trust for the Mission Indians under the old system.

Although a few individuals among the Chumash Indian peoples were granted freedom from missionary authority during the administration of Governor José María Echeandía from 1825 to 1830, full secularization of the missions did not occur until the administration of José Figueroa, who served as Governor of California between 1832 and 1835. The temporal affairs of the missions were removed from missionary control and placed in the hands of commissioners appointed by the governor. Indian neophytes were not automatically freed but could become *licenciados* based on the recommendations of the commissioners and missionaries according to their ability to support themselves. Indian pueblos or barrios were to be established, with lots provided to each family for houses and gardens. An *alcalde*, two *regidores*, and a *colector* were to be selected annually for economic government within these Indian communities. Freed Indians were still obligated to assist in sowing and harvesting mission crops and to provide personal service for the missionaries. Each family was to receive fields for sowing crops. Pasture land for community livestock was also to be provided (Bancroft 1886, Vol. 3:342-344; Engelhardt 1913:473-476).

Little documentation exists regarding the actual implementation of Figueroa's emancipation regulations among the Chumash peoples. Missions Santa Bárbara, La Purísima, and San Fernando were secularized in 1834. La Cieneguita (called in Barbareño Chumash *Kaswa'*) became the Indian barrio for the Barbareño neophytes, while the largest portion of Purisimeños gathered at Los Alamos. Smaller groups of Barbareños and Purisimeños remained in rancherías adjacent to the missions.

A sizable portion of the remaining Indians of San Fernando continued to reside at the mission and at several nearby ranchos given to them. Some Chumash people emigrated to the region near Tejon Pass and inhabited former town sites at *Mat'apxwelxwel* and *Kashtiq*. Others, especially those of Tataviam and Kitanemuk ancestry, moved to communities in the vicinity of the former Mission rancho of San

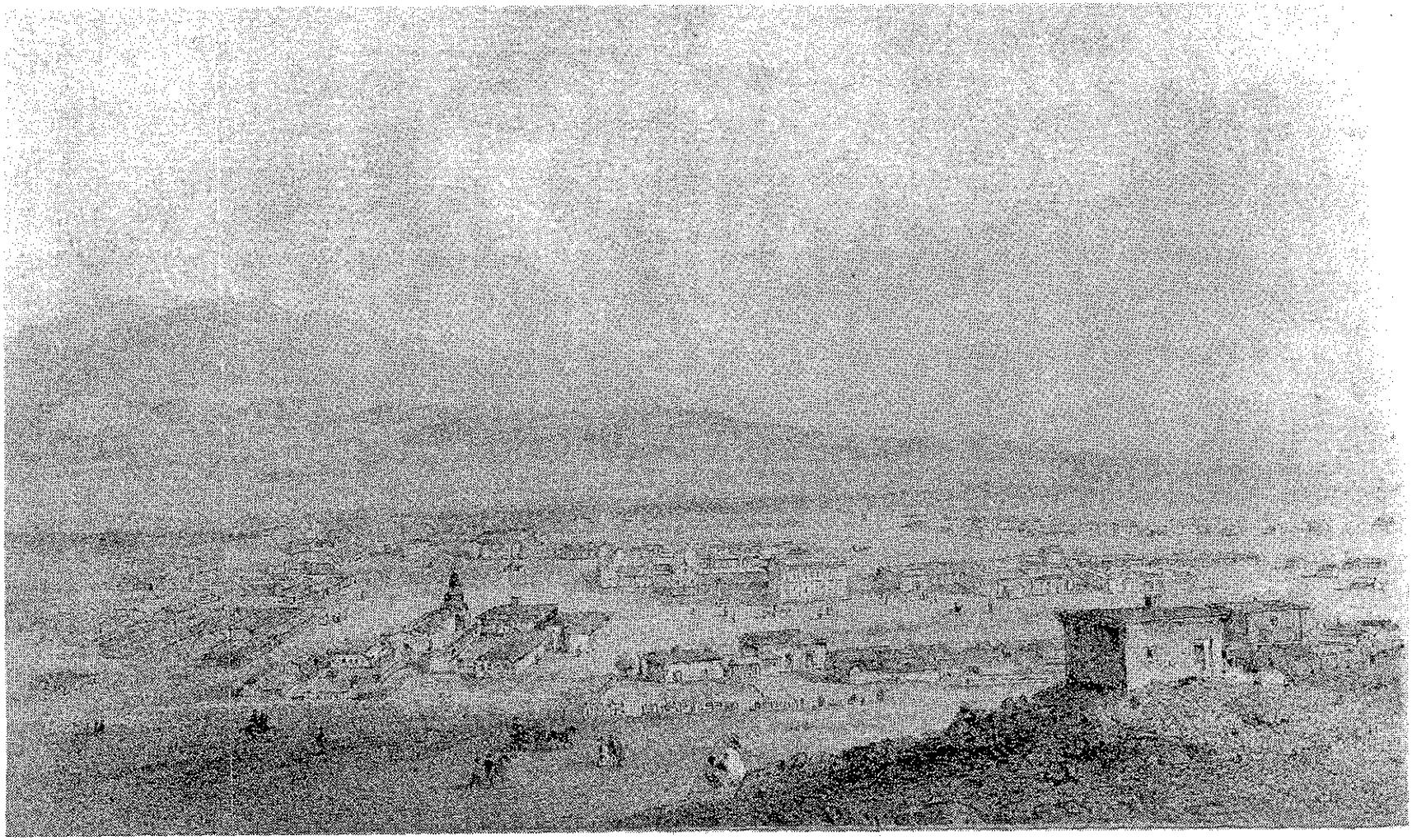

**Plate V.** Los Angeles, about 1850. As this engraving suggests, Los Angeles was little more than a small village in the 1850s when California was annexed to the United States. Native people outnumbered non-Native people. A few held small land grants, usually in trust for whole communities, and continued to live their lives relatively independently of non-Native people.

*Courtesy of Library of Congress Photo Division, Neg. LC-US262-30073.*

Francisco Xavier that had been granted to the Del Valle family. The greatest number of these Indian families settled along Piru Creek in a series of farming communities, while some worked as vaqueros and ranch hands for the Del Valles at Camulos. Others, mostly those with Chumash ancestry, gravitated down the Santa Clara River valley to *Maxaxal* at the mouth of Sespe Creek, *Sa'aqtik'oy* (Saticoy), and Mission San Buenaventura. A few migrated to the Pueblo of Los Angeles where they worked as laborers for Hispanic families (Plate V).

Missions San Buenaventura and Santa Inés were not secularized until June 1836. At the former, the Indian community was organized around the mission ranchería and a series of small farmsteads located along the lower Ventura River. The Indians at Santa Inés mostly continued to reside at the mission. Documentary records indicate that most Ineseños did not formally receive land allotments until 1843-44. See Figure 8.1 for locations of post-secularization native communities of Chumash peoples in the mid-nineteenth century.

## Land Grants to Indian People

Theoretically, emancipated Indian people could apply for large grants of land once they met the Mexican qualifications for citizenship, but few apparently did so. Several such grants were distributed to San Fernando Mission Indians, some of whom were of Chumash ancestry. One of the grantees of Rancho El Escorpión was Odón Chijuya, who apparently was from *Humaliwo* (see El Escorpión Lineage 1 in Chapter 11). José Miguel Triunfo, who may have been Chumash from *Hipuk*, received land at Cahuenga (see Chapter 11). Rogerio Rocha, whose father was a Chumash man from *Kimishax*, had a small grant near Mission San Fernando. Roque, a Barbareño Chumash man married to an Indian woman of Simi Valley Chumash ancestry, was one of the grantees of Rancho Encino in 1843 (Cowan 1977; Harrington 1986: Rl. 106, Fr. 132; Johnson 1997a, 1997b; Spanish Archives n.d.). According to oral history information, Odón was "chief of all the Indians of the southwest end of the valley [and] Rogerio ... was chief at San Fernando" (Harrington 1986: Rl. 106, Fr. 120).

Among the missions in central Chumash territory, two sizable ranchos were granted to Indians (Johnson 1993a). The first of these was Rancho Saca on upper Zaca Creek near Mission Santa Inés. The grantee was Antonino Silimunajait, who was baptized as a child at Santa Bárbara but later was among the first group of Indians transferred to Mission Santa Inés to serve as its seed population in 1804. His grant was received from Governor Alvarado in 1838. The second grant was Rancho Alamo Pintado, given by Governor Micheltorena in 1843 to Marcelino Cuinait, the recognized chief of the Santa Inés Indians in the mid-nineteenth century (Hudson et al. 1977:122-123; Hudson 1979:148).

Just south of Marcelino Cuinait's rancho at *'Alaliwayan*, Micheltorena granted sixteen small tracts to heads of Indian households in the Santa Inés Mission community of *'Alaxulapu* in 1844. These allotments varied in size from 100 to 300 *varas* square and were to be used for cultivation to support the families of the grantees. Other small grants were given to Ineseño Chumash people at Sanja de Cota and San Ysidro (Johnson 1993a:156). Similar grants had been made to families at Mission San Fernando in

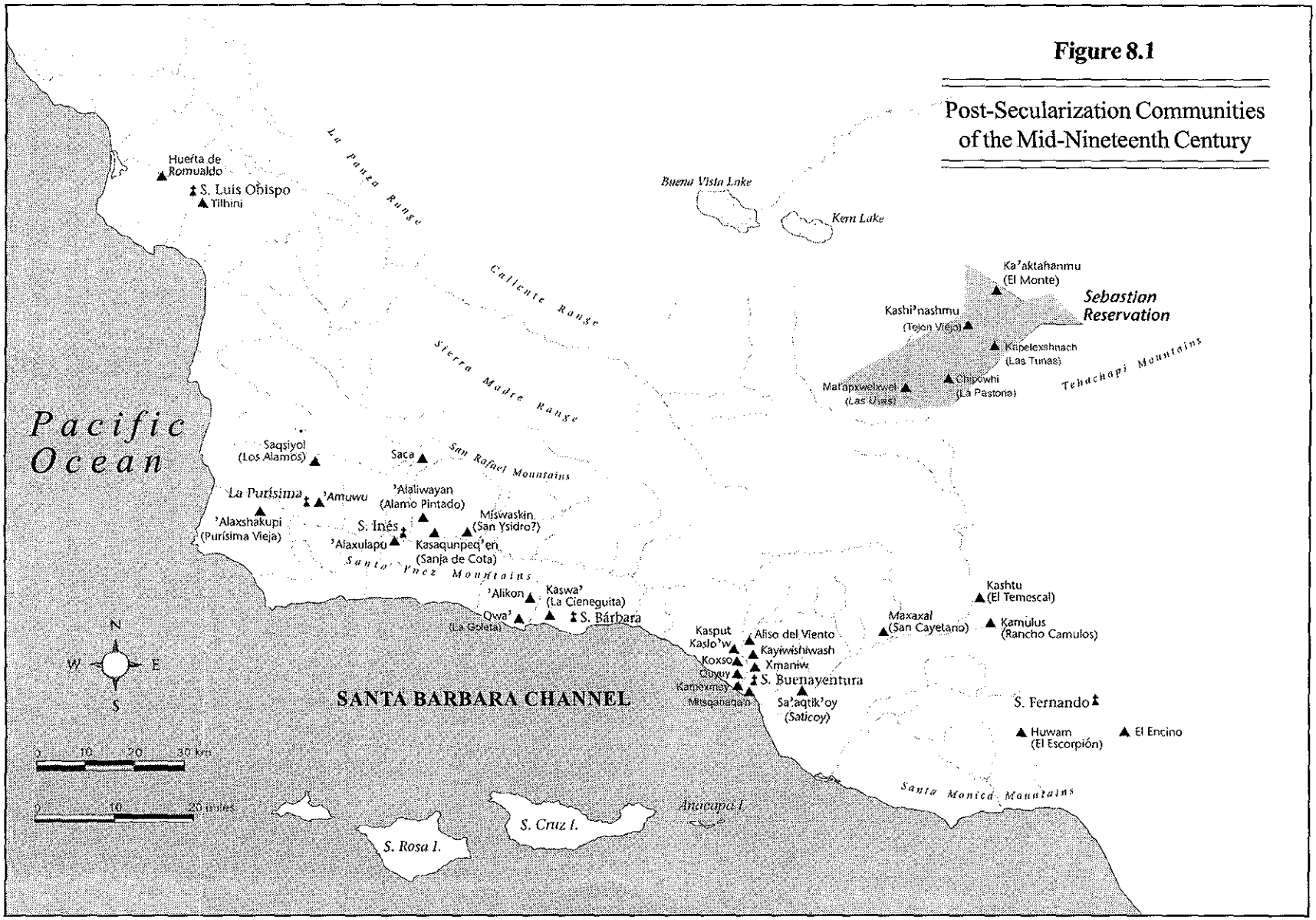


**Figure 8.1**

Post-Secularization Communities of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

the previous year. As a condition of the grants, the Indians were not allowed to sell, lease, or otherwise alienate their lands from the mission community but could pass along their rights to their heirs.

The evidence for land allotments among the Indians of Mission San Buenaventura is less extensive than for Santa Inés and San Fernando. Only three grants are specifically known to have been issued by Governor Pío Pico, in 1845 and 1846, although county records of deed transfers in the 1850s indicate that other Ventureño Indians held ownership rights to tracts of up to 35 acres in extent (Johnson 1993a).

The 1844 smallpox epidemic extinguished the Purisimeño community at Los Alamos and also devastated the Indians remaining at the mission ranchería. Most Purisimeños abandoned the mission, but at least one family chose to remain and were the recipients of a tract of 800 *varas* square, including the mission orchard. This grant was issued by Governor Pío Pico to Pastor and his son-in-law Elceario in November 1845 (Johnson 1993a). Several grants were given to Indians at San Luis Obispo, but these are poorly documented for the most part. The Obispeño Chumash community there, like those of Los Alamos and La Purísima, was devastated by smallpox. Most of what is known about Obispeño Chumash community history comes from Harrington's interviews with the last native speaker, Rosario Cooper (Plate VI) (Klar 1991).

No evidence survives of land distribution among the Indians of Mission Santa Bárbara, yet documents in the mission archives and early county deed records indicate that parcels at La Cieneguita and in the Cañada de María Ygnacia were owned by former neophytes (Johnson 1993a; Schaaf 1981). In a letter to Governor Pico in January 1846, Fr. Narciso Durán urged that formal possession of the lands be implemented for the Barbareño Indians to protect their ownership of tracts assigned to them. Pico approved Durán's proposal that legal possession take place and titles be issued, but documentary evidence that this was ever accomplished appears to be lacking (Engelhardt 1915:464-467; Geiger 1965:138).

In October, 1845, Governor Pío Pico issued his *Reglamento* for final dismantling of the mission communities. Prior to this time, Indian people had to apply for legal emancipation from their condition as neophytes. Pico's *Reglamento* provided unconditional release for all the Mission Indians, leaving them free to remain in communities associated with the missions or to establish themselves wherever they chose. They were to be treated like other citizens and paid for their labor (Engelhardt 1915:448).

Actually, not a great many Chumash people seem to have chosen a lifestyle based on farming small tracts of land set aside for their use. Most men worked as vaqueros, laborers, and domestic servants for the non-Indian population, and a few plied trades learned at the missions. By 1852, when the California State Census was taken, only 12 farmers were noted among the 168 Indian men for whom occupations were listed. By way of comparison, 62 men (37 percent) were listed as vaqueros, 52 (31 percent) as servants, and 23 (14 percent) as laborers. Other professions mentioned were carpenters (3), masons (3), shoemakers (3), saddlers (2), cooks (2), bakers (2), a blacksmith, shepherd, fisherman, and violinist (Johnson 1993a).

**Plate VI.** Rosario Cooper, 1916, the last native speaker of Obispeño Chumash.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31284*

### *Continuity of Cultural Traditions*

A most interesting development was the formation by some former neophytes of settlements reminiscent of pre-European town life. The information regarding the structure of these more traditional communities comes to us from ethnographic notes recorded by John P. Harrington in the early twentieth century. Traditional economic activities, such as fishing, canoe-building, and bead money-making, are described in Harrington's papers. Near these villages were shrines, where offerings were made and pre-European rituals and ceremonies were performed. Traditional leadership roles re-emerged to a certain extent. Tule houses (*jacales*), sweatlodges (*temescales*), acorn granaries, and other traditional structures were features of these settlements (and, to a considerable extent, of other Chumash residential sites as well), testifying to the maintenance of traditional cultural knowledge throughout the mission period. This cultural knowledge continued into the twentieth century. For example, Chumash men, supervised by José Peregrino Romero, built a traditional tall tule house in 1923 at the Ventura County Fair (Plates VII-X).

The people who had originally come from the Channel Islands provide one of the best examples of the continuity of cultural traditions. It is clear that in post-Mission times, many islanders continued to maintain discrete residential subgroups within the larger Indian communities associated with each former mission. This situation assisted in preserving aspects of traditional social and economic behavior that mirrored pre-Mission conditions to some extent.

Information as to exactly how the islanders were organized into residential communities during the Mission Period has not been preserved in historic documents. There is some evidence contained in an 1824 manuscript, however, that some Cruzeños affiliated with Mission Santa Bárbara were stationed at Mescaltitán (a general name for the Goleta estuary) when the Chumash Revolt broke out. They fled from there to the islands, where they resided for some months before returning to the mission (Geiger 1970; Hudson 1976; Johnson 1982a:75-76). This Goleta community may be the same settlement, well documented for post-Mission times, that María Solares called *Qwa'* (named for a waterfowl species). This community, located just west of the inlet of the Goleta lagoon, was led by José Crespín ("Sudón") *Kamuliyatset*, who had been the chief of Santa Cruz Island's "capital" town of *Liyam* before its residents moved to the missions (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:178; Johnson 1982a:117).

Another settlement composed mostly of islanders was formed in post-Mission times near San Buenaventura. This was *Kamexmey*, established just west of the mouth of the Ventura River by Evaristo from *Swaxil*, who served as its "captain" (California English for 'chief', from Spanish *capitán*) (Harrington 1913). Harrington sketched a map of this ranchería as it existed in the 1840s, based on information provided by Fernando Librado (see Figure 8.2). Librado described the founding of this community to Harrington:

> For some reason, why Fernando does not know, Ebaristo went over and founded *Kamexmey*. Before then no one lived at *Kamexmey*. Ebaristo ordered a nice jacal over at *Kamexmey* for two old ladies, Encarnación and Maximiliana (Maximiliana was an abalorio [shell bead money] maker for Ebaristo, made much abalorio for him). Later Lorenzo

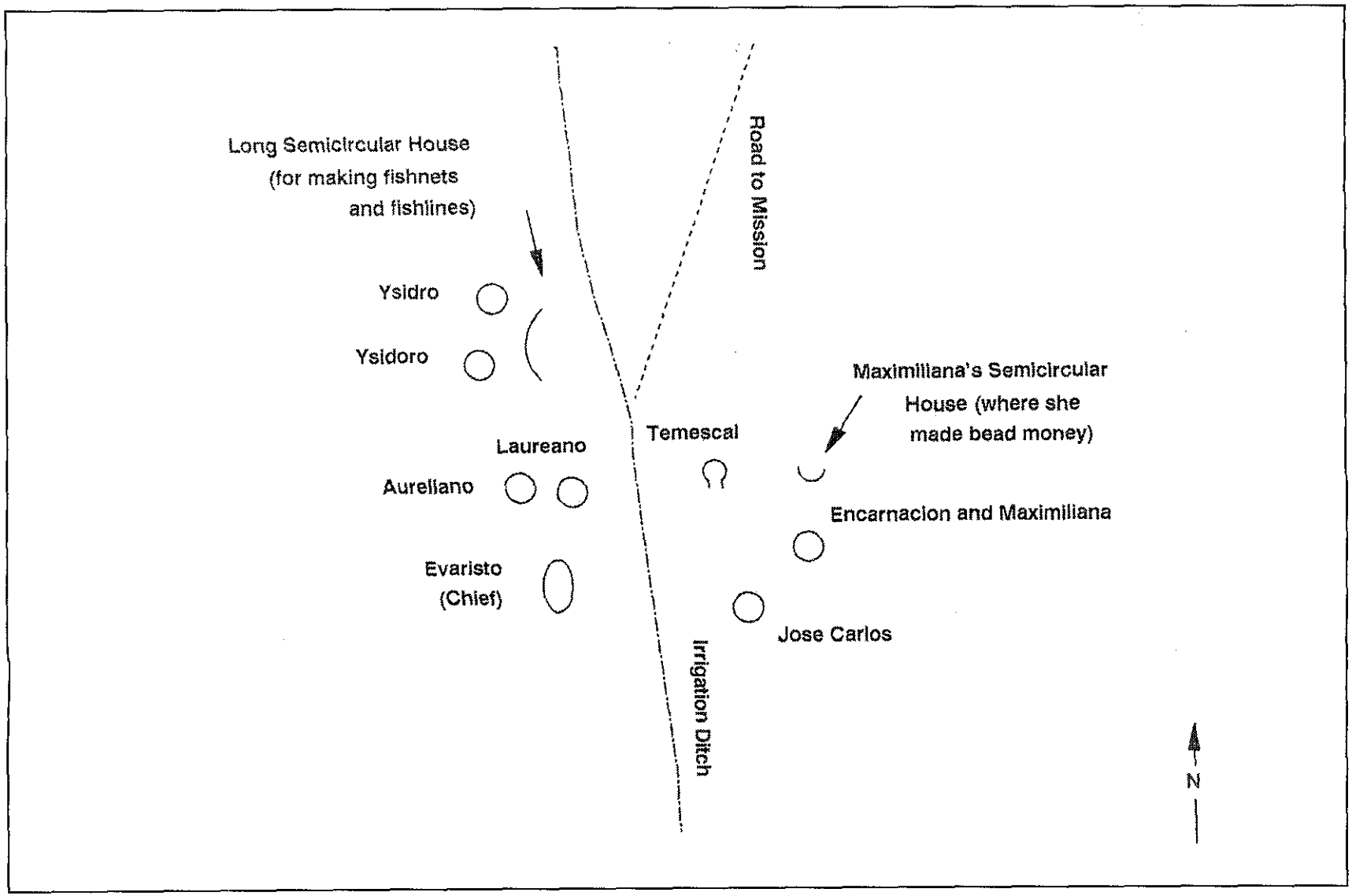


**Figure 8.2** Fernando Librado's Map of House Locations at Kamexmey in the 1840s (from Johnson 1991, based on a sketch Harrington 1913).

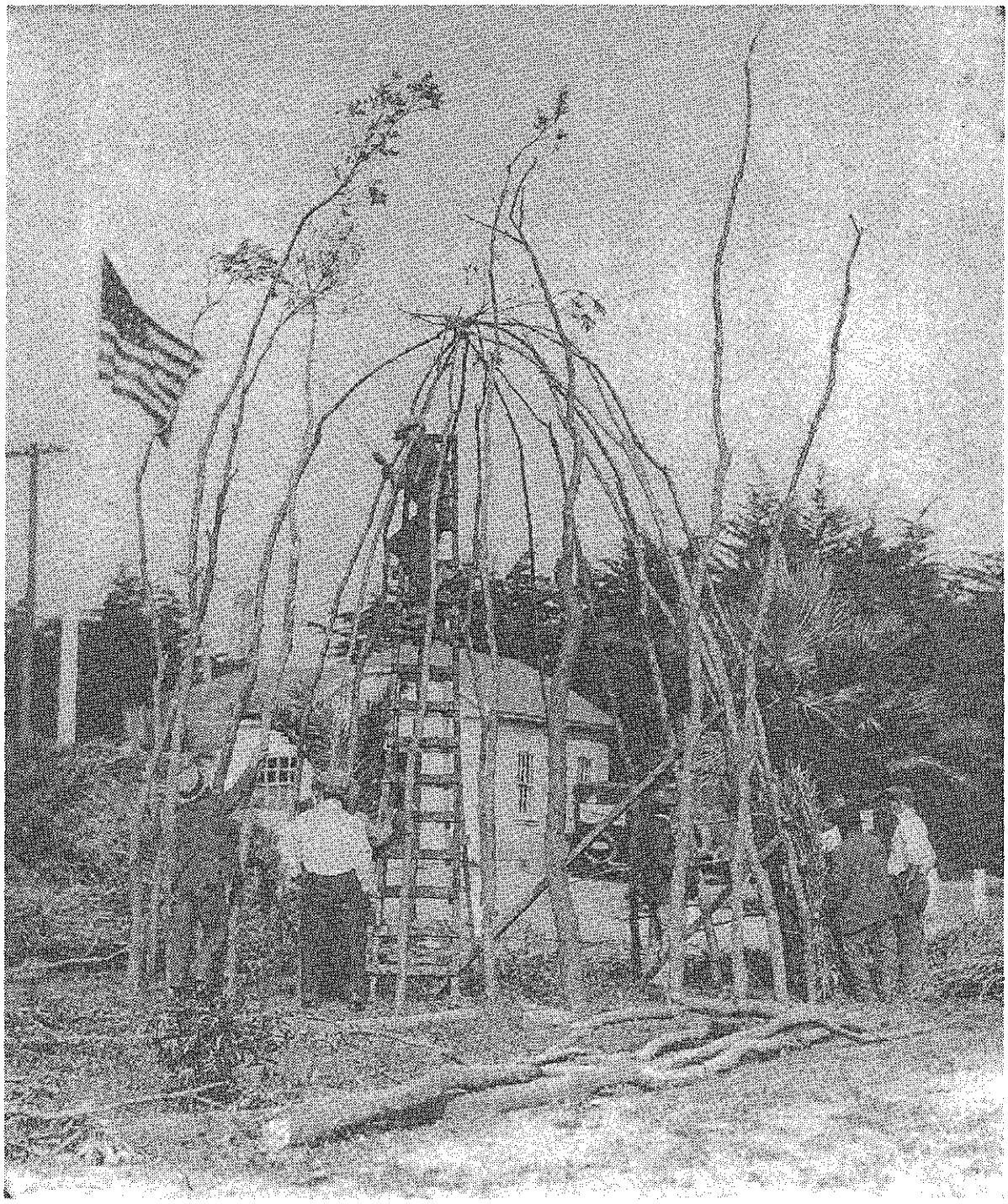

**Plate VII.** Tule house construction, Ventura County Fair, October 1923.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

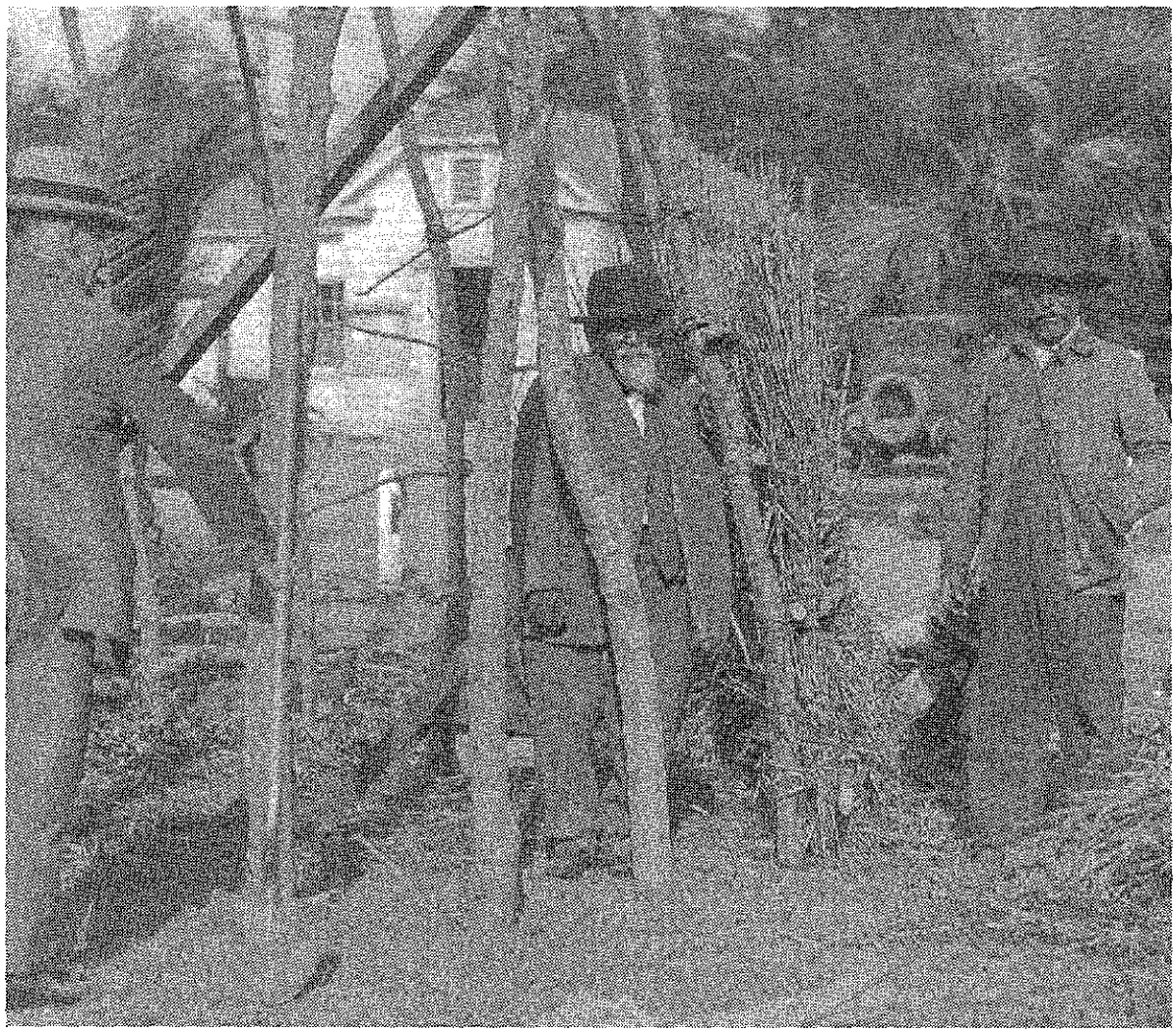

**Plate VIII.** Tule house construction, Ventura County Fair, October 1923. José Peregrino Romero is the man in the center of the photo.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

**Plate IX.** Tule house construction, Ventura County Fair, October 1923.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

**Plate X.** Tule house construction, Ventura County Fair, October 1923.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

> went over to *Kamexmey* and built a nice jacal [not shown on Harrington's sketch]. When Ebaristo made his own jacal over there, he was aided by José Carlos, Isidro, Isidoro, and Lorenzo. All of these later went to live over there. It was after J.[osé] C.[arlos], I.[sidro], I.[sidoro], and L.[orenzo] had moved over to *Kamexmey* and built jacales there, that they all built the jacal for the two old ladies [Harrington 1913].

Other individuals who joined the *Kamexmey* ranchería were Tomás *Chnawaway,* his wife, Tomasa, and her brother, Felipe *'Alilulay* (Hudson 1979; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978). An old Cruzeño man named Teodoro *Piyokol,* described in some notes as a beadmaker, was participating in canoemaking activities at *Kamexmey*, and he may have also resided there (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:16, 179). The *Kamexmey* community seems to have persisted until the 1860s, when the last of its residents died. The *Kamexmey* ranchería is mentioned in historical sources and is shown on an 1855 map of Ventura (Gidney, Brooks, and Sheridan 1917:364; Johnson 1993a).

The islander communities at Missions Santa Inés and La Purísima were smaller than those of Santa Bárbara and San Buenaventura in post-Mission times. In 1855, the Indians at Santa Inés were forced to move from their adobe homes adjacent to the mission and were resettled at Zanja de Cota, later to become the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation (Engelhardt 1932b; Johnson 1993a). María Solares told Harrington:

> There were three families of Islanders at the Zanja de Cota. One family consisted of Tuliana, who was married to *Walayu*. This couple were already married when brought from the island. The second family consisted of Venancia, an Islander, and her husband, Miguel, who was an Ineseño. And the third family consisted of Germana, who lived alone. The three houses inhabited by these families were round jacales [Harrington n.d.b: Ineseño slip file].

The 1856 *padrón* of Missions Santa Inés and La Purísima lists two of these families together (Venancia was already deceased) along with another islander, Getulio, and we may infer from this that the *jacales* of the Cruzeños were located near one another.

At Purísima, the few remaining islanders clustered at Purísima Vieja, just west of the first mission at Lompoc. Fernando Librado knew the residents of this community when he moved to the area in the mid 1850s.

> At Lompoc at the side of the canyon of San Miguelito, Cecilio had a big jacal with three catres [cots] in it. Three families lived in it, one of the families being Mexican. [It] had [a] fire in the middle. [Other] Mexicans criticized this Mexican for living there, but Mexican said food was all [the] same, no matter where you eat it.
>
> Those who lived with Cecilio were [José] Francisco *Kuliwit*, Paz Najar (of Jalisco, Mexico), Paz Najar's mother .... This was all. All three were married. The Mexican had three children. *Kuliwit* had three children and wife and mother-in-law. Cecilio had one child, wife, comadre [godmother], and mother-in-law [Harrington 1913].

Cecilio and José Francisco *Kuliwit* were from San Miguel and Santa Rosa Islands respectively. Cecilio's wife was not of island ancestry, but José Francisco's wife had parents from the Channel Islands (see *Silimihi* Lineage 1 in Chapter 10). His mother-in-law (also mentioned in Harrington's notes) was Úrsula from *Silimi* on Santa Rosa Island. Besides these families, the 1856 *padrón* of Missions Santa Inés and La Purísima lists Úrsula's other daughter and son-in-law as residing at Purísima Vieja. Another island-related family who lived in a *jacal* near Cecilio's were Miguel Francisco and María Encarnación. María Encarnación's father was Cristóval Mascál, the former chief of *Tuqan* on San Miguel Island (see *Tuqan* Lineage 1 in Chapter 10).

There are considerable parallels between the two coastal Cruzeño communities, *Kamexmey* and *Qwa'*, that existed in post-Mission times near San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara. Both had an economic base dependent on fishing, shellfish collecting, and small home gardens (of course, this last feature was a post-contact adoption). Men at both were involved in canoemaking to support fishing activities. At both, tule jacales served as family dwellings with a *temescal* (sweatlodge) located nearby. Other kinds of traditional features were present: an acorn granary is described at the chief's house at *Qwa'* (Hudson and Blackburn 1983:57), and shows "half circle houses" (called *'aqilikoyish*) the sketch map of Kamexmey that served as work sites where beadmaking and fishnet making took place (see Figure 8.2).

Ceremonial activities went on at both communities. Feathered shrine poles were erected near both settlements where offerings were made: at Mescalitan Island near *Qwa'* (Johnson 1989b:7-9) and on the mesa and hill above *Kamexmey* (Hudson et al. 1977:61-63). Fernando Librado reported that the heads of all the families at *Kamexmey* would participate in erecting the shrine poles during the annual Winter Solstice Ceremony along with heads of families who lived at the ranchería next to San Buenaventura Mission (Hudson and Blackburn 1983:96).

Fernando Librado was present at solemn gatherings held at the homes of the chiefs of both these settlements, during which preservation of Indian traditions was discussed (Harrington 1913; Hudson et al. 1977:67-68). The *Kamexmey* gatherings were held at Evaristo's home, which was the largest in the village:

> Encarnación was [from the] islands, and she had been taught in her young days that sometime before winter (*munaskum tswayi*) there should be a meeting anually, and she said that at this time of the year there was an assembly of men in [the] islands, men of Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and San Miguel, for a conference [to] discuss matters. Encarnación called together people at *Kamexmey* at the jacal of Ebaristo annually. Encarnación talked in Chumash (Santa Cruz dialect) [i.e. in the variety of the Island Chumash language spoken on Santa Cruz Island, whose inhabitants the mainlanders called "chumash"] and Saturio, a big statured Indian, ... a Cruzeño who lived at Ventura, interpreted what Encarnación said into Ventureño.

> Encarnación told people that it was dangerous after that season of year to venture out in cayucos [canoes] – [they] must stay home. She gave many counsels (such as Narciso gave Fernando), [she] told about the cosecha silvestre [wild harvest]. Encarnación told Saturio to tell the people that she did not give that speech so that they would give her something, but because she wanted the fathers to teach their sons to respect the world, for there is no god more than that ... and that there was once a big flood in [the] islands [tidal wave?].
>
> She said that once on [the] island at a meeting an Indian from *muwu* [Mugu] came to [the] island and told them that a man arrived at *muwu* and no one knew, he said, whence he came. (Fernando does not know whether this referred to a white man or Indian – he thinks, an Indian.) And [he told them] to beware for a new race would come, although those present might not live to witness the change. And she said that they called her in to that meeting on the island that she might listen to what that man was going to say.
>
> At this meeting in Ebaristo's house, all sat down on petates [mats], even Encarnación and Saturio were seated when they talked. The meeting was before dinnertime – Fernando does not know what hour. Fernando was present at two of these meetings ...
>
> In Encarnación's speech at Ebaristo's house, she spoke of the constellation of stars which comes at the beginning of winter. Just what she meant is not clear [Harrington 1913].

A similar meeting was held at *Qwa'* about 1852 in the home of the chief:

> Several Indians once gathered at the home of José "Sudón" [*Kamuliyatset*] in Santa Barbara. Present were Juan [Cancio?], Baltasar [*Sulupiyauset*], José, Leandro, Policarpio, and Fernando [Librado], all Indian men, along with Martina [*Leqte*], Petronila, and Tomasa (mother of Leandro), all Indian women. Old Sudón spoke to all of them saying:
>
> What have you profited by the belief of the Christians? ... The word is given out but it is difficult to put into practice. Take for example these houses which we have built, such as the big house [Mission Santa Bárbara]. We are in the big house for only a short time, and then we go back to our jacales ....
>
> I am older than you and I have experienced all that has been handed out by the friars. They say that God is coming. I say to you that perhaps some of you will see this God if you don't die first. Our belief is that we must all die and resurrect again, and that these will be the modern ones [Hudson et al. 1977:67].

Other ceremonial roles frequently mentioned for the Cruzeños are performances as singers and dancers at fiestas. It is especially in this aspect of traditional life that we see the participation of the youngest generation of islanders and mission-born children of Cruzeño parents. The Cruzeño dances most often mentioned were the Seaweed Dance, Fox Dance, Swordfish Dance, and Barracuda Dance (Hudson et al. 1977:69-79).

## Adjustment and Survival

Although secularization of the missions and emancipation of the Indians acted to reinvigorate aspects of pre-Mission life, other forces were acting to disrupt and dissipate the community. Not the least of these was the ready accessibility of alcoholic beverages with concomitant demoralizing effects. Some Indian women turned to prostitution to support themselves (Bancroft 1886, Vol. 5:631; Geiger 1965:116-118, 170; Hudson 1979:118). Both problems contributed to a breakdown in social order and higher death rates among Indian people. The records of both the Justice Court and District Court for Santa Barbara County in the 1850s are full of incidents involving assaults, injuries, and deaths among members of the Indian communities resulting from fights during drunken bouts. Occasionally someone would be prosecuted for selling liquor to Indian people, but this did not do much to prevent the problem from recurring (Huse 1977:158).

Prior to the administration of Governor Pío Pico, the decrease in the size of the population of former Mission Indians and the sale of mission herds by the government-appointed administrators had reduced the need for large tracts of mission-owned lands. Accordingly, the former mission ranchos were parceled out among the *gente de razón* in a series of grants. In the Santa Barbara district, a majority of former mission land holdings were obtained by members of the De la Guerra and Carrillo families and their relatives, who were among the foremost political families in Mexican California and who also served as mission administrators, justices of the peace, and members of the Santa Barbara town council.

Under the provisions of his 1845 *Reglamento*, Governor Pico first rented the missions and their remaining lands and then finally sold them to meet his government's expenses. Mission La Purísima was one of the first on the auction block because it had been abandoned by its Indian community during the devastating 1844 smallpox epidemic. The other missions in the Santa Barbara district were all leased at about the time of Purísima's sale in December 1845 (Bancroft 1886, Vol. 4:643-648). In June of 1846, with the raising of the United States flag over California less than a month away, Missions San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Inés were all sold by Pico. In the county archives, a copy of a document from May 20, 1846, shows that Pico legally recorded the permission of the San Buenaventura Indian alcaldes before their mission was sold (Bancroft 1885, Vol. 5:634). A stipulation to the sales were that Indian rights to their allotments were not to be infringed (Geiger 1965:139).

The terms of most of the Mexican land grants to Indian people prohibited sale to non-Indians. However, when the United States took over California, there was enough doubt about the validity of this condition that some of the *gente de razón* began to purchase ranchos and lots from their Indian owners. Antonino Silimunajait's Rancho Saca, Marcelino Cuinait's Rancho Alamo Pintado, and the small garden tracts of the Huertas (or Alalihuay) grant near Mission Santa Inés were all purchased in August, 1847 by María Antonia de la Guerra de Lataillade. José Antonio Carrillo, grantee of the Rancho Misión Vieja o Lompoc, purchased the Huerta de la Purísima grant from Elceario and Pastor in 1848 and 1850. Anastacio Carrillo, to whom Pico had granted a suerte of land at Cieneguita after its Indian owner had died, arranged to have formal judicial possession given to him in 1849.

At San Buenaventura, three "Indian Ranchos" along the lower Ventura River are clearly indicated on an 1855 map. (One of these, located near the river mouth, was in fact *Kamexmey*, which had been founded by the group of Island Chumash families.) Fifteen years later, by the end of 1870, the San Buenaventura Mission burial records indicate that most of the older generation of Indian people who had resided at the principal separate native communities of the post-secularization era were deceased. By that date some of the lands once owned by the Ventureño Chumash had also been sold (Johnson 1993a). In virtually all of the areas where Chumash communities survived, some Indian families continued to reside in rural farmsteads in houses made from traditional materials but shaped in the new rectangular form introduced by Europeans (Plates XI-XIII).

The 1880 federal census documents the continued existence of an important strong native community within the Ventura city limits near the former mission called simply "the Ranchería," where Juan Estevan Pico, Juliana de Jesús Salazar and Martina *Leqte,* among others, were then living (see Chapter 5 and Appendix X). There Alphonse Pinart had collected vocabularies in 1878, and in 1884, Henry W. Henshaw of the Bureau of American Ethnology described finding "about twelve" adult speakers of Ventureño Chumash in a community of many more Chumash people (Henshaw [1884] in Appendix X). This "Ranchería" was the largest community of speakers of any Chumash language he encountered during three months of fieldwork in the Chumash area (Plate X1V). This community and its residents persisted well into the twentieth century. Harrington visited it in 1912 and 1913, and his notes provide much detail about who was living there at this period (see Appendix X). City Directories from the 1890s through the first decades of the twentieth century also list Indian families living in this community. Testimony regarding Indian families in this neighborhood has been provided by Vincent Tumamait (1919-1982), Bertha Tumamait Blanco, Carmelita Lemos, and others who grew up in this community. Thus the loss of Indian lands did not necessarily entail the extinction of distinct Indian communities.

At Mission Santa Bárbara, Indian people lived as long as they could in the Indian village of adobe houses built next to the Mission (Plates XV and XVI), as well as at the community of La Cieneguita, which was near the site of the eighteenth-century native town, *S'axpilil*. La Cieneguita was the center of one of Mission Santa Bárbara's grain and stock ranches. An *asistencia* chapel had been built here by the missionaries in 1803, together with a village of adobe houses, and Indian people continuously maintained a community at the spot until almost the end of the nineteenth century (Geiger 1965; Rogers 1929:19-20, 24-28). In January 1842, George Simpson, the General Superintendent of the Hudson Bay Company, visited this community, and described its residents:

> We visited a village of free Indians, situated in the valley. The inhabitants were the ... remains of the two thousand natives that once swarmed here; and they now found room in eight or ten hovels [houses] of bulrushes, similar in every respect to those which we had seen at Sonoma. They appeared, however, to be, on the whole, more comfortable than General Vallejo's serfs, possessing enclosures of land, with a few cattle and horses; and yet they were engaged in the wretched expedient of making bread of acorns. Among them, there was one woman so old that she must have been well advanced in life

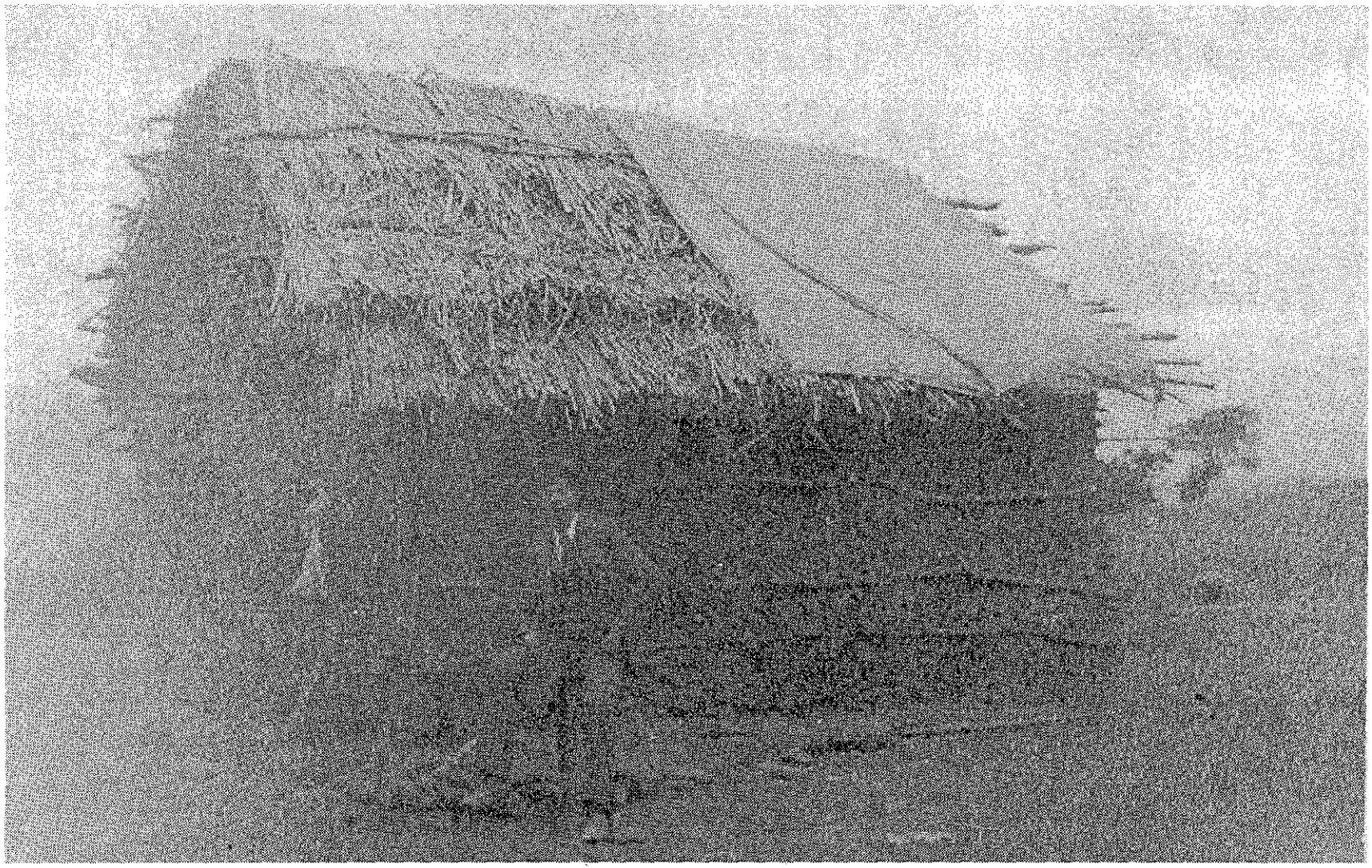

**Plate XI.** Gabled tule house occupied by a Chumash family along the road to Ojai, about 1880. Photo by J. C. Brewster.
*Courtesy of Santa Barbara Historical Society*

**Plate XII.** Rectangular tule house occupied by Rafael Solares, chief of the Ineseño Chumash community at Zanja Cota. Henry Chapman Ford pencil drawing from a sketch by Miss Hail, 1880s.
*Southwest Museum Collection (from Ford 1989).*

**Plate XIII.** Indian house in Mission Canyon, Santa Barbara, 1880s. Henry Chapman Ford etching. *Southwest Museum Collection (from Ford 1989)*

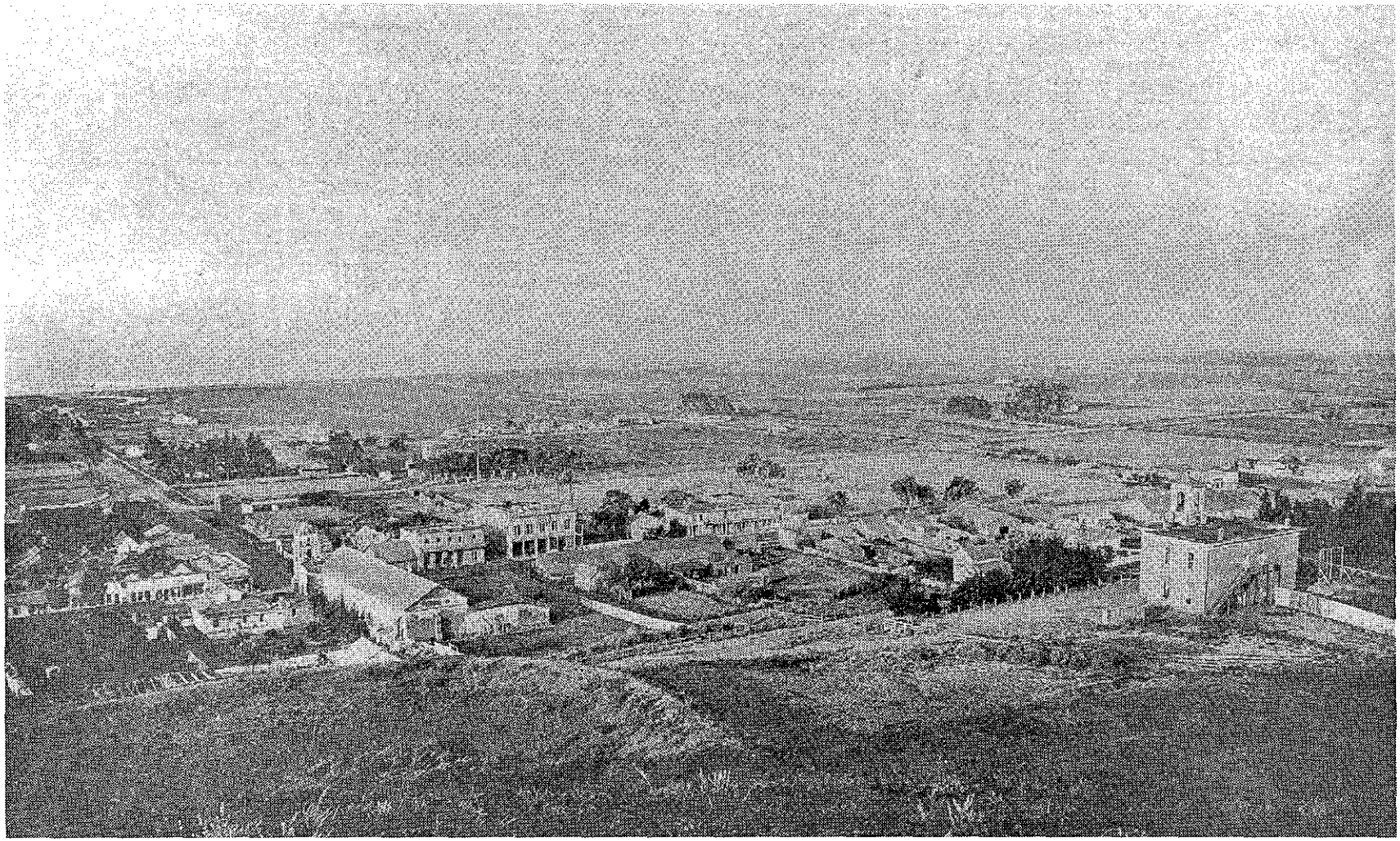

**Plate XIV.** "Mission and Town of Ventura from foothill" circa 1875-1885. Photograph now credited to C. C. Pierce, but possibly by Carleton E. Watkins. Ventura in the 1880s was not much bigger than Los Angeles in the 1850s. The Ventura Indian community was a cohesive unit within Ventura in the rear left.

*Courtesy Regional History Center, University Library, University of Southern California, Neg. 6049 (921).*

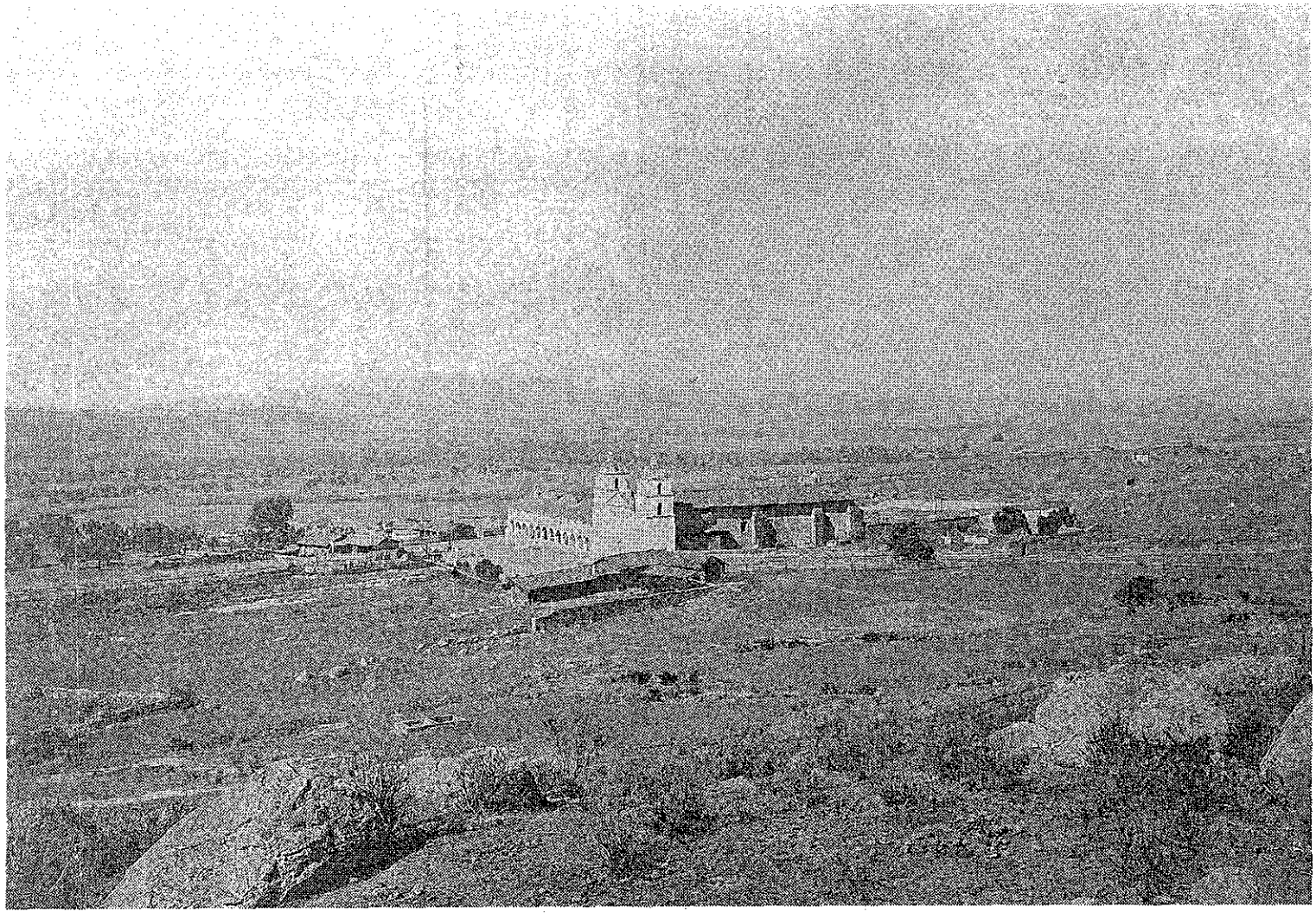

**Plate XV.** Mission Santa Barbara, circa 1875-1885, by Carleton E. Watkins. The former Chumash Indian community is to the left of the church.
*Courtesy of Henry E. Huntington Library.*

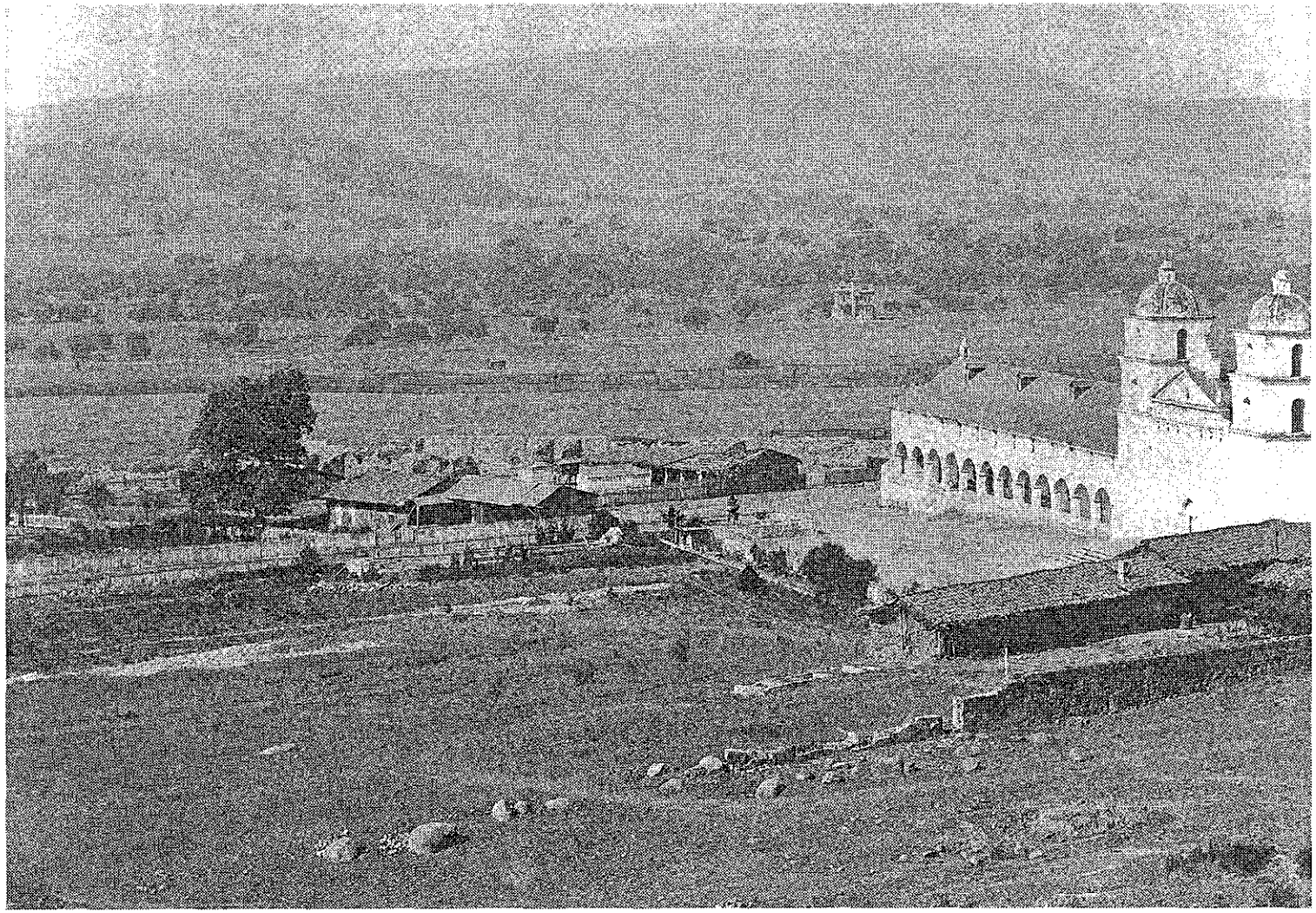

**Plate XVI.** Close-up of Chumash Indian community to the left of Mission Santa Barbara, by Carleton E. Watkins. One house is missing roof tiles and clearly abandoned, but two of the houses appear intact and may still have been occupied at this date, although (by then) a good number of the former neophytes of Mission Santa Barbara were living at La Cieneguita and the "Indian Orchard" on Maria Ygnacia Creek.

*Courtesy of Henry E. Huntington Library.*

> at the first settlement of the upper province, and must have seen the missions, rise, and ripen, and decay before her [G. Simpson 1847, Vol. I:398].

A will placed in the county records in 1849 indicates who some of the residents were, their interrelationships, the fact that title to land at La Cieneguita was in Indian hands and that attempts were being made to safeguard it, as well as the agricultural activities being productively pursued at the time:

> In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. I, Francisco Massilili, native of the mission of Santa Bárbara, aged sixteen years and fourteen months and three days, legitimate son of the Indians called Fulgencio and Petronila, of the same Mission, being in sound mind and in my natural judgement, believing as I truly believe, all the articles and mysteries of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Faith, in which faith I was baptized, and in which I hope to live and die. Being the proprietor of a garden situated at San Francisco Xavier, alias La Cieneguita, inasmuch as I am the legitimate heir of my grandfather on my mother's side, Higinio, I ordain, and it is my will, that in the case of my death, José Feliciano Sugriyet should inherit and have possession of said garden. I name him in the first place. In the second place I name Gabriel, the son of the late Prisca. These I designate as the only legitimate heirs of said garden... [Rogers 1929:24].

This will is then certified by the constitutional Alcalde of Santa Barbara and the Father of the Neophytes as follows:

> That the garden situated at San Francisco (alias La Cieneguita) established by the neophyte Higinio, who has died since, is the property of Francisco Massilili as the legitimate grandson, which he is, on the mother's side, of said Higinio, who had no other lawful heir, there being none than the aforesaid Francisco. The garden comprises three hundred and sixty Spanish yards of timber, six fig trees, twelve pear trees, eight peach trees, fifteen grape vines, one prickly pear cactus, and one water ditch [Rogers 1929:24-25].

In 1851, the leaders of the Barbareño Chumash deeded the recently built San Francisco Xavier Chapel at La Cieneguita to the Bishop of California. In 1854, Thomas Henley, the California Superintendent for Indian Affairs, visited Santa Barbara and inspected the Indian community there. On December 15 1854 Henley wrote to George W. Manypenny, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> On a recent visit to Santa Barbara I was shown a small Rancherae [sic] of Indians in that vacinity [sic] occupying lands which had been allotted to them by the Priests while they controlled the lands by authority of the Mexican Government... [U.S. National Archives, Record Group 75, Microfilm 234, Rl. 34, Fr. 187].

Henley appointed Thomas Hope, a nearby rancher, to be Indian agent for what became known as the "Cieneguita Reservation" (Schaaf 1981:24-30). Hope soon wrote to Henley describing conditions at the Cieneguita community:

> In conformity to your instructions, I have marked out the land of the Cenigintas (sic) Indians which the above is a rough plat thereof [not with microfilm of letter]. The land has been claimed by them for more than twenty four years and upwards, and they have been in peacable [sic] possession of the same, and desire that they may remain in the peacable possession of their homes. They desire to go to Cultivating their lands for their support.
>
> The Indians are very much pleased that they can remain at their old homes, and go to farming. I would suggest that you send to them some farming utensils. Say -- Six Ploughs, Six Yoake of Oxen, three Carts, three dozen hoes, one dozen Rakes, Spades & Shovels, two doz. chains for the Ploughs, one doz. Hayforks, and two dozen Sickles for cutting grain.
>
> I would further suggest that in order to induce them to stay at home (as that some of them are very destitute of clothing & provisions) or they will necessarily be compelled to hire out about the town and they will return to their old habits again. There has not been a drunken Indian since the next day after you left this place. I have collected fifty five of the men that belong to the tribe, and sixty two females, and they are all greatly pleased at their return to their old homes. I stated to them that it is the intention of the government to take care of them & protect their property and persons from the ravages of vicious whites who have never permitted them to keep a horse or cow of their own.
>
> And if they had a few cows to start with they would soon raise enough for their own consumption.
>
> I have procurred [sic] a certificate from the Padre which will give you all the information in regard to the right to occupy the land they claim, which certificate I send to you with this letter [not with microfilm of letter] [U.S. National Archives, Record Group 75, Microfilm Rl. 234, Fr.185-186].

Hope eventually bought up most of the land surrounding the Indian community, including the Cieneguita property granted to Anastacio Carrillo in 1845. As the Indian population residing permanently at Cieneguita decreased, Hope also purchased the remaining holdings of the last of the Indian residents in 1875, but permitted them to remain settled there (Schaaf 1981). Hope died in 1876, and his heirs later sold the Cieneguita property to the Pacific Improvement Company. In 1886, the company forced six families who still lived there from their homes to fend for themselves as best they could (Forsythe 1961; Rogers 1929:26-27). One of these Indian families, Justo and Cecilia, became the only Santa Barbara County recipients of a federal Indian land allotment under the Dawes Act. Their allotment was located the top of the mountains far removed from interference by the Whites, and their descendants still retain this parcel today (Plates XVII and XVIII).

The only Barbareño Indian family to retain their assigned tract of mission land into the twentieth century were the heirs of María Ygnacia, who was the daughter of a Chumash chief. In the Santa

Barbara County archives are several trust deeds executed by María Ygnacia to ensure that her ranch property at the "Indian Orchard" would be managed for herself and her heirs (Plates XIX and XX). This strategy seems to have worked successfully to preserve her property rights longer than those of other Indian families.

The Indian people who had been associated with Mission Santa Inés continued to live adjacent to the mission and in 1845 were granted farm lots near the mission by Governor Micheltorena. The Catholic Church brought the case of the Santa Inés Indians before the United States Land Commission in 1853 to validate Governor Micheltorena's 1845 grant. Although Micheltorena's grant was undoubtably genuine and deserved to be patented, the Church's case was rejected in 1855 for legalistic reasons, partly because paperwork had been lost in the intervening years (Bancroft 1886, Vol. 6:564-565; Engelhardt 1915:745). As a result, the Indians were forced to move from the mission community at *'Alaxulapu* to Zanja de Cota, which had been granted to members of the Ineseño community in 1844 and was protected from White encroachment by being embedded within the Cañada de los Pinos grant owned by the Church (Engelhardt 1932b:191). Some of the remaining Purisimeño Chumash also joined this community.

Late nineteenth-century descriptions of Zanja de Cota indicate that it was much like La Cieneguita and the Ventura Chumash community (see 1880 census of Santa Ynez Indians in Appendix X). In 1893 Henry Chapman Ford wrote:

At the present time there are about 35 descendants of the Santa Inés neophytes living on the Zanja Cota, near the present town of Santa Inés, ... They occupy lands along the Cota Creek, set off to their fathers at the time of secularization. This tract could not be sold or mortgaged, but was to be held as homes, and even a residence in other places did not forfeit the right of the descendants to a home there. This right was acknowledged by the Mexican government and also later, by the United States. Several attempts have been made to dislodge the Indians, but their rights have been maintained up to this period [Ford 1989:96].

Around the turn of the century, the Catholic Church sold the Cañada de los Piños rancho. Because the Indians were deemed to have established prior claim to the land by use and occupancy, negotiations with Santa Ynez Land and Improvement Company resulted in the conveyance of 99 acres at Zanja de Cota to the United States Government in 1903 to establish the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation (Plates XXI- XXIII) (see BAE correspondence with Harrington in Appendix X).

## The Tejon Indian Community

Just prior to mission secularization, many Indians from the general region of the Southern San Joaquin Valley had entered missions where people speaking Chumash languages had been living. By 1840, a large number of these Yokuts and Kitanemuk-speaking peoples had returned to their former homes, sometimes accompanied by Chumash spouses whom they had married at the missions. Peoples from Interior Chumash territory near Tejon Pass also reoccupied their former settlements and were accompanied by other Chumash-speaking peoples whom they had met at the missions, including some

**Plate XVII.** Cecilia Justo, 1903. Cecilia Justo was recipient of a land allotment near Refugio Pass in the Santa Ynez Mountains in the early twentieth century.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31412.*

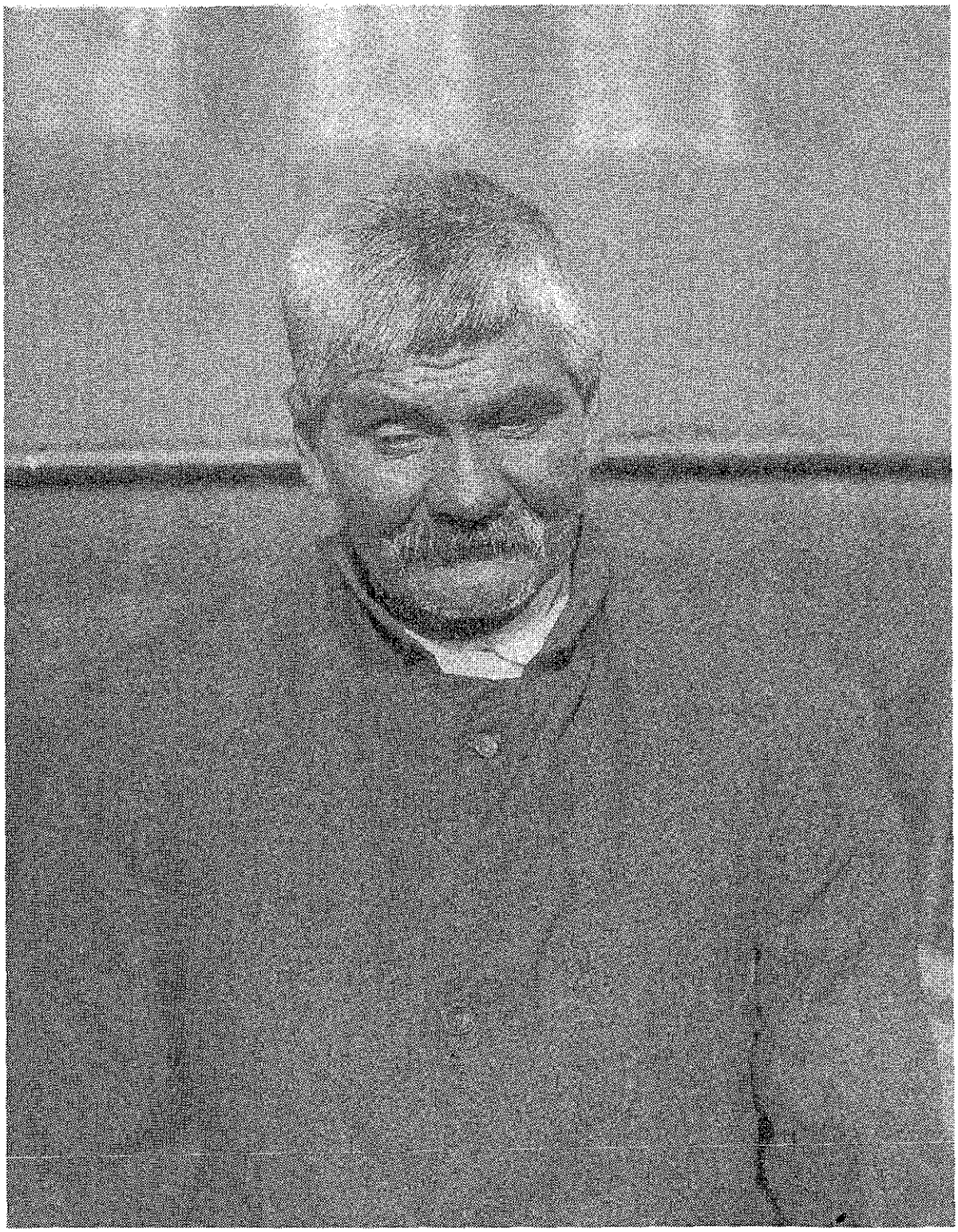

**Plate XVIII.** Juan Justo, son of Justo and Cecilia, was born at La Cieneguita and, with his niece and nephew, later inherited his mother's Indian land allotment in the Santa Ynez Mountains, Juan Justo worked as a Barbareño Chumash consultant with J.P. Harrington. This photograph was probably taken in 1913.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31300.*

**Plate XIX.** Luisa Ygnacio, 1913. Luisa Ygnacio and her children inherited the Indian Orchard Ranch near Goleta, California, that had been owned by her mother-in-law, Maria Ygnacia. Luisa Ygnacio, two of her daughters, and her granddaughter, Mary J. Yee, served as Barbareño Chumash consultants to J. P. Harrington.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31298.*

**Plate XX.** Lucrecia García, about 1900, one of the heirs of the Indian Orchard Ranch on Maria Ygnacia Creek. Like her mother, Luisa Ygnacio, Lucrecia García worked extensively with J. P. Harrington to document the Barbareño Chumash language and community history. *Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31290.*

**Plate XXI.** Francisca Solares, working as a laundress at the Old College Hotel in Santa Ynez, 1906. She was the great-granddaughter of *Yanonali*, chief of the Barbareño Chumash town of *Syuxtun*. Francisca Solares was a member of the Chumash community of Zanja Cota when it became the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31306.*

**Plate XXII.** María Antonia Piña, daughter of María Solares, photographed while working as a laundress at the Old College Hotel in Santa Ynez. Photo by Cristina Moller, 1906.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31302.*

**Plate XXIII.** María del Refugio Solares and two of her great-grandchildren in front of her home at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation, 1916. María Solares was an Ineseño Chumash speaker consulted by J. P. Harrington.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31427.*

from the Santa Monica Mountains. To some degree they continued to practice the agricultural activities learned at the missions, and they supplemented their subsistence with hunting and gathering wild crops. The Tejon region thereby became a refuge of Native peoples who wished to live apart from White civilization.

With the massive influx of Anglo-Americans during the Gold Rush, California Indian peoples living in the interior suffered from conflicts over incursions into their territories. To protect lives and property, the Federal Government sent an Indian peace commission to California in 1851 to negotiate treaties with Native leaders and to allocate specific tracts of land where they would be secure from White intrusions (Phillips 1997). On June 10, 1851, a treaty was signed at Tejon Creek by the leaders of eleven tribes from the southern San Joaquin Valley region (Appendix XI). At least three of the tribes ("Castake" [*Kashtiq*], "Uvas," [*Mat'apxwelxwel*], and "San Imirio" [San Emigdio]) were composed predominantly of people speaking Chumash languages who had formerly resided at Missions San Fernando, San Buenaventura, and Santa Bárbara. In exchange for 763,000 acres to be reserved for Indian occupancy between Tejon Pass and the Kern River, the treaty ceded rights to most of the territory once occupied by people speaking Chumash languages (Figure 8.3) (Crouter and Rolle 1960; Harrington 1985, 1986; Johnson n.d.b; Heizer 1972:38-41; Royce 1899; Watson 1994).

In 1853, the Tejon region was visited by a party headed by Lt. R. S. Williamson, who were charged with finding the optimal route for the future Pacific Railroad. They surveyed several canyons and passes through the Tehachapi Mountains looking for the best exit from the San Joaquin Valley (Blake 1856; Williamson 1856). Included as part of the survey's published report is a plate that shows the entrance to the Cañada de las Uvas, reproduced here as Plate XXIV. Two dome-shaped Indian homes visible in the distance are being approached by a horseback rider, and in the lower right corner are two figures, perhaps Indian children. These domiciles may have been the residence of Antonio, who was one of the Tejon Indian chiefs and a signatory of the Tejon Treaty in 1851 (Heizer 1972:39). Members of the railroad survey party purchased a watermelon from Antonio's garden when they visited him on September 20, 1853 (Blake 1856:41). Other Indian people settled along Cañada de las Uvas near Antonio's residence and re-established the ranchería of *Mat'apxwelxel* 'Cottonwood Place', which had been occupied in Mission times. Some of its residents, perhaps the majority, were speakers of Ventureño Chumash. Rafael, one of the chiefs who signed the Tejon Treaty on behalf of the "Castake" (*Kashtiq*) tribe, is documented as having resided at *Mat'apxwelxel* (Harrington 1985:Rl. 100, Fr. 1079). Rafael had been among the first group of children baptized at Mission San Fernando. His wife was María Eutiquiana from the Santa Monica Mountains coastal town of *Lisiqishi* (see *Lisiqishi* Lineage 2 in Chapter 11).

While Williamson's party was camped at Tejon, Lt. Edward Fitzgerald Beale arrived to establish one of the early Indian reservations in California (McGruder 1950; Williamson 1856:22). By the end of the summer of 1853, some 200 families had carried out extensive farming with Superintendent Beale's assistance (see Appendix XI). A reserve such as this had been promised by the Tejon Treaty signed in 1851, and Beale had been lobbying for its creation since his appointment in 1852 (Crouter and Rolle 1960). Within a few months of the establishment of the Sebastian Military Reserve at Tejon, a number of Yokuts, Tubatulabal, Kawaiisu, and San Fernando Mission groups were relocated to join the Kitanemuk, Yokuts, and Interior Chumash communities already settled in the Tejon region (Plate XXV). Many of

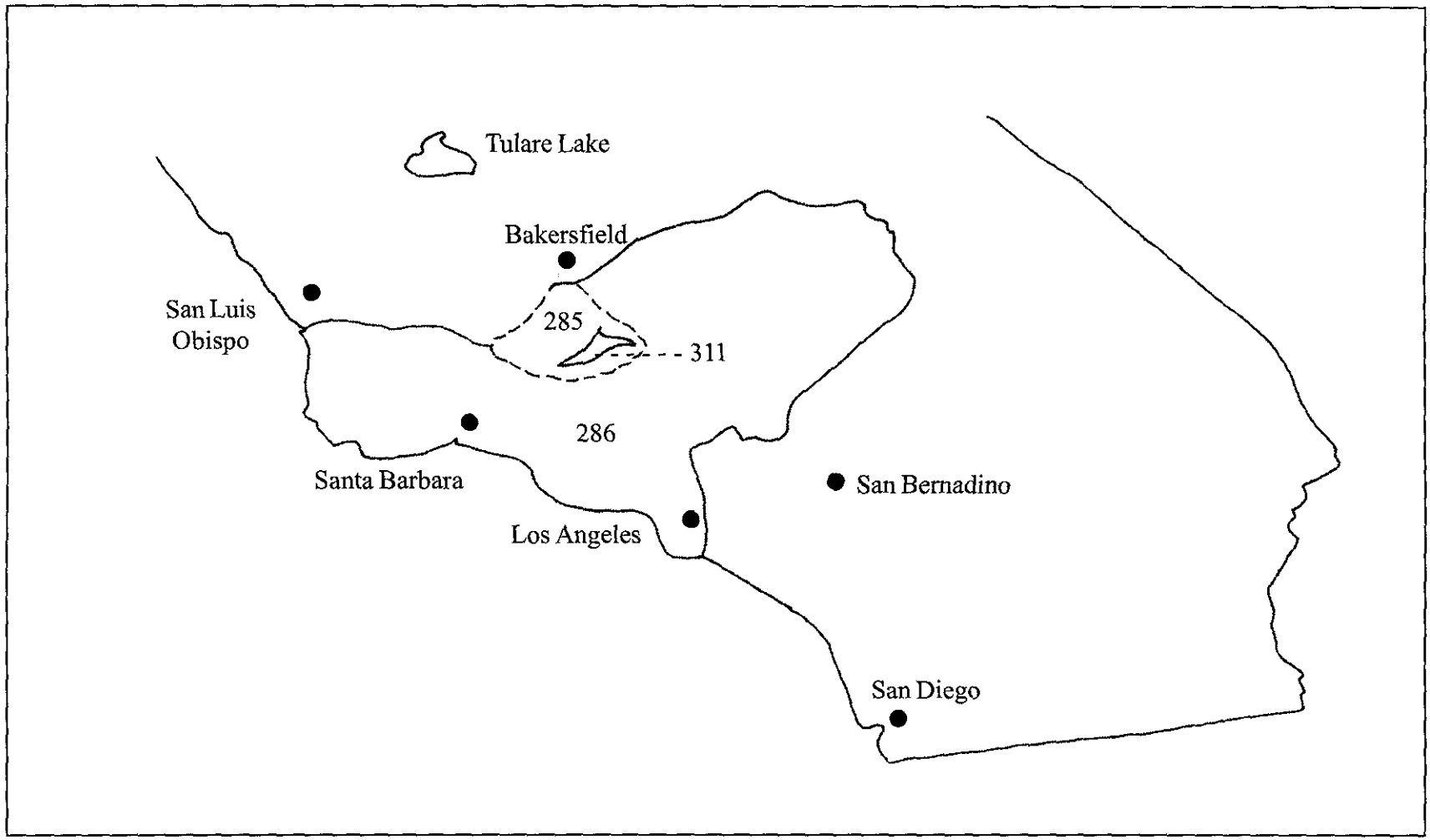


**Figure 8.3** Territory covered by the Tejon Treaty of 1851, which was not ratified by Congress. The tribal representatives who signed the treaty had agreed to settle in Area 285 and cedes claims to Area 286, at least half of which had once been occupied by people speaking Chumash languages. Area 311 was the area actually set aside for the Tejon Reservation established by Superintendent Edward F. Beale in 1853 (from Crouter and Rolle 1960).

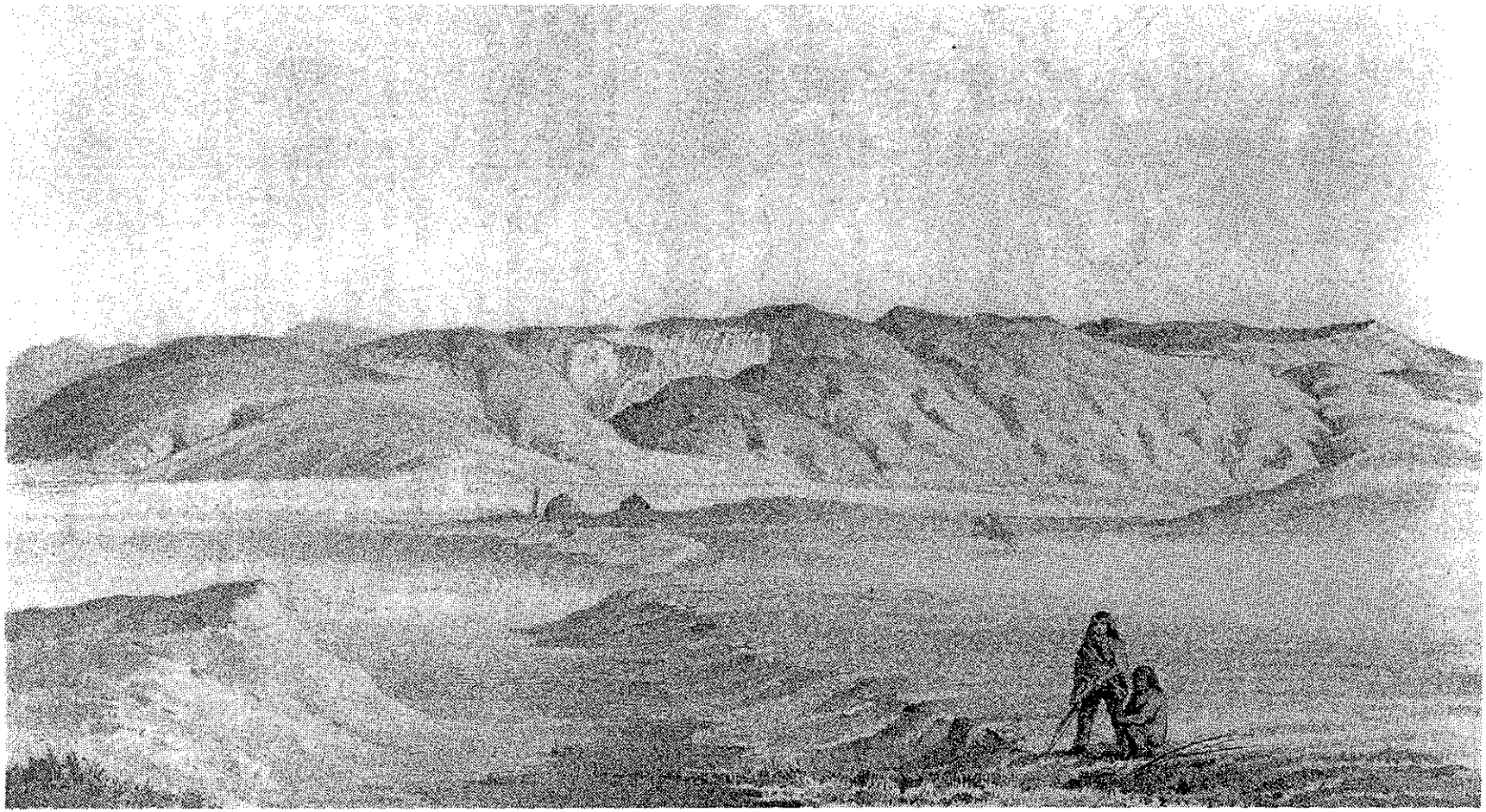

**Plate XXIV.** Mountains near the entrance of the Cañada de las Uvas. Engraving by Charles Koppel for the Williamson Report of the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. One of the 18 unratified treaties made between the United States government and the Indians of California was signed in the Tejon region in 1851. Some of the signers were members of Chumash-speaking towns. Subsequently the first Indian reservation in California was established here by Edward F. Beale, the first superintendent of Indian Affairs for California. *Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division, Lot 3986-1, Neg. LC-313714.*

these eventually left, while those groups originally native to the Tejon stayed on (Latta 1977). By the next spring, an article in the *Los Angeles Star* (June 17, 1854) describes the Sebastian Military Reserve as consisting of "Seven Rancherias ... which are governed by Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs." Most of these rancherías included several tribes (see Appendix XI). The article continues:

> These Rancherias are located in different parts of the Reservation, and are so concealed by the openings of the mountains and rolling hills, that riding along the main trail, one would say there were not more than two or three hundred Indians on the Reservation; yet they actually number at this one time more than 1800, and are constantly increased by new arrivals.

Unfortunately the political pressures on Superintendent Beale had been intensified by a change in administration in Washington, from Whig President Millard Fillmore to Democrat Franklin Pierce in January 1853, when Beale had been in office only nine months. Originally Beale was continued in office by President Pierce, but by early in 1854, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny, brought formal charges claiming that Beale's accounts were out of order and charging him with embezzlement. Beale was replaced by a Democrat, Thomas Henley, who within a few years would himself be accused of corruption and driven from office. According to Henley, a critic of Beale, the number of Indians residing on the reservation in the fall of 1854 was estimated to be about 700, and they were represented by seventeen chiefs. In this same year Fort Tejon was established as a military outpost to guard the reserve (Giffen and Woodward 1942:37, 59).

Even before the establishment of the Sebastian Reserve, intermarriage had begun to unite the various Southern Valley groups. The mission experience had certainly accelerated this process, and many former Mission Indians came into the Tejon Region at the invitation of people whom they had known and/or to whom they were related through intermarriage at the missions. Nonetheless, the linguistically and politically distinct communities tended to remain separate under their own political leaders. Thus, Beale created a council of seven leading chiefs to assist him in his administration of the reservation (Giffen and Woodward 1942; Crouter and Rolle 1960). Contemporary ethnohistoric accounts and the ethnographic papers of Harrington and Merriam describe ceremonies in which all groups participated. Increasingly the Tejon Indian communities were interlinked by economic, social, familial, and political circumstances.

Meanwhile, Rancho El Tejon had been approved as a land grant in 1843 by the Mexican government of California and briefly occupied in 1845-46. On this slim basis, the Board of Land Commissioners ruled that the grant was valid in 1858, and a patent was issued a few years later in 1863. Nevertheless, the rights of the Tejon Indians were preserved under the terms of the grant: "The grantor shall not disturb the Tejon Indians in the cultivation of the land ... and gives to them the exclusive right of habitation, cultivation, grazing, hunting anywhere within its boundaries" (Giffen and Woodward 1942:41).

By 1864, when the Sebastian Military Reserve was closed and Fort Tejon was abandoned as a military outpost, Edward F. Beale had returned to the Tejon region and began to buy up four neighboring land grants, which he joined together to create his Tejon Ranch "empire," comprising over 150,000 acres (Giffen and Woodward 1942:45; Crowe 1957; McGruder 1950). Many of the Indians who had once

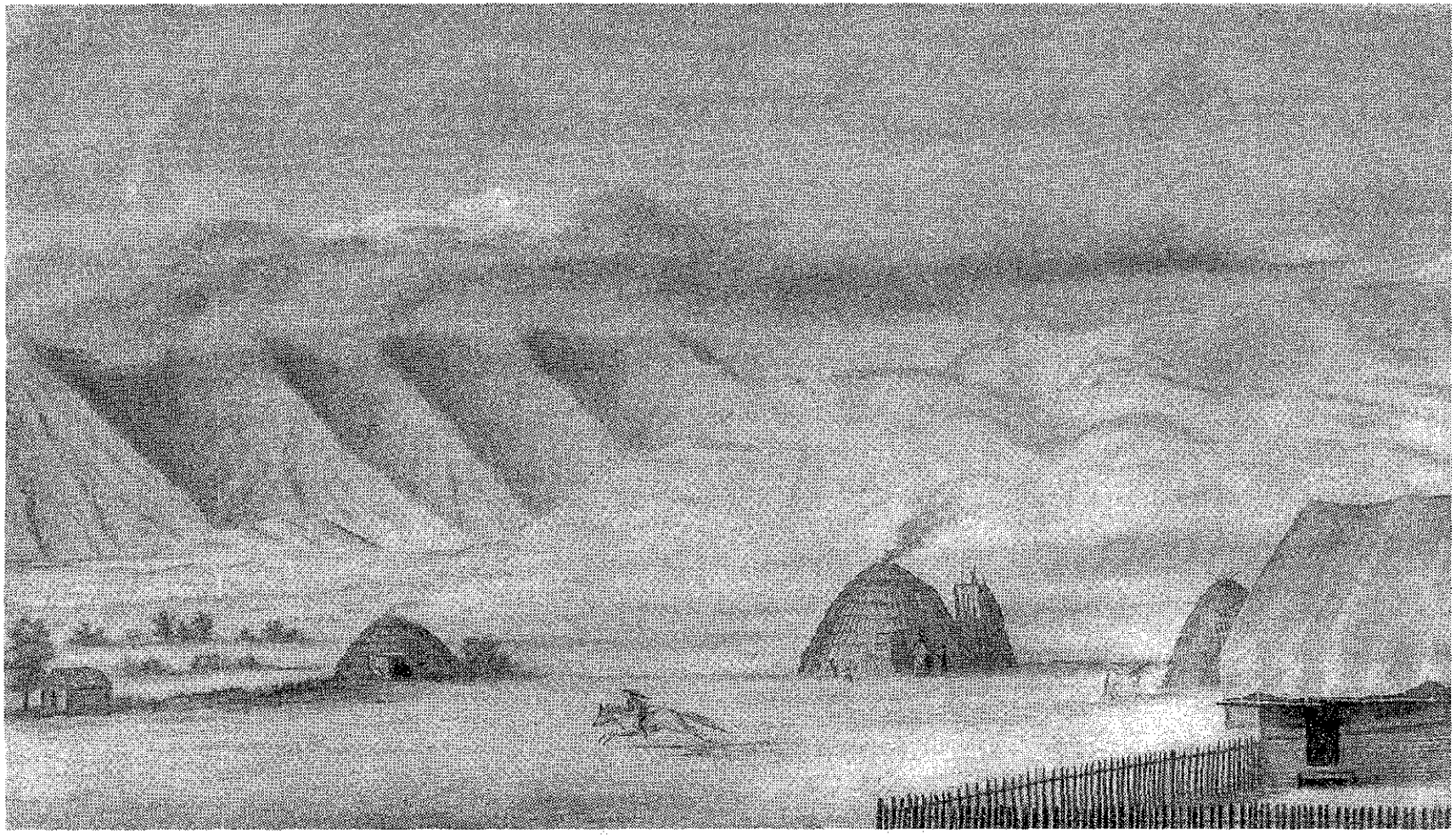

**Plate XXV.** "Tejon Pass-from the Indian Reservation Land of Talase [Tulare?] Valley," ca. 1853. Crayon drawing by Thomas Ayres in the Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco. The only known illustration of this early Indian reservation in California. The drawing shows three tall traditional tule houses, one with an outside storage cache, identical to that built almost a century later with guidance from José Peregrino Romero at the Ventura Fair in 1923, (see Plates VII-X). Two rectangular Euro-American style structures are also shown.
*Courtesy of Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. Neg 151.*

been under Beale's supervision on the reservation continued to work for him as laborers after he acquired the ranchos. By all accounts, he enjoyed good rapport with the Tejon Indians, but that was not the case for some of the ranch managers who worked under him (Harrington 1985: Rl. 100, Fr. 1057; Latta 1976:121; and see Coluco deposition in Appendix XI). Gradually the Indians were forced from their small rancherías and homesteads to relocate to other settlements on the ranch. Eventually in 1875, all remaining Indians were moved to one ranchería in Tejon Canyon upstream from El Monte (Harrington 1985: Rl. 101, Fr. 71).

The Tejon Indian population had declined considerably from its peak in the reservation years. A smallpox epidemic had taken many lives in 1862-63. Following the demise of the Sebastian Military Reserve, some Yokuts families moved to the reservation at Porterville, and a Ghost Dance held in 1873 at *Kolpopow* near Glennville led to the exodus of additional Yokuts families who subsequently settled at Porterville (Gayton 1930; Harrington 1985: Rl. 100, Fr. 1057). Charles Nordhoff, who visited the Tejon Ranch in 1872, reported that "about three hundred Indians ... have been allowed to fence in small tracts of land on which they raise barley and other provisions, and in some cases plant fruit trees and vines" (quoted in Giffen and Woodward 1942:48).

In 1887 Beale hired Carleton E. Watkins, a well-known early California photographer, to document Rancho El Tejon. Watkins undertook this work while engaged in other photographic projects in Kern County near the end of his active career (Palmquist 1983:75-78). He created a whole series of images of buildings and people around the ranch. The Beale family portfolio of Watkins's originals are at the Library of Congress, and other images are part of the collections at the Beale Memorial Library and Pioneer Museum in Bakersfield (Palmquist 1983:207).

Several photographs taken by Watkins document conditions of Indian life at the Tejon Canyon ranchería. The captions accompanying the Watkins images in the Library of Congress consistently refer to the Indian community as a "reservation," an identity it was to hold in the public mind until at least the mid-twentieth century, as is attested in county records and newspapers. Watkins's captions for his photographs provide revealing information about life in the Tejon Indian community in the late nineteenth century (Plates XXVI-XXX).

An adobe chapel was built in 1884 and dedicated the following summer (Harrington 1985: Rl. 100, Fr. 1189; Rl. 101, Fr. 71). Baptisms of Tejon Indians had always been a hit-or-miss proposition following mission secularization, due to the great distance of the Tejon Region from the missions near the coast. Beginning in 1878, Catholic priests from Visalia began actively proselytizing the Tejon Indians, baptizing many adults and children who had not previously been to the missions. Periodic visits to the Tejon Chapel were conducted, first by priests from Visalia, and later from Bakersfield and Tehachapi after churches were established in those towns (Plates XXX-XXXI).

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the population of the Tejon Canyon ranchería was tabulated several times by census takers and Indian agents. Counts ranged from a low of 47 persons in the 1910 census to 74 people listed in a special BIA census about 1914 (Johnson n.d.b). The Indian

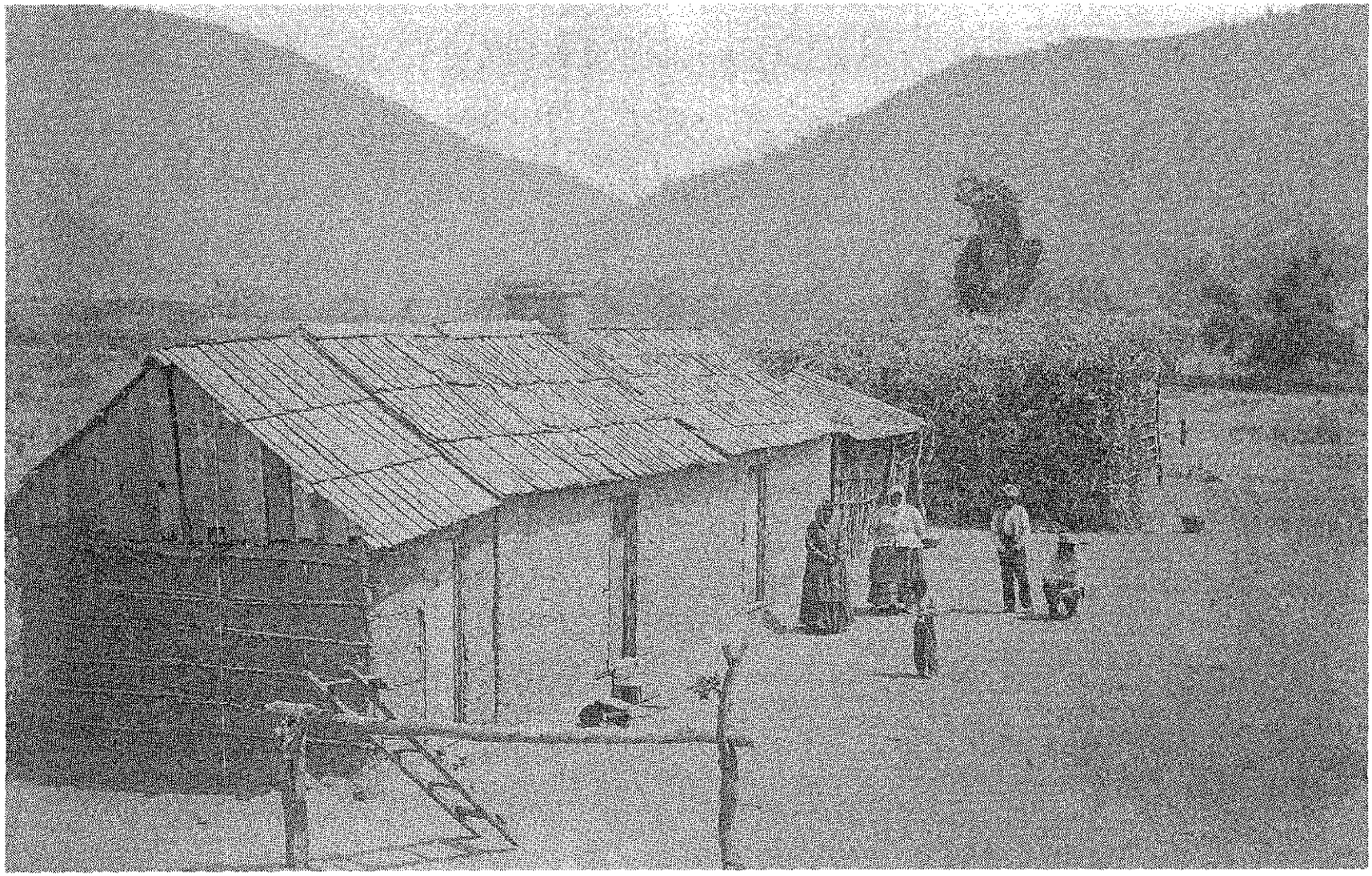

**Plate XXVI.** Indian residence at the Tejon Canyon Ranchería, about 1887. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (his no. 537). Watkins's original caption reads: "Indian Reservation: A Summer and Winter House -- The Indians . . . have an adobe building to live in during the winter, and their summers are spent in [houses] made of boughs of trees as shown on the right of the adobe . . ."
*Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division.*

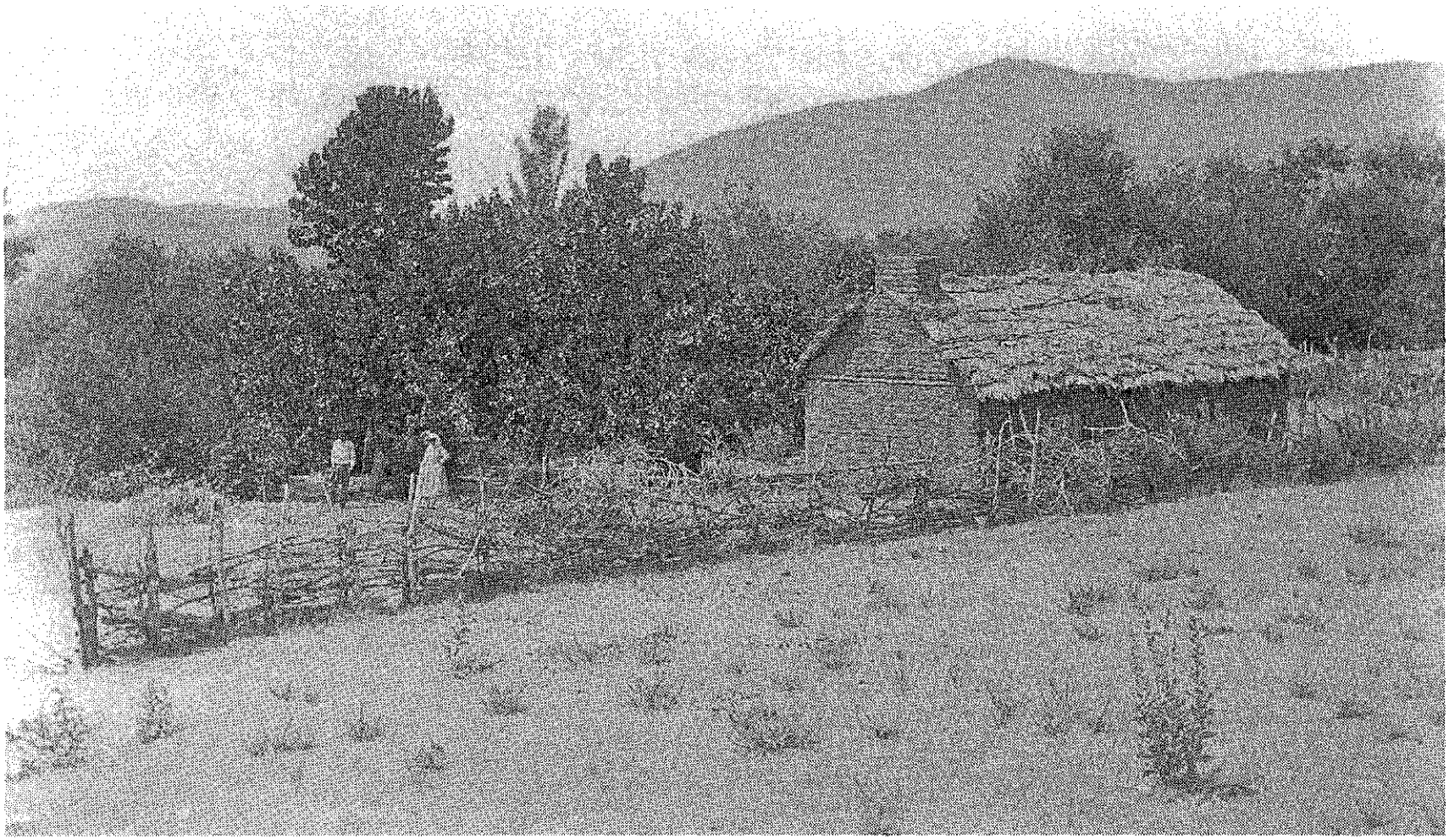

**Plate XXVII.** Adobe home with thatched roof at the Tejon Canyon Ranchería. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (his no. 534). Watkins's original caption states: "An Indian Home and Orchard--The Indian reservation on Tejon ranch about five miles from the headquarters, contains about 150 of a once large tribe . . . [who] devote their time to cultivating their orchards or working for the proprietor of Tejon ranch." *Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division.*

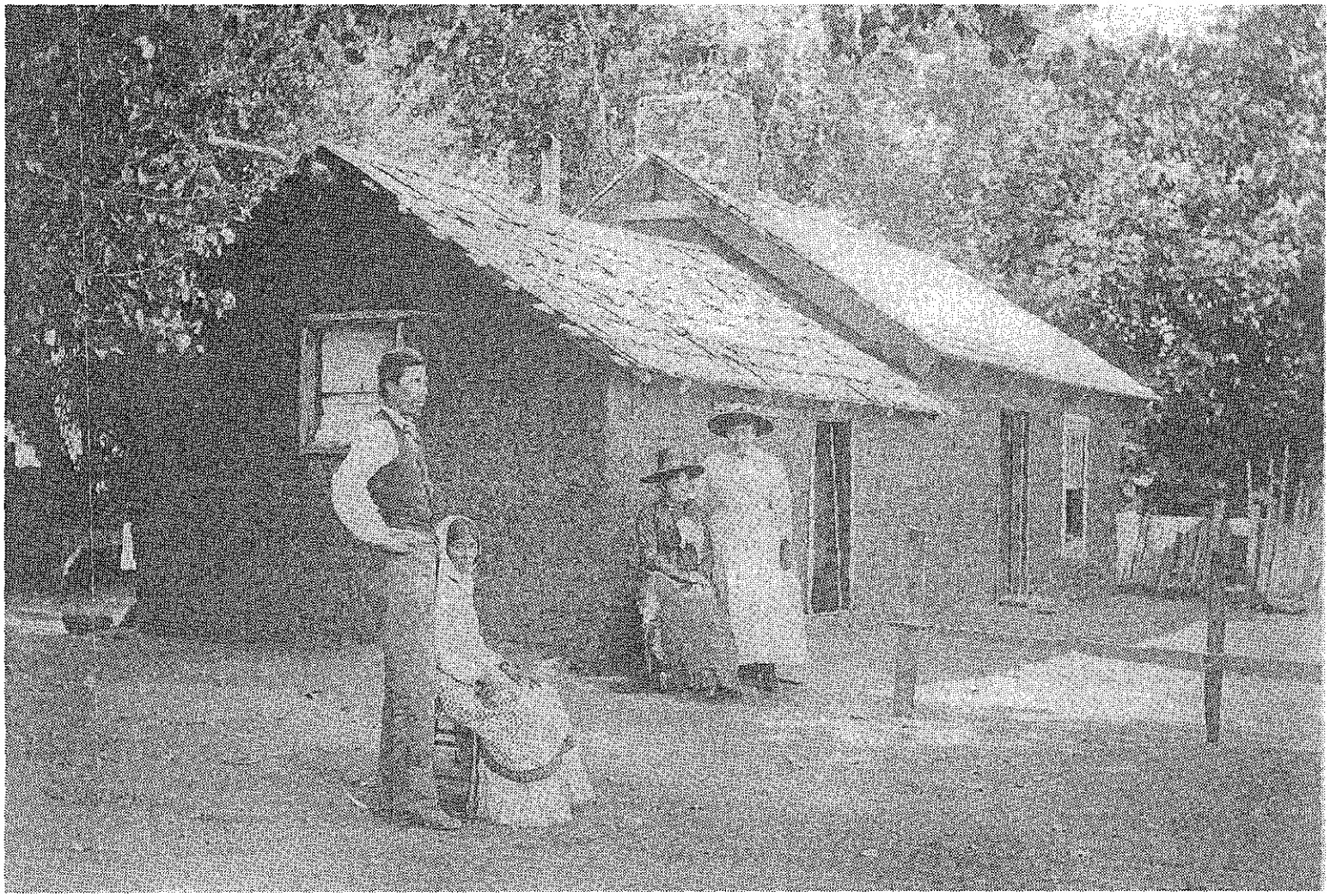

**Plate XXVIII.** Tejon vaquero, his Indian wife, and relatives. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (his no. 529). Watkins's original caption reads: "An Indian home -- The Indians . . . are thoroughly civilized and many speak the English language fluently. Their buildings are all adobe."
*Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division.*

**Plate XXIX.** Tejon Ranch headquarters, about 1887. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (his no. 515).
*Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division,*

community consisted of a series of adobe and wooden frame homes that dotted the sides of Tejon Canyon for several miles upstream from where the creek exited from the steep slopes of the southern Tehachapi Mountains. Fields and orchards were cultivated surrounding these dwellings (Johnson 1995). Several Chumash members of the Tejon Indian community who had ancestry from the Santa Monica Mountains were interviewed there by C. H. Merriam in 1905 and by J. P. Harrington and his wife, Carobeth, in 1916-1917 (Harrington 1986; Merriam 1967) (see Chapter 11).

In 1917, a survey and federal investigation were undertaken regarding the legal status of the Tejon Indian community. This investigation of conditions at the Tejon Canyon ranchería coincided with Harrington's visit. It eventually led to a suit by the Attorney General's Office against the Title Insurance and Trust Company to obtain permanent land rights for the Tejon Indians. Harrington was detailed from his position at the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology to assist with gathering Tejon Indian depositions for the case (Mills 1985:153-154). The case was argued all the way to the Supreme Court, but unfortunately that body decided against the government, which was acting on behalf of the Indians. In 1924 the Supreme Court ruled that the Indians, who had faithfully abided by the conditions of the 1851 treaty when they settled on the Sebastian Reserve, had given up their land rights by doing so and by not opposing the land grant claims subsequently submitted to the Commission that had been established to hear such claims. Such a decision seems grossly unfair today and was considered so at the time by advocates for Indian rights (Hathaway 1924). Because they lacked a federal reservation, the Tejon Indians did not come to be included in the list of federally-recognized tribes for California.

Although the Supreme Court decision affected their legal status on the Tejon Ranch, the Company permitted the Indians to remain. About forty residents still occupied the old adobes in Tejon Canyon until the magnitude 7.7 Tehachapi Earthquake ruined their homes on July 21, 1952. Fortunately, occupants were unharmed because they were following the traditional practice of sleeping outdoors on warm summer nights (Mary Montes, personal communication). Although some Tejon Indians worked for the Tejon Ranch Company and remained on the Ranch, employment elsewhere has led most to live in neighboring areas. They retain a strong sense of community and are seeking to re-establish their federal recognition as a tribe. As will be documented in Chapters 10 and 11, some Tejon Indian families can trace ancestry to Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains and, in one particular case, possibly to one Santa Rosa Island town.

## SUMMARY

Following mission secularization in the 1830s, Native people from the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains were included into a number of descendant communities. Most of these were continuing settlements that had been established near the missions, but others were located in distant regions such as the southern San Joaquin Valley, where they would be less threatened by White intrusions. Land grants and allotments were distributed to Indian people where they could support themselves through agricultural activities, although many continued traditional fishing, hunting, and gathering activities. Some individuals continued in trades they had learned at the missions. Housing gradually shifted from tradi-

**Plate XXX.** Tejon Indian Chapel. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins (his no. 535). Watkins's original caption reads: "Indian Reservation, The Church–An adobe church is centrally located in the reservation set apart by the proprietor of Tejon ranch for the 150 remaining Indians."

*Courtesy of Library of Congress, Photo Division.*

**Plate XXXI.** Tejon Indian Chapel about 1912.
*From Frank F. Latta (1976), courtesy of Mrs. Piedad Vásquez.*

tional tall, domed tule-thatched dwellings to rectangular thatched houses and adobe dwellings. Traditional political leadership roles and ceremonial gatherings continued past the 1870s.

After California became part of the United States, Indian communities all over the state saw their lands encroached upon by incoming settlers. Traditional property rights were not recognized under the new system, and old Indian grants were sometimes purchased by non-Indians or deliberately ignored by Whites, who were often able to wrest title to the land through their political connections and the Indian owners' unfamiliarity with American law and lack of access to legal advice. To protect Indian rights and prevent the outbreak of hostilities with incoming settlers, a series of treaties was negotiated with California Indians in 1851-52. The Tejon Treaty of 1851 included Chumash signatories, who had once been at the missions and ceded all of the territory controlled by tribes speaking Chumash languages. These treaties were never ratified by Congress, but a reservation system was begun shortly thereafter. One of these was the Sebastian Military Reserve at Tejon, which included several Chumash settlements. Although the Sebastian Reservation at Tejon was terminated in 1864 because it had been established on a land grant with a title judged to be valid, the Indian communities there survived by virtue of the relationship they had established with E. F. Beale, the former reservation superintendent who purchased the grant.

The Barbareño Chumash community at La Cieneguita had federal recognition extended to it by the formal appointment of an Indian agent. In Ventura a town grew up around the Indian community, and many Chumash residents retained title to their land allotments even into the early twentieth century. At Santa Inés, Chumash people were forced to move from their homes at the old mission, so they resettled at Zanja de Cota, another location where they had been given land after secularization. There they were able to survive as a community because they were protected by being within a land grant patented to the Catholic Church. At the west end of the San Fernando Valley, Indian people were able to obtain their own valid title to the Rancho El Escorpión where they could continue to live in community. Others who lost their land rights to the incursions of the Whites lived at Mission San Fernando.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the principal communities of Chumash descendants from the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains included Zanja de Cota near Santa Ynez, La Cieneguita and "Indian Orchard" near Santa Barbara, the Ventura Indian "ranchería," the Piru Creek settlement near Camulos, El Escorpión and the old mission vicinity in the San Fernando Valley, and the Tejon Canyon ranchería.

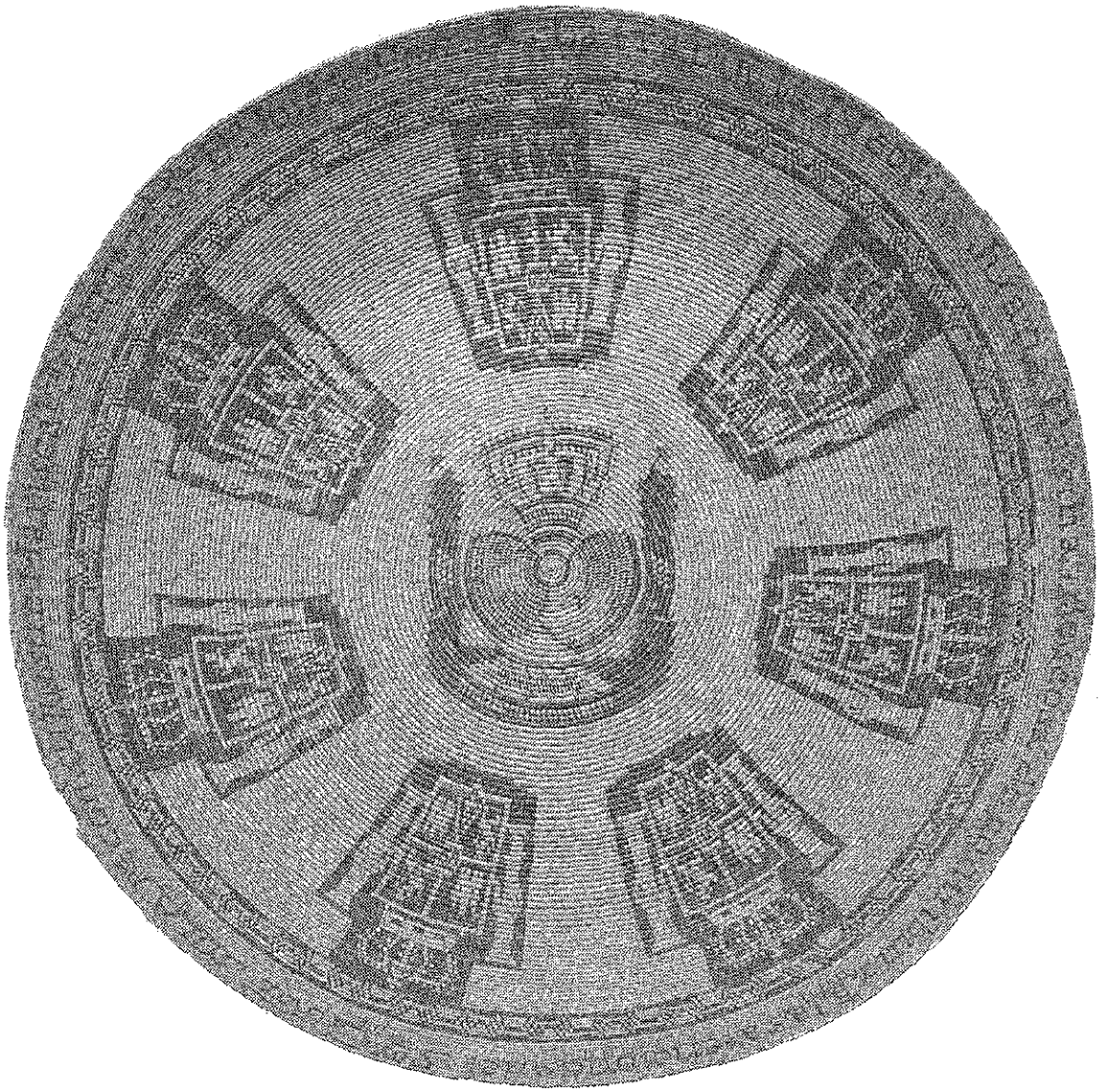

**Plate XXXII**. Chumash presentation basket, about 1822. Dedication around the rim says: "Made by Juana Basilia, desirous of contributing to the attentions from Sr. Governor Sola for his illustrious Field Marshal Sr. Don Jose de la Cruz.".
*Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.*

# CHAPTER 9

# DOCUMENTATION OF LINEAL DESCENDANTS FROM CHUMASH TOWNS

John R. Johnson

## Introduction

Chumash peoples from native towns in the Santa Monica Mountains and on the Northern Channel Islands aggregated at the various missions in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The missions were secularized in 1834, after which most of the Chumash peoples continued to live separately in distinct Indian-organized communities throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Although after secularization Indian people were free to move, most of these communities were located near the former mission of which the members of the community had been a part.

Detailed genealogical information contained in mission records makes it possible to trace lineal descendants from particular Chumash towns into the later decades of the nineteenth century. Using the mission register data base, one may first determine those individuals who were baptized from a specified native town, then look up their children, their children's children, etc. Computer-produced lists of descendant families can then be matched with census records, ethnographic notes, Bureau of Indian Affairs enrollment records, and other sources of information.

Computer-assisted genealogical analysis was undertaken for all Chumash towns formerly located within or adjacent to two areas under National Park Service stewardship, Channel Islands National Park and Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area. Queries to accomplish this task were developed using FOXPRO (Version 2.5), so that cross-references between baptismal entries of parents and their children could be established over multiple generations and used to link descendants to their ancestral towns. The data base was searched first for "Generation 0," in each town i.e., all those individuals whose origin was entered as the particular town being considered. Their spouses were identified, if in fact they married. Then "Generation 1" was identified, e.g. the children of "Generation 0" (except for children who had been born in that same town before their parents relocated to a mission, because they had already been included in "Generation 0"). This procedure continued through each generation for those whose names had been recorded in the data base. The results appear in Appendix XII for the Channel Islands and Appendix XIII for the Santa Monica Mountains region, and they are the basis for the discussions of lineal descendants in Chapters 10 and 11.

**Sources of Error within the Mission Register Data Base**

The accuracy of this method of tracing lineal descendants is contingent upon a number of factors: (1) the amount of erroneous or incomplete information recorded by missionaries (summarized in Chapter 4 and Johnson 1988b), (2) transcriptional problems while copying data from the mission registers, and (3) our ability to accurately identify the baptismal numbers of the parents for each child born at the missions.

We attempted to minimize problems by developing computer programs that aided in the association of parents with children, e.g., by searching lists of married couples for all paired names that matched those given in a child's baptism, and then, when the researcher was satisfied that the correct pair had been found, automatically entering the baptismal numbers of the parents into the proper fields for their children. The accuracy of the identifications was constantly monitored throughout the project by Johnson and López. They personally handled all problematic cases while continuously augmenting and double-checking data entered by the research assistants.

An occasional problem that emerged during the course of the study is that certain individuals who married at the missions, had children born there, and in some cases were demonstrated to be lineal descendants of Channel Islands and/or Santa Monica Mountains towns could not be matched with an entry in the baptismal registers. The missionaries sometimes encountered the same problem. When they recognized such cases, they would often explicitly express their perplexity that they could not find a particular individual's baptismal entry. Apparently, either their baptismal entries had been omitted, these individuals had been born and baptized elsewhere as children, they were confused with someone else, or their names changed. Several such cases were resolved, but there remains a problematic residue, that, while small, does introduce another potential source of error. When we have been able to demonstrate that people unmatched with known baptismal entries did have ancestors from particular towns in the areas of Park Service jurisdiction, we have included them in the list of descendants in the Appendices.

Because the computer program was in the process of development as data input was proceeding, some missions' records benefited more than others from the automated routines. Previously-collected data on parents for Missions Santa Bárbara, San Buenaventura, and San Luis Obispo were entered directly from index cards, lists, and genealogical diagrams compiled originally by Johnson and Franco, López, and King. Two types of transcriptional error were possible with these data sources: errors could have been made (1) in the original identifications made in years past, and/or (2) in the transcription from the secondary source to the data base carried out under the project. The occasional mistakes which arose included misreading or transposing numbers, entering a child's reference number in a parent's field, and entering a father's number in a mother's field or vice versa.

Transcriptional problems of this sort were mitigated to the extent possible, given the time constraints imposed on the project, by continually spot-checking the data base and correcting the occasional logical inconsistencies that were noticed in subsequent analysis or data entry. For example, in the descendancy analysis, correction was needed if someone entered as "parent" turned out to be younger

than the child. We also added a "Find Children" routine to the data base program that listed all progeny for any selected individual. These reconstituted families could then be double-checked for accuracy by comparing them to mission *padrón* records and to the family cards containing Johnson's and Franco's previously-extracted data.

While we cannot guarantee that the data base is absolutely error-free, every effort has been made to make it as accurate as possible. A proportionately greater amount of attention was devoted to double-checking entries recorded for families of descendants from Chumash towns located within or adjacent to Park Service jurisdiction boundaries.

### The Possibility of Chumash Descendants Not Being Listed in the Mission Records

A fear raised during one of the three mid-project meetings that were held with the various groups of known Chumash descendants was that using mission register information as a principal source for tracing cultural affiliation omits those who moved out of the sphere of influence of the missions, and thus also omits descendants they may have had. We are sympathetic to this concern. However, not to exploit thoroughly the copious, detailed mission records that *do* exist would risk ignoring the many descendants of those several thousand Chumash Indian people who joined the missions. To ignore so many clear descendants would put the parks at risk of not properly complying with federal legislation, such as the Native American Graves Protection Act.

We have searched for evidence that would show that sizeable Chumash groups moved away from their traditional territories to avoid being proselytized. There is no evidence that this happened. Moreover, if it had happened, one would expect the priests to remark on and bemoan the fact, thus documenting it. In fact, from 1769 on, the Spanish seem generally to have known where the native towns were, and these locations seem not to have changed significantly. In general, only the size of these towns changed, with each town losing population through increased deaths occasioned by introduced diseases and epidemics, and through the migration of many of the still-living residents to the missions.

We have attempted to address this issue in some detail in Chapters 7 and 8 in order to dispel the widely-held notion that any significant contingent of unbaptized Chumash Indian people could have remained in Chumash territories by the end of the Mission Period. Ethnohistorical evidence indicates that Chumash peoples lived in relatively large, permanent towns that persisted over time, until the Spanish persuaded them to remove to the missions. By the 1820s, all independent Chumash towns had been abandoned and their populations absorbed into the mission system.

Although there is no evidence that groups moved away, there is evidence that occasionally individuals did join the mission, then ran away and fled inland to join neighboring Yokuts and Kitanemuk groups. Both mission records and Spanish government correspondence document this occurrence (Cook 1960, 1976a). Not infrequently, however, such fugitives returned to the missions. If they didn't, their children and their children's children, if any were born, would have been raised as Kitanemuk or Yokuts, not Chumash.

The largest exodus of Chumash people from the missions was associated with the 1824 revolt, and it has been a popular speculation by some scholars that a sizable number of Chumash rebels permanently remained away from the missions after that date (Cook 1962; Phillips 1992; Sandos 1985). This supposition has been lent some support by the observations of the trapper Zenas Leonard in 1833. Near the northern limits of modern-day Bakersfield, he encountered a town which he estimated to have a population of seven to eight hundred Indian people (Leonard 1959 [1839]). He reported that among the population were some ex-mission neophytes who spoke Spanish, were in possession of some images taken from the church, and practiced agriculture.

Leonard's observations are intriguing, but he seems to have been prone to exaggeration. For example, he reports a tale of "several thousand dollars in gold and silver" that the Indians had stolen from one of the priests, and he does not say anything regarding from which mission the ex-neophytes had fled, or what native language or languages the group spoke, so there seems little hope of determining who they were. Leonard encountered this group in Yokuts territory. Members of many of the Yokuts tribes went to the coastal missions, and some are known to have subsequently run away, so Leonard may in fact have been describing a Yokuts-speaking group who had learned to practice agriculture from a segment of their population who had fled from the missions.

Some Chumash people may have remained in the southern San Joaquin region after the 1824 revolt, but it is unlikely that there were many, since almost all of the Chumash adults listed in the mission *padrones* for the year preceding the revolt are accounted for in later burial records for mission cemetery interments. As the preceding paragraphs indicate, the only significant possible refuges where any Chumash "holdouts" could have hidden were in the remote interior mountains and the adjacent southern San Joaquin Valley. If people moved to join neighboring Yokuts and Kitanemuk groups in such areas, then their descendants' Chumash ethnicity and cultural affiliation would have been supplanted to the extent that, after a generation or two, these people would have essentially become non-Chumash even though they did have ancestry.

It is not inconceivable that some Chumash people from towns in the region of Castac Lake and Tejon Pass still remained separate from the missions and unbaptized by the end of the Mission Period. The extensive notes of J.P. Harrington and some passing comments in mission register entries provide important clues regarding this possibility. These sources suggest that there may have been a few individuals speaking the Castac dialect of Ventureño Chumash who intermarried with Yokuts and Kitanemuk, whose names may never have been recorded in the mission records examined (Johnson n.d.b). However, since these were not people who came from the Santa Monica Mountains and Channel Islands park areas, they are not pertinent to the present study.

Native peoples in the San Joaquin Valley region were decimated by malaria and smallpox epidemics during the late Mission Period and in post-Mission times (Cook 1955, 1939, 1976a), as the various Chumash peoples had been by earlier epidemics (Walker and Johnson 1992, 1994). The remaining survivors of epidemics in the southern San Joaquin aggregated in the early 1850s with former mission neophytes, some of whom were Chumash language-speaking, to form the short-lived Sebastian Mili-

tary Reserve (or Reservation, later called the Tejon Reservation) at Tejon (Chapter 8). Their descendants may be traced by means of ethnographic and historical records associated with the Tejon and Tule River reservations (Johnson n.d.b).

### The Effects of Post-Secularization Emigration

A more serious challenge to tracing lineal descendants involves emigration that occurred following mission secularization. There is abundant evidence after 1834 of Chumash families moving outside the sphere of the mission communities where they were born. A systematic survey of mission records outside the Chumash region was beyond the scope of this study, but we have numerous examples of Chumash people showing up elsewhere in California, including at San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Miguel, Carmel, Santa Cruz and Santa Clara. Harrington's notes list several families who emigrated to the Monterey and Watsonville vicinities, where some intermarried with Costanoan/Ohlone Indians. Their descendants are listed in BIA enrollment records (Harrington n.d.b; Heizer 1970; Johnson n.d.a; Woolfenden 1985:3, 21-23).

The Tejon region of the southern San Joaquin Valley also attracted former Mission Indians. The 1851 Tejon Treaty lists two such groups, the "Castake" (sic) and "San Imirio" (sic), that can be demonstrated to be composed of former neophytes from San Fernando, San Buenaventura, and possibly Santa Barbara Missions (Harrington 1986; Heizer 1955, 1972; Johnson n.d.b, 1993a:162, n. 15).

To the extent possible, we corrected for the emigration problem by recourse to other archival sources of information. These were: (1) California State Census of 1852; (2) U.S. Census records for 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920, for Indians in Santa Barbara, Ventura, San Luis Obispo, Los Angeles, and Kern Counties; (3) Indian Census records, especially for Santa Ynez and Tule River; (4) BIA enrollment records, especially the 1928-1933 roll; (5) ethnographic/linguistic field notes from J. P. Harrington, A. L. Kroeber, C. H. Merriam, F. F. Latta, H. W. Henshaw, A. Pinart, L. G. Yates, and G. H. Gould; (6) California Superintendency records of the BIA for the nineteenth century; (7) Sebastian (Tejon) Indian Reservation reports and correspondence; (8) County birth, marriage, and death records; (9) family genealogical records; (10) early newspaper accounts; (11) court and prison records; (12) California land grant records; (13) mission and church records from elsewhere in California; and (14) California historical publications that list Chumash families who emigrated to other counties.

Much of the information from these sources had been compiled prior to the current study (Johnson n.d.a, n.d.b, 1993a). New data were uncovered during the course of this project from sources listed in Items 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 13. These have been incorporated into Chapter 8 and the descendancy study results in Chapters 10 and 11.

**Descendants from the Northern Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains**

The Tables accompanying Chapters 10 and 11 summarize the results of using the mission records data base to trace lineal descendants from Chumash towns on the Channel Islands and within or adjacent to the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area. The effects of high infant mortality on survivorship are very noticeable in each table. The pattern is one of populations drastically declining with each succeeding generation. For most small towns represented by less than fifty baptisms, no lineages survived past the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, no more than two independent surviving lineages were determined to exist for any town by the early twentieth century.

To a certain extent, however, the mission register pattern of declining numbers in later generations, as reflected in Tables 10.1 and 11.1, represents a less than complete sample because of several factors: (1) emigration, as discussed in previous sections; (2) intermarriage with non-Indians, making it more difficult to recognize lineal descendants who are not ethnically identified as "Indians" in subsequent records; and (3) less coverage for later years by mission/church records. Only in the case of San Buenaventura do the mission records incorporated in our data base include descendants born in the earlier twentieth century.

We have been able to mitigate these shortcomings through the use of the other kinds of archival records mentioned previously. Chapters 10 and 11 provide this additional information in discussing the descendant findings for each of the Chumash towns that are the foci for National Park Service interests.

# CHAPTER 10

## LINEAL DESCENDANTS FROM THE NORTHERN CHANNEL ISLANDS

John R. Johnson

Residents of both Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa Islands were baptized at five of the six missions encompassed in this study. Most of the Santa Cruz islanders went to San Buenaventura and Santa Bárbara, while the majority of Santa Rosa Island's inhabitants migrated to Santa Inés and La Purísima. Virtually all San Miguel Island natives joined Mission La Purísima (Johnson 1982a). After the missions were secularized in 1834, surviving islanders formed their own communities near the missions where they had been baptized. Children of islanders intermarried with families of people who were from mainland towns already at the missions and thereby were eventually integrated into the Chumash groups that have persisted as separate entities into the twentieth century. It is also true for some descendants of islanders, just as it is for some mainland Chumashan lineages, that repeated intermarriage with non-Indians or with native people from other parts of California through several generations has resulted in families who do not now identify themselves as Chumash, although some remain aware of and proud of that ancestry.

In this chapter we will focus on what became of Chumash Indians from specific island towns, and their descendants, with reference to the computer-generated lists in Appendices IX and X. Some historically-prominent individuals will be identified and discussed, and lineages traceable past the mid-nineteenth century will be described. Strands of information from Harrington's ethnographic notes and other sources will be woven into the narrative. This approach not only serves the legal requirement of identifying lineal descendants and surviving communities for purposes of federal consultation but also provides information that will be useful in National Park Service interpretive programs.

In the course of reading this and the following chapter, the reader may come to appreciate the complexity and immensity of the process of tracing Chumash descendants using the sources available to us. Mission and census records provide an important means of tracing population and genealogical histories that are greatly enhanced by the wealth of information contained in Harrington's field notes. Nonetheless, nearly every lineage traced produces unanswered questions regarding what became of particular individuals or families. Although our work provides a substantial amount of information that sometimes threatens to overwhelm, at the same time it becomes a source for continuing investigations. Many descendants have been traced into the twentieth century, but these are not necessarily all of the descendants who may exist. Our lists are not exhaustive, and it is anticipated that further research will allow other descendants to be identified.

## SANTA CRUZ ISLAND DESCENDANTS

### *Xaxas* (Cajats)

A total of 129 people originally from *Xaxas* were baptized at Missions Santa Bárbara and San Buenaventura. Among the first generation of descendants were 84 children born at the missions and 19 born at other Chumash towns. All but seven of the first generation are accounted for in burial records. The 103 individuals in the first generation only produced 18 children in the second generation, as identified in mission records, exemplifying the sharp decline in numbers that Chumashan groups experienced during the nineteenth century (see Table 10.1). The seven people who show up in the third generation were all descended from a single individual in the second generation, Susana [Romero]. Her descendants are active participants in the Chumash communities in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties today.

### Prominent Individuals from *Xaxas*

Among the 129 people who originally were baptized from *Xaxas* were several whom Harrington's Chumash consultants had known in the middle part of the nineteenth century. These included José Carlos *Matexai*, Gaudencio ("Laudencio") Huimemiatse, Martina *Leqte*, and Cecilia *Leqte*. They provide an example of the remarkable benefit of the material preserved by Harrington and his consultants that gives us a window into the lives of the people who, having been participants in native Chumash society, lived through the enormous changes wrought during the Mission Period.

### José Carlos *Matexai*

José Carlos *Matexai* (Matejahichet) was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1814 when he was 20 years old (MBV Bap. 2:404). Fernando Librado reported that *Matexai* was "one of the Twenty," i.e., a member of the traditional Chumash governing council, who lived with other islanders at *Kamexmey* on the west side of the Ventura River and participated in canoe-building activities (Hudson et al. 1977:26; Hudson, Timbrook and Rempe 1978; Hudson and Blackburn 1987:96; Johnson 1991). Although he was married three times, the mission registers indicate that José Carlos had no children. No burial entry was found for him, but he apparently was deceased by 1852, because he is not listed in the California State Census among other Indians in the Ventura vicinity.

### Gaudencio Huimemiatse

Gaudencio Huimemiatse or "Laudencio," as his name was pronounced by Fernando Librado, was baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara in 1816 when he was 16 years old (MSB Bap. 3841). He married Martina *Leqte* in 1826 (MSB Mar. 1233) but had no children. Gaudencio served as head gardener for the mission before his death in 1855 (Hudson 1979:18; SB Pres. Bur. 1270).

**TABLE 10.1**
**Chumash Descendants from the Northern Channel Islands**

| | | 1st Generation Descendants | | 2nd Generation Descendants | | 3rd Generation Descendants | | 4th Generation | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CONVERTS | FROM OTHER TOWNS | BORN AT MISSION | FROM OTHER TOWNS | BORN AT MISSION | FROM OTHER TOWNS | BORN AT MISSION | | TOTAL |
| SANTA CRUZ I. | | | | | | | | | |
| *Xaxas* | 129 | 19 | 84 | --- | 18 | --- | 7 | --- | 257 |
| *Mashchal* | 69 | 13 | 39 | 4 | 17 | --- | 18 | --- | 160 |
| *Ch'ishi* | 2 | 1 | --- | 2 | --- | 1 | 1 | --- | 7 |
| *L'alale* | 5 | 1 | 6 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 12 |
| *L'akayamu* | 50 | 21 | 37 | 4 | 21 | --- | 13 | --- | 146 |
| *Ch'oloshush* | 28 | 7 | 15 | 3 | 5 | --- | --- | --- | 58 |
| *Shawa* | 9 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 9 | --- | --- | --- | 33 |
| *Liyam* | 117 | 19 | 60 | 2 | 35 | --- | 16 | --- | 249 |
| *Nanawani* | 61 | 18 | 53 | 5 | 50 | --- | 21 | 14 | 222 |
| *Swaxil* | 205 | 16 | 155 | --- | 78 | --- | 66 | 7 | 527 |
| *Lu'upsh* | 63 | 15 | 63 | --- | 55 | --- | 28 | 4 | 228 |
| SANTA ROSA I. | | | | | | | | | |
| *Qshiwqshiw* | 119 | 13 | 88 | 2 | 12 | --- | 2 | 1 | 237 |
| *Hichimin* | 71 | 11 | 63 | --- | 10 | --- | 13 | 17 | 185 |
| *Silimihi* | 53 | 14 | 49 | 6 | 17 | --- | 1 | --- | 140 |
| Niaqla | 10 | 6 | 7 | --- | 3 | --- | --- | --- | 26 |
| *Nimkilkil* | 51 | 13 | 45 | --- | 10 | --- | --- | --- | 119 |
| *Nawani* | 2 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 2 |
| *Nilal'uy* | 48 | 6 | 35 | --- | 7 | --- | --- | --- | 96 |
| *Helewashkuy* | 37 | 6 | 19 | 4 | 13 | --- | 2 | --- | 81 |
| *Wimal* | 7 | 2 | 7 | --- | 6 | --- | --- | --- | 2 |
| SAN MIGUEL I. | | | | | | | | | |
| *Tuqan* | 34 | 7 | 23 | --- | 17 | --- | 13 | --- | 94 |
| *Niwoyomi* | 3 | --- | 3 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 6 |
| UNDIFF. | 97 | 16 | 54 | 6 | 14 | 1 | 10 | --- | 198 |

### Martina *Leqte*

Martina *Leqte* was a well-known Chumash woman at Santa Bárbara and San Buenaventura. She was baptized in 1819 when she was 4 1/2 years old with the last sizable group of islanders to come from Santa Cruz Island (Figure 10.1). Martina was remembered by other Chumash Indians as a woman of magical qualities. She could "sing people home" and was known as an accomplished performer of the Seaweed, Swordfish, and Barracuda dances (Blackburn 1975:287; Hudson et al. 1977). Martina lived in the community of islanders who settled at the mouth of the Goleta estuary. She was once given *toloache* (Jimsonweed) when she was sick by Pilar, a Chumash healer from Mission San Fernando, who had married Martina's cousin (Walker and Hudson 1993; Johnson 1991). In her later life, Martina moved to San Buenaventura where she lived with a relative named Donaciana (Hudson 1979). Simplicio Pico knew her there and provided this description in an interview with Harrington:

> Martina was light in complexion .... She was slim (not fat) and small. Her hair was scant and she wore it in a trenza [braid]. She was good looking in the face – had good-looking nose and mouth. She talked pretty good Ventureño [in addition to her native Cruzeño Chumash language]. She lived in her own little house. Did washing there for people some. Was quite a drinker but never went around much, was already old. Her house was near the river. Her neighbors were Monica, Donaciana, Isidra (an old woman), Pantaleón (Candelaria's brother [who] had [a] family [and] lived in an adobe house there), Norberto, and others [Harrington n.d.b].

In 1878 Martina was one of two former islanders at Ventura who provided Cruzeño and Barbareño Chumash vocabularies to Alphonse Pinart (Heizer 1952). She was also probably the principal source for Juan Estevan Pico's list of Channel Island towns (see Chap. 5). In the 1880 U.S. Census, she is listed among the Indian families living in adjacent households that formed the principal Chumash community in Ventura. Martina died on October 30, 1884 (MBV Bur. 2:1630).

### Cecilia *Leqte* (Luhuyu)

Cecilia *Leqte* was the maternal aunt of Martina and the wife of José Crespín *Kamuliyatset*, the chief of *Liyam* (Johnson 1991). She was baptized at 41 years of age in 1819 with her husband, children, and relatives, as part of the last sizable contingent of islanders to come to the missions (Figure 10.1). After her sister died in 1821, Cecilia raised her nieces, Martina and Juliana. This family resided in a settlement of mostly island families near the inlet to the Goleta Slough. Years later, when Luisa Ygnacio was married to her first husband, the grandson of Cecilia's sister, Tomasa María, she lived in this same community. Luisa told Harrington that Cecilia made her a sore throat medicine of seal oil mixed with red ochre (Hudson and Blackburn 1987:30). No burial record has been found for Cecilia, but she was still living in 1852 according to the California State Census, which lists her with other Chumash families at La Goleta.

## Traceable Descendants from *Xaxas*

### *Xaxas* Lineage 1: Descendants of Ana Josefa

Cecilia *Leqte* and her sister, Tomasa María, were daughters of Ana Josefa, who was also from *Xaxas*.[23] Tomasa María had a son named José Ygnacio Sicapaut, born in *Xaxas* in 1801, who was baptized a year and a half later at Mission Santa Bárbara (Figure 10.1). Besides Martina *Leqte* and two other sisters from *Xaxas*, José Ygnacio had a half-sister from *Syuxtun*, Rosa, who was among the early converts at Mission Santa Bárbara (MSB Bap. 57). José Ygnacio's baptismal entry indicates that Rosa's and his father was named Queleyenaut. We may infer from where his children were born that Queleyenaut had once lived on both the islands and mainland. No baptismal entry has been found for him. José Ygnacio grew up to be married in 1823 to a girl named Bibiana from *Mashchal* (MSB Mar. 1183). Between 1824 and 1837 this couple had five children, only one of whom is known to have reached adulthood. In 1852, that son, Policarpo, married Luisa Ygnacio in 1852, who was to become well known as one of J. P. Harrington's principal Chumash consultants in the early twentieth century.

Policarpo and Luisa had two children: Rafael, born in 1852, and Susana, born in 1855 (MSB Bap. 4752 and 4761). Policarpo died in Los Angeles about 1856 (Harrington n.d.b). Only his daughter, Susana, married. She wed José Peregrino (*Winai*) Romero at Mission San Buenaventura in 1875 (Plate XXXIII). Seven children of this couple were identified in the Ventura church records, at least three of whom died in infancy. Their eighth and last child, Eduardo Peregrino Romero, was born in 1890 (H. Williams, personal communication, 1991). Four of Susana's and José Peregrino Romero's sons reached adulthood: Fernando, Néstor, Vicente, and Eduardo. Their eldest son, Fernando Romero, married a Chumash woman, Juana Guzmán, and lived in Santa Paula (Harrington n.d.b). They had two children, Jesús and María, who later moved out of the local area to the San Joaquin Valley. Jesús Romero never married, and it is unknown whether his sister, María, married and had children or not. Another son of Susana and José Peregrino Romero, Néstor, became a violin teacher and never married. Their son, Vicente, also seems not to have left descendants. The only known descendants of Susana and José Peregrino Romero come from their son, Eduardo, who married Helen Theresa Castiano and raised nine children, among whom are several residents of Ventura County today (C. Lemos, personal communication, 1994).

### *Xaxas* Lineage 2: Descendants of José de los Ynocentes Junjunchet

A second *Xaxas* lineage that may be traced to the late nineteenth century is descended from José de los Ynocentes Junjunchet (Figure 10.2). He and his wife, María de los Ynocentes Nihuatalmenahuan from *Swaxil*, were baptized with a large group of islanders who entered Mission San Buenaventura at the end of December 1816. All four of their children had been born at *Swaxil*, typifying the predominant Chumash pattern of matrilocal residence. Two of their daughters followed their mother's example by

[23] In the mission records Cecilia's native name is listed as Luhuyu, and it is Tomasa María who is called Lecte (*Leqte*).

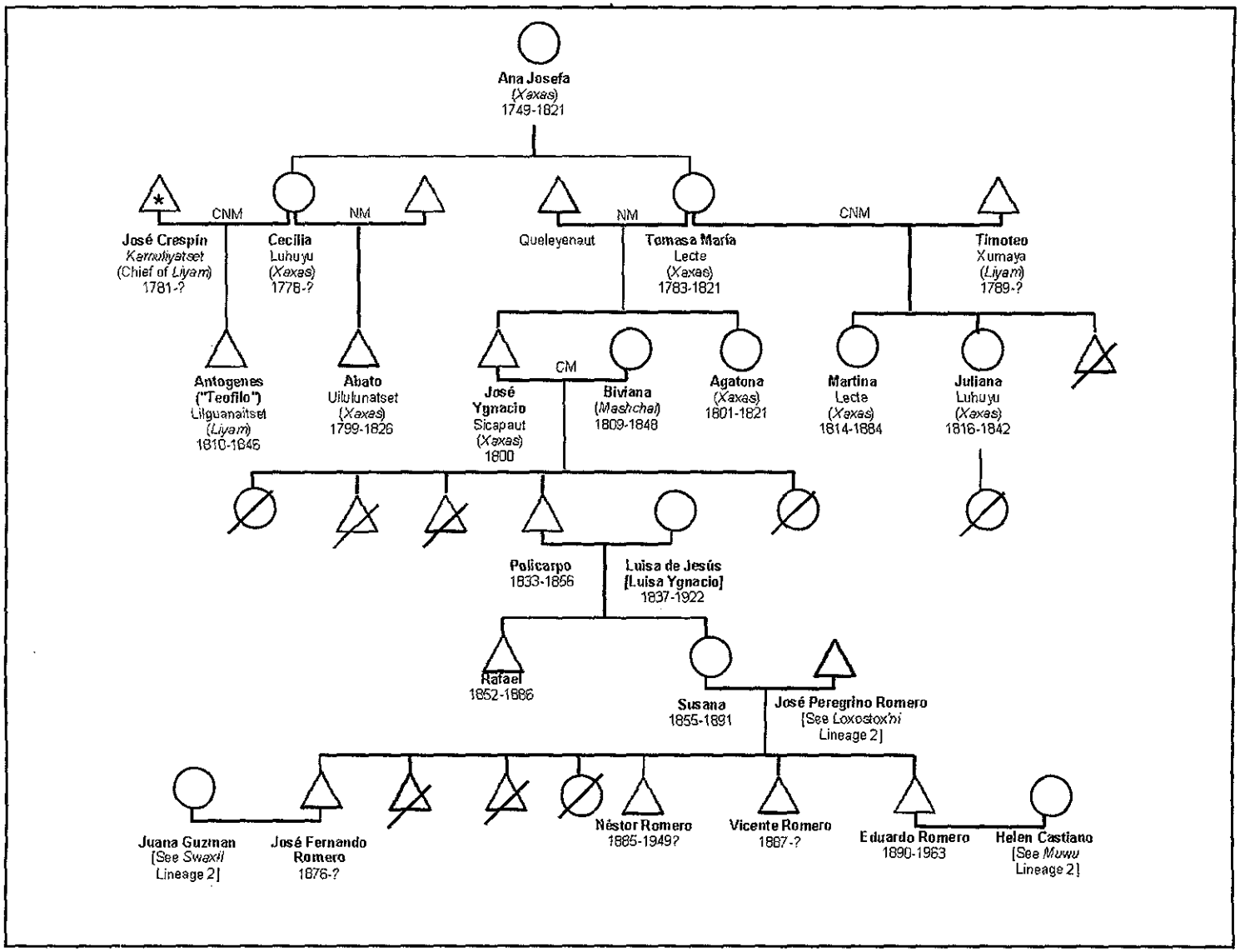


**Figure 10.1** *Xaxas* Lineage 1: Descendants of Ana Josefa

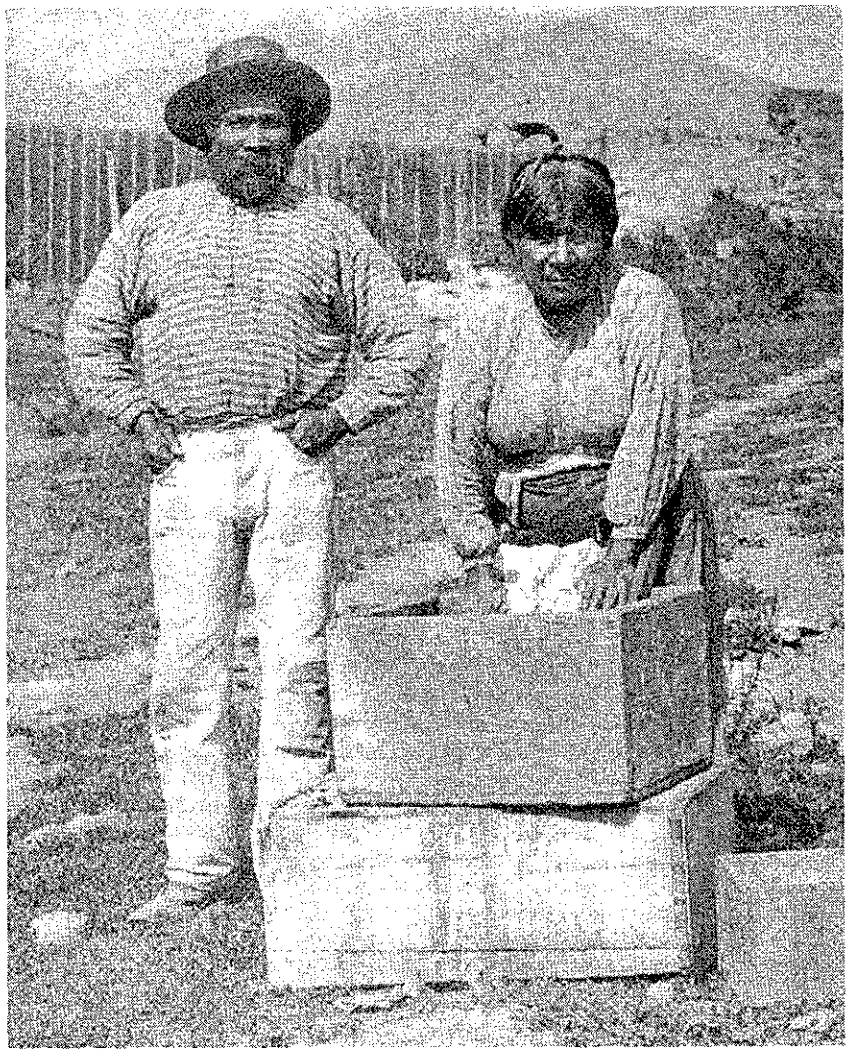

**Plate XXXIII.** José Peregrino (*Winai*) Romero (*Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2) and his wife Susana (*Xaxas* Lineage 1), about 1880.
*Courtesy of Bancroft Library, Berkeley.*

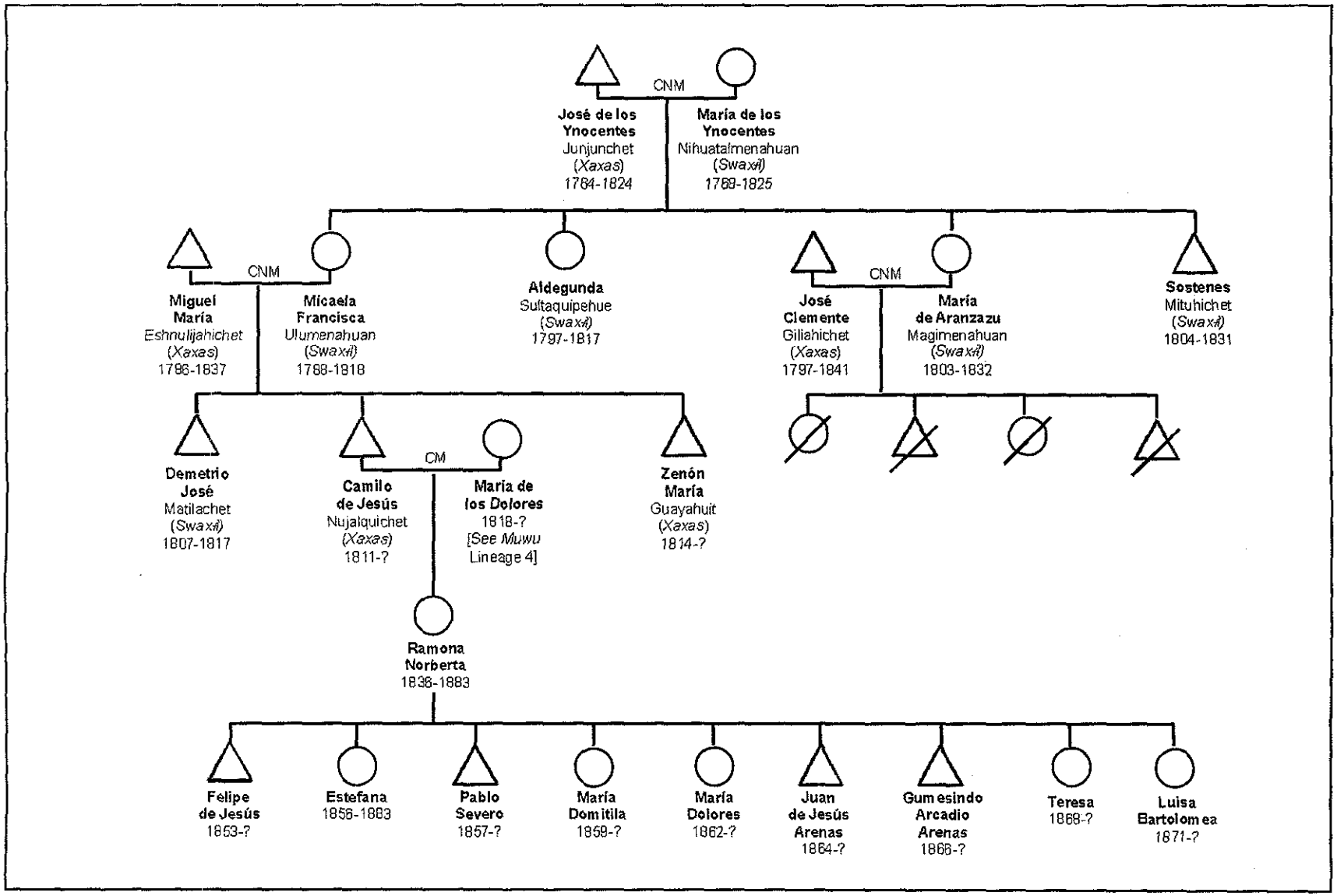


**Figure 10.2** *Xaxas* Lineage 2: Descendants of José de los Ynocentes Junjunchet

marrying men from *Xaxas*. The eldest daughter of José de los Ynocentes Junjunchet and María de los Ynocentes Nihuatalmenahuan had married in native society before coming to the mission. Her husband, Manuel María Eshnulijahichet from *Xaxas*, was baptized in 1816, along with their three sons (Figure 10.2). The only one of his boys to reach adulthood was Camilo de Jesús Nujalquichet (MBV Bap. 2:592), who was married in 1834 (MBV Mar. 1104). The latter had one daughter, Ramona Norberta, born in 1836 (MBV Bap. 2:1264). Camilo is very likely the man whose name was mistranscribed in the San Buenaventura marriage register as "Miguel Camilo" (i.e., Camilo, son of Miguel), a widower who became Fernando Librado's step-father in 1842 (MBV Mar. 1155).

Ramona Norberta was married to Ciriaco of Mission San Fernando and had four children born between 1853 and 1862. Four other children were born between 1864 and 1871 after she separated from Ciriaco. At least two of these were the children of Don Cayetano Arenas, according their baptismal entries (MBV Bap. 2:1915 and 2:1970). Ramona Norberta died in 1883, as did her eldest daughter, Estefana, who at the time was married to someone named Juan Brown (MBV Bur. 2:1576 and 2:1590). No burial records have yet been identified for Ramona's other children. A woman named Ramona is listed in the 1880 census among the other Chumash households in the Ventura Indian community, living with an Indian man named Estanislao and a a three-year-old daughter, Guillerma. This child was not identified during our research, and it is uncertain whether the Ramona listed in the census is the same as Ramona Norberta, daughter of Camilo. If she is, the fact that her eight other known children were not listed in the 1880 census may indicate that most did not survive. Further research will be necessary to determine the fate of Ramona Norberta's other children.

### *Xaxas* Lineage 3: Descendants of Fermín Teshcat

A third lineage of descendants from *Xaxas* included Fernando Librado, whose paternal grandfather, Fermin Teshcat, had been born there (Johnson 1988a:232). Fernando, whose siblings died as infants, was the last surviving member of Fermin's line. His family will be discussed further under the section covering *Nanawani* Lineage 2 (Figure 10.9).

### *Mashchal* (Maschal)

Baptisms from *Mashchal* numbered 69, all but one of whom were recorded at Mission Santa Bárbara. These 69 individuals produced 13 children whom the mission registers associate with other towns and 39 children born at the mission. Only twenty-one children are documented in the second generation of *Mashchal* descendants (i.e., whose grandparents were born in *Mashchal*), and eighteen are found for the third generation (see Table 10.1). Among these eighteen are the same Romero children who were the only traceable descendants in the third generation from *Xaxas* (see Figure 10.1), demonstrating the merging of lineages from different towns.

## Prominent Individuals from *Mashchal*

### Báltazar *Sulupiyautset*

An individual from *Mashchal* who obtained some prominence was Báltazar *Sulupiyautset*, who was baptized in 1816 at Mission Santa Bárbara, when he was four years old (MSB Bap. 3883). His mother, Margarita, also from *Mashchal* (MSB Bap. 3947), died when he was eight (MSB Bur. 2768). Báltazar was married in 1842 to Adelaida, who had been born and raised at the mission. They had several children born before 1848, but only one burial record has been identified for them. It may be that his wife and children were deceased by 1852 because only Báltazar's name appears in the California State Census of that year. He is listed immediately after José "Sudón" (*Kamuliyatset*) and Cecilia, the Cruzeño Chumash chief and his wife, who were then living in a small settlement near the inlet to the Goleta Slough. Fernando Librado told Harrington that Báltazar sometimes served as the chief's interpreter, because he knew Spanish well (Hudson 1979:102). José Peregrino Romero, another of Harrington's consultants, verified that Báltazar had been well educated by the priests and was literate in Spanish (Harrington n.d.a:Rl. 5, Fr. 260).

Báltazar, who was nicknamed "Chapa" by Fr. Narciso Durán of Mission Santa Bárbara, was referred to as "uncle" by Fernando Librado, but no actual genealogical connection has been established based on mission register evidence. Sometime after mid-century, Báltazar moved to San Buenaventura and lived among the Chumash community there. Along with Martina *Leqte*, he served as a consultant for Barbareño and Cruzeño Chumash vocabularies collected by Alphonse Pinart in 1878 (Heizer 1952; Johnson 1988a:184). In 1879 he married Ysidra, a widow, who died later that year (MBV Bur. 2:1421). Fernando Librado remembered that Báltazar and his wife used to gather tule at a place near Ventura called San Pedro (Hudson and Blackburn 1985:270). Báltazar was listed in the 1880 census as living alone in his own home. He died in February the following year (MBV Bur. 2:1508).

## Traceable Descendants from *Mashchal*

The only *Mashchal* lineage to be identified with present-day descendants connects to a family already discussed for *Xaxas* (see Figure 10.1). On December 1, 1814, an ailing five-year-old girl was baptized at *Mashchal* by the Chumash Indian interpreter Francisco Chulutchu. She was given the name "Biviana" (MSB Bap. 3700). Her parents were Gorgonio Suluguatucohiti and Luisa *Leqte*, both of whom were also natives of *Mashchal* (MSB Bap. 2016 and 3829 respectively). Biviana survived her illness and was later to be married three times at Mission Santa Bárbara. Her first marriage was in 1823 to José Ignacio Sicapaut from *Xaxas* (MSB Mar. 1183). Biviana's only known children are documented from this marriage. As has been discussed in the section on descendants of *Xaxas* Lineage 1, Biviana's son Policarpo had two children from his marriage to Luisa [Ygnacio]. Their daughter Susana [Romero] has grandchildren and great grandchildren living in Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties today.

### *L'alale* (Lalale)

Only five baptisms were recorded from *L'alale*: two men, two women, and one infant. Each of the adults had at least two children identified in mission records (including the infant born at *L'alale*). Only one of these children eventually married. Burial records indicate that the rest died in childhood, except one for whom no further record was found. The only woman among the first generation born at the missions who grew up to be married was Cita, who was born in 1817 at Mission La Purísima. Cita's father was Jacobo Silnunaymeuit, brother of the chief of San Miguel Island, and her mother was Aniceta of *L'alale* (who was stated to be from Jonaxup in a later entry) (MLP Bap. 2935). Cita was married in 1832 when she was fifteen years old (MLP Mar. 1015). She died just three years later without children, as the last traceable descendant from *L'alale* (MLP Bur. 2725).

### *L'akayamu* (Lacayamu)

Fifty Chumash born at *L'akayamu* were baptized at the missions. In the first generation removed from this group were 21 people born at other island towns and 37 born at the missions. In the second generation removed from people born at *L'akayamu*, there were three children born at *Xaxas*, one at *Liyam*, and 21 born at the missions. Thirteen children were identified in the third generation, one of whom was living in Ventura in the 1920s. No living descendants have been identified.

### Traceable Descendants from *L'akayamu*

#### *L'akayamu* Lineage 1: Descendants of Rosa de Viterbo

Several lineages of descendants from *L'akayamu* may be traced past the mid-century mark. One of these goes back to a 60-year-old woman, Rosa de Viterbo, and her 35-year-old son, Luciano Pamaxujatset, who were both baptized in 1816 at Mission Santa Bárbara (Figure 10.3). Luciano was married to Jovita, a woman from *Helewashkuy* on Santa Rosa Island, and had several children born at that village. Jovita and he had three children born at the mission between 1817 and 1823. Only one of those born at the mission, Odorica, survived to be married in 1831 at 14 years of age (MSB Mar. 1293). Before her own early death in 1841, Odorica had several children, only one of whom, Bárbara, survived childhood (MSB Bap. 4613).

Odorica's daughter, Bárbara, was known to Fernando Librado, who mentioned that she was a relative of his godmother. He related gossip that he had heard that Bárbara had an affair as a young woman with the mission priest (Hudson 1979:52). Bárbara was married in 1855 to Urbano Cardenas from Jalisco, Mexico (SB Presidio Mar. 444). No further record was found regarding her subsequent history, so it is unknown if descendants of this couple exist.

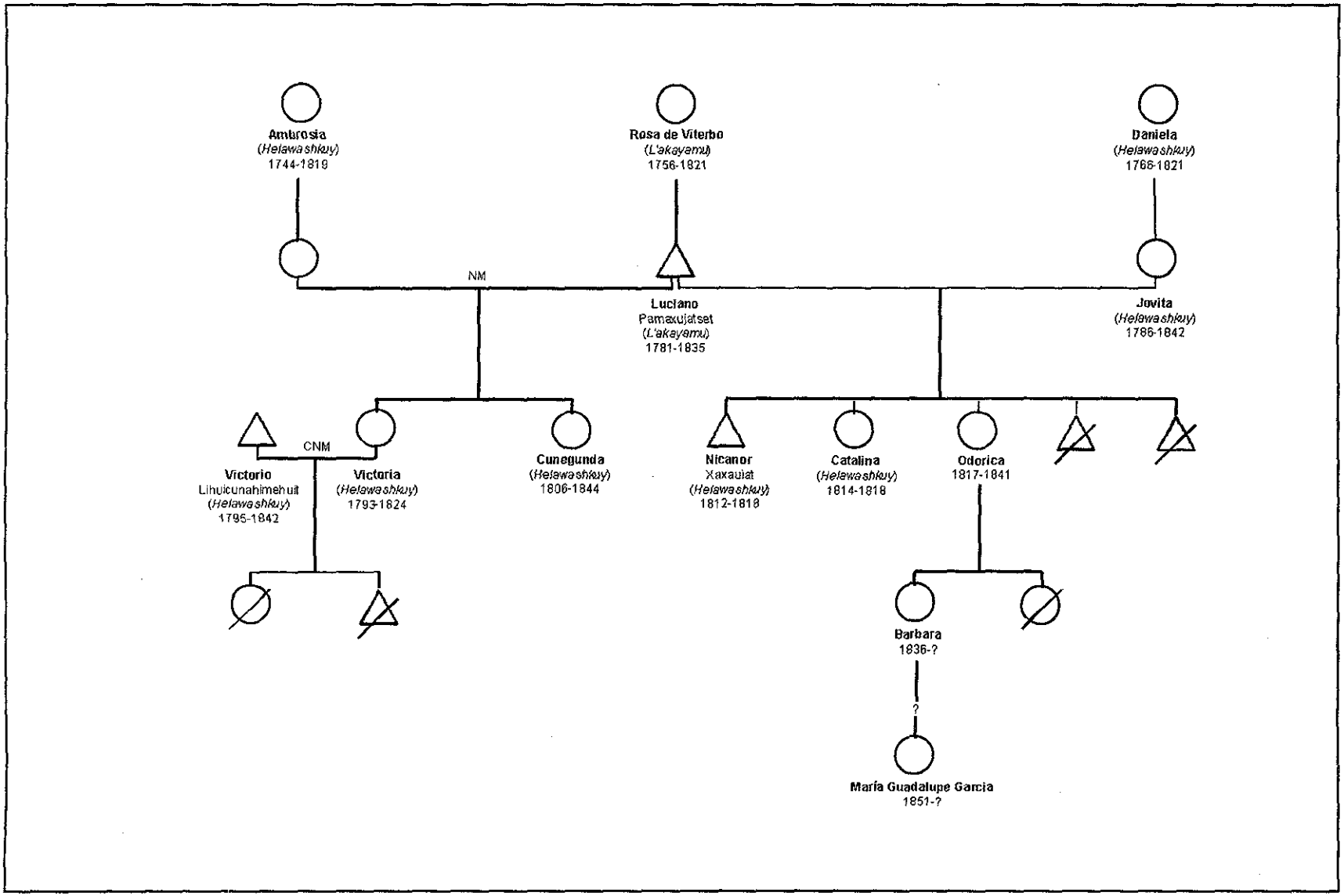


**Figure 10.3** *L'akayamu* Lineage 1: Descendants of Rosa de Viterbo

### *L'akayamu* Lineage 2: Descendants of Leoncia

Another lineage of *L'akayamu* descendants comes from Leoncia, aged 44, and her ten-year-old daughter, Cristeta, who both came from the island to Mission Santa Bárbara in 1816 (Figure 10.4). Cristeta was married three years later to Zenón, a native of *Mikiw* (MSB Mar. 1116). This couple had five boys born between 1821 and 1830, but only one of these, Agustín, grew to manhood (MSB Bap. 4350). Agustín was married in 1846 to Manuela, the paternal aunt of Harrington's consultant, Juan Justo (MSB Mar. 1397). The 1852 California State Census lists this couple with their young daughter immediately following the families of Manuela's brothers, Andrés and Justo, who were residents of the Cieneguita community of Santa Bárbara Mission Indians. Six children of Agustín and Manuela were born between 1849 and 1859. Agustín died the following year, survived by his wife and perhaps two of his children, although no further record of them has been found (SB Pres. Bur. 1575).

### *L'akayamu* Lineage 3: Descendants of Juan Evangelista Nicuca

The only lineage from *L'akayamu* that may be traced through to the twentieth century is descended from Juan Evangelista Nicuca, who was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura at the end of December 1816, when he was 66 years old (Figure 10.5). His son was José Mariano Ajahichet from *Swaxil*, baptized a few days before his father at 23 years of age (MBV Bap. 2:706). José Mariano had a daughter, born at *Xaxas* from a marriage that had dissolved prior to going to the missions (MSB Bap. 3886).[24] This daughter, Fausta, grew up to be married twice at Mission Santa Bárbara but had no children who survived childhood. She died in 1844 (MSB Pres. Bur. 584). José Mariano had six children born at Mission San Buenaventura between 1827 and 1844. Three of these, a son and two daughters, reached adulthood. José Mariano and two of his children were listed in the 1852 California State Census. They lived in *Kamexmey*, the small settlement of Cruzeño Chumash that existed near the mouth of the Ventura River in the mid-nineteenth century. The 1852 Census lists José Mariano's profession was listed as "saddler," a craft he learned at the mission. His son Ysidoro, was a fisherman, a profession shared with other *Kamexmey* residents (Hudson and Blackburn 1982:207).

Two of José Mariano's children, Juana Nepomucena and Ysidoro, died in the 1850s (MBV Bur. 2:1029, 1092). His youngest daughter, María Dolores, married Juan Estevan Pico in 1856. Six children born to this couple were listed in baptismal records between 1861 and 1869, but apparently only one son, Juan Isidoro Pico, survived past 1880, according to the U.S. Census of that year. María Dolores had died in 1879. Juan Estevan Pico and his son were listed in the Ventura City Directory of 1898-1899, living on the east side of Elder Street south of Main Street (P. Milliken 1898:107).

[24] Not shown in Figure 10.5.

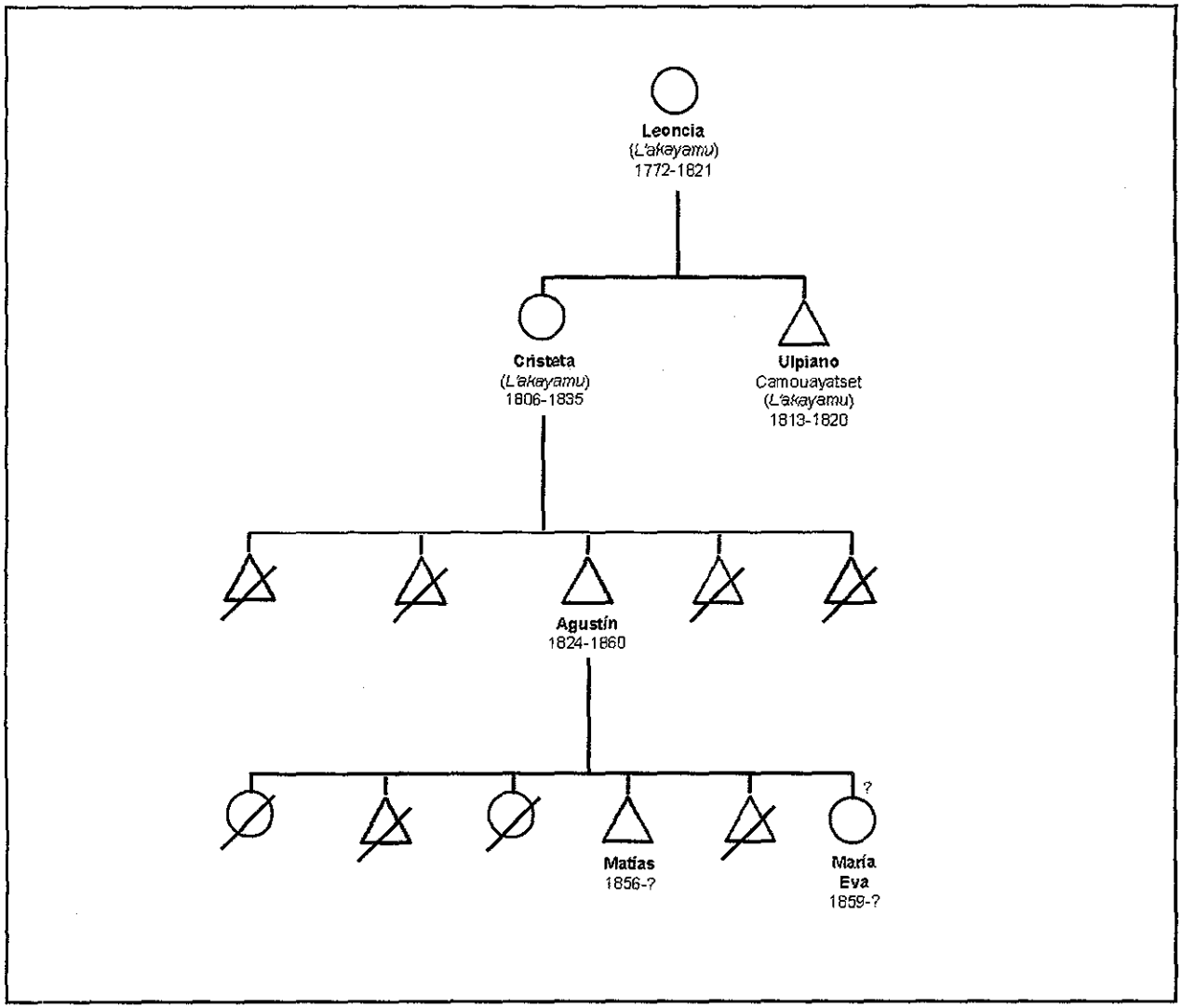


**Figure 10.4** *L'akayamu* Lineage 2: Descendants of Leoncia

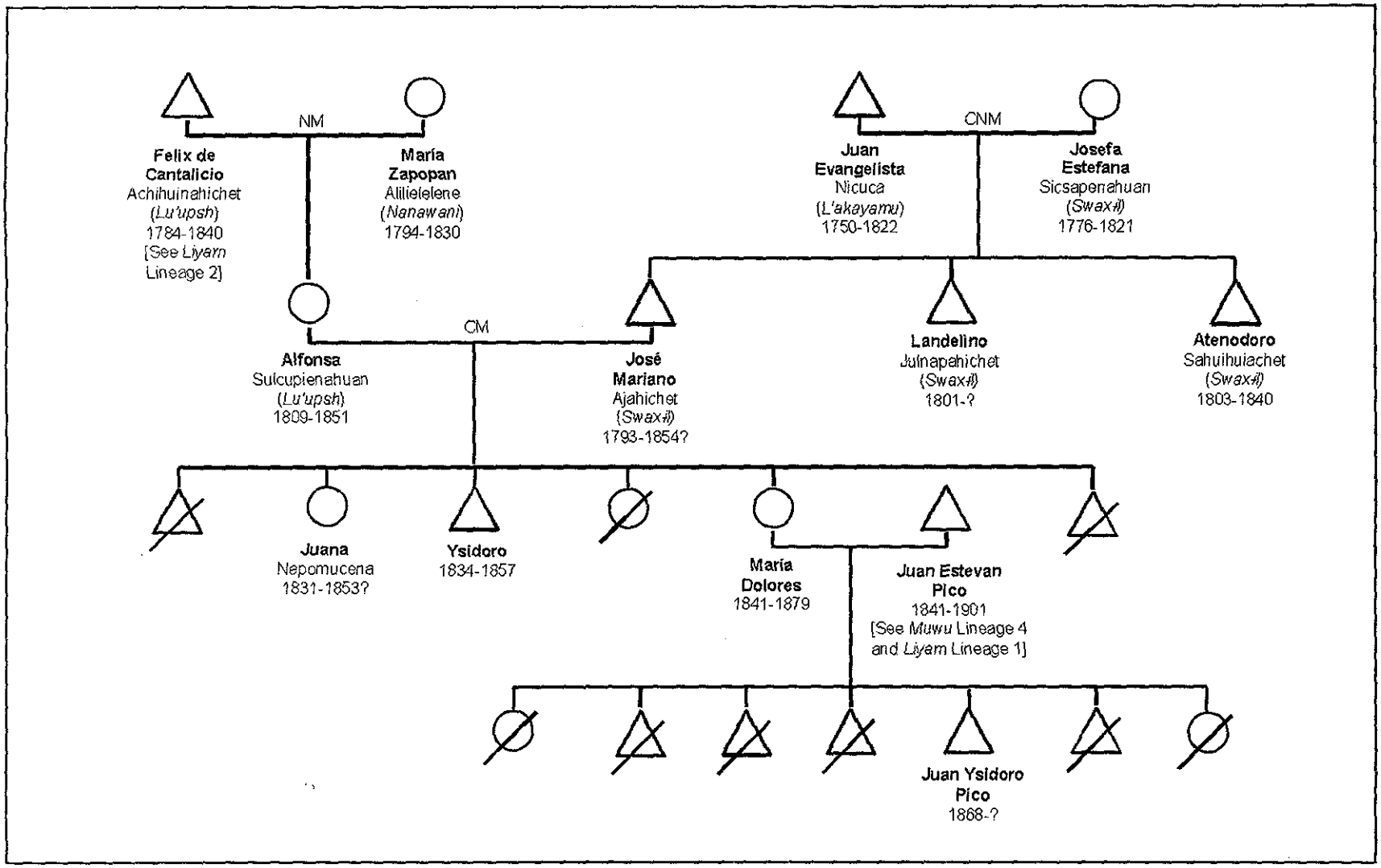


**Figure 10.5** *L'akayamu* Lineage 3: Descendants of Juan Evangelista Nicuca

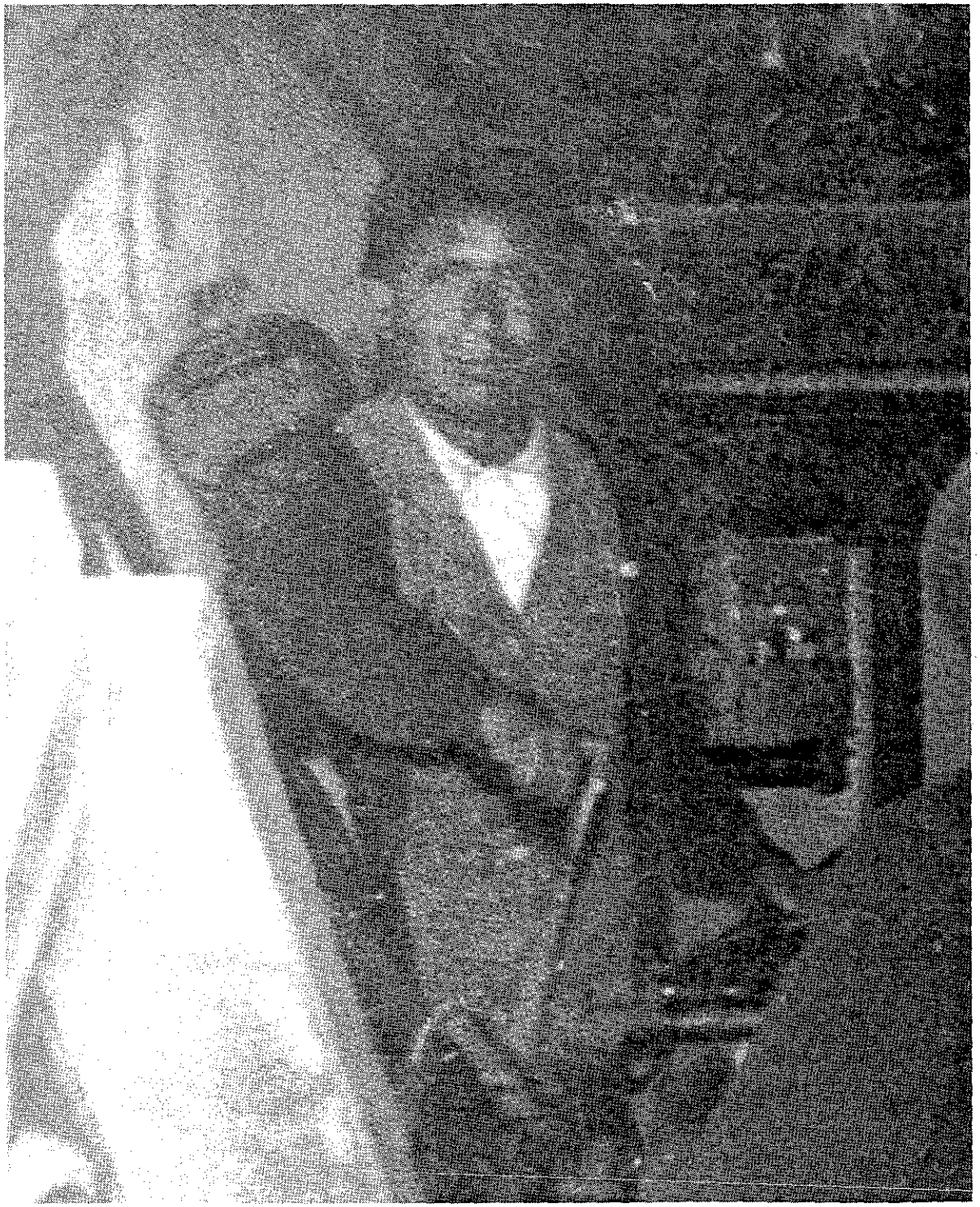

**Plate XXXIV.** Juan Isidoro Pico (*L'akayamu* Lineage 3). Image enlarged from photograph taken at the Ventura Free Press.

*Courtesy of Ventura County Museum of History and Art.*

Juan Isidoro Pico operated the printing press for the Ventura Free Press (Plate XXXIV). He was contacted by Harrington during the latter's research among Chumash Indians in the second or third decade of the twentieth century (Harrington 1928a). Juan Isidoro Pico was described by Vincent Tumamait, who last saw him in 1931, as a bachelor living on Olive Street in a Ventura neighborhood where several Chumash families resided. He used to be scorekeeper for Sunday baseball games for the Ventura Merchants ball club (Vincent Tumamait, 1992 personal communication). Juan Isidoro Pico was the last known descendant to be traced from *L'akayamu.*

### *Ch'oloshush* (Cholosos)

A total of 28 people were baptized from *Ch'oloshush*, primarily at Mission Santa Bárbara, but also a few at La Purísima, Santa Inés, and San Buenaventura. This group had seven children born at other island towns and 15 born at the missions. Grandchildren of people born at *Ch'oloshush* included three from island towns and five born at the missions. No descendants from *Ch'oloshush* were traced beyond 1844.

### *Shawa* (Chahua)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, virtually all of those born at *Shawa* had moved to other island towns prior to their arrival at the missions. As a result, eight children and one grandchild of *Shawa* natives were born at other island towns. All but one of the six children born to a *Shawa* parent at the missions died young, and no record of marriage or children exists for the sixth. The only descendant from *Shawa* traceable to the twentieth century is Fernando Librado (baptized "Bernardo"), whose maternal grandfather, Vicente de Jesus Guiyayahuichet, had been born in *Shawa* about 1770 (MBV Bap. 2:660; Johnson 1988a:232). Librado's genealogy will be discussed further in the section on descendants from *Nanawani* Lineage 2 (Figure 10.9).

### *Liyam* (Liam)

Because *Liyam* was one of the largest towns on Santa Cruz Island (117 baptisms), it is not surprising that its population produced a number of lineages that may be traced past the mid-nineteenth century. Of 79 children documented in mission records from *Liyam* parents, 19 were born at other towns and 60 born at the missions. In the second generation, i.e. grandchildren of people from *Liyam*, 37 baptisms have been documented. Sixteen are recorded for the third generation. Some of the descendants from *Liyam* connect to lineages for other Santa Cruz Island towns discussed above.

#### Prominent Individuals from *Liyam*

#### José Crespín *Kamuliyatset* (Camuluyatset)

Mission records document that the chief of *Liyam* in 1819 was José Crespín *Kamuliyatset*, who was married to Cecilia *Leqte* of *Xaxas* (see Chapter 5 and *Xaxas* section of this chapter). After coming to the

mainland, *Kamuliyatset* settled with other Santa Cruz Island families in a small community named *Qwa'* (for a species of waterfowl) that was situated near the Goleta beach. There he made his living as a fisherman and continued his role as chief for that settlement. José *Kamuliyatset* was the source for the earliest Cruzeño Chumash vocabulary, recorded by Fr. Antonio Jimeno on November 4, 1856 (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 6, Fr. 537-538; Heizer 1973:40). He was nicknamed "José Sudón" 'big sweat', because he had a *temescal* (sweatlodge) near his home where he took frequent sweatbaths (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:178, n. 390).

José *Kamuliyatset* was well known to two of Harrington's principal consultants, Fernando Librado and Luisa Ygnacio. Luisa's first husband, Policarpo, was raised in his household, and Luisa referred to him as her *suegro* 'father- in-law' (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 3, Fr. 98). Luisa told Harrington that *Kamuliyatset* had special supernatural powers, and several narratives describing them are recorded in texts from Luisa, her daughter Lucrecia, and her granddaughter, María Joaquina Yee. For example, José was said to have the magical ability to walk under water without drowning, because his *'atishwin* 'spirit helper' was Water (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 4, Fr. 307). He healed Luisa's husband with herbal poultices and sacred songs when Policarpo was shot accidently with a musket while hunting sea-otters (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 4, Fr. 308-309). Because he respected the supernatural powers possessed by his late sister-in-law, who had died on the island, *Kamuliyatset* kept her bones in a box in his home together with eagle down and bundles of *pespibata*, a tobacco-lime mixture (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 3, Fr. 108).

Harrington's field notes allow further glimpses into José *Kamuliyatset*'s life during post-Mission times. He wore his long hair coiled on the top of his head and never spoke much (Hudson and Blackburn 1985:342). Although many of his needs were satisfied by traditional means, he would purchase woolen blankets from Mariano, an Indian weaver, who lived at Cieneguita (Hudson and Blackburn 1983:393). According to Librado, *Kamuliyatset* had a broken-down plank canoe in his yard and with his companions built several dugouts that he used in fishing (Hudson and Blackburn 1982:339,342). Next to his house an acorn granary stood, where the acorns were dried before being stored for the winter (Hudson and Blackburn 1987:55,57). As a teenager, Fernando Librado once attended a community meeting held at José *Kamuliyatset*'s tule house, where discussions were held about the Indian way of life versus the teachings of the missionaries. *Kamuliyatset* admonished Fernando not to deny either side, but said that it was too bad he had not grown up in traditional society because he would have learned many more things (Hudson et al. 1977:67-68).

In 1853-54, heavy flooding forced José *Kamuliyatset* to move his house to higher ground, apparently on More Mesa near the inlet to the Goleta Slough (Hudson 1979:102,155). He eventually burned that house sometime after his wife's death and briefly lived at the Indian Orchard on María Ygnacia Creek before finally settling at Cieneguita (Harrington n.d.a:Rl. 3, Fr. 108). Because the name José is quite common, *Kamuliyatset's* burial entry remains problematic. He may possibly be identified as a man named José who died in Cieneguita in August, 1860, although *Kamuliyatset* was much older than the sixty years reported in this burial entry (SB Pres. Bur. 1568). *Kamuliyatset's* only son, Teófilo Liliuanaitset, also from *Liyam*, had died in 1846 (SB Pres. Bur. 699).

### Germana *Luhuyu*

Another individual apparently from *Liyam*, about whom we have some knowledge from Harrington's notes, was Germana *Luhuyu*, who was baptized at Mission Santa Inés in 1816 at 22 years of age (MSY Bap. 954). She was married to Germán Pasasqit and apparently had been living with him at *Qshiwqshiw* on Santa Rosa Island prior to her baptism. Germán Pasasqit's 70-year-old grandmother, Damasia, was baptized on December 6, 1814 at *Qshiwqshiw* by Francisco Chulutchu (Soluchu), a neophyte interpreter of Mission Santa Bárbara. Damasia's baptismal entry states that her grandson, Pasasquit, was married to "Luguyu from the ranchería of Liam." This is the basis for assigning Germana to *Liyam*, because her baptismal entry and that of her husband are otherwise listed only as "Ysleños" (islanders). As was the case for many other Chumash people from the Northern Channel Islands, Germana's town of origin was left unspecified in the Mission Santa Inés registers because of the omission of town names by Fr. Xavier Uría, who was the resident priest at the time.

Germana was remembered by María Solares as one of four "very old island Indians" who lived at Zanja de Cota in three round jacales (Harrington 1986). She lived alone and was without any offspring during the period when Solares knew her. Mission records reveal that Germana had one son, Pío, who was baptized with his parents in 1816 when he was four years old (MSY Bap. 972). Pío was married twice but had no children. He died in 1848 (MSY Bur. 1523). Germana died in 1862 (MSY Bur. 1921).

An incident about Germana's married life on the islands was related by María Solares to Harrington. Germana's husband was a fisherman who would sometimes travel across to one of the other islands. He fell in love with a woman on the other island and neglected Germana. Germana became despondent but her maternal aunt, who lived in the same household showed her how to win him back. They danced the *Shutiwi'yish* 'Seaweed Dance', and the next morning when her husband returned, Germana followed her aunt's instructions not to speak to him. This method worked, and the wayward husband broke down, apologized, and promised to be faithful in the future (Blackburn 1975:286-287; Johnson 1988a:244).

## Traceable Descendants from *Liyam*

### *Liyam* Lineage 1: Descendants of Emigdio María Quidseeyaut

Emigdio María Quidseeyaut and his wife, Cornelia Chuashmenahuan, both from *Liyam,* were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1816 (Figure 10.6). Emigdio María Quidseeyaut's two daughters, María de los Santos Sulmatiehue and Juana Teresa Sulmatiehue, had preceded him in going to the mission. When María de los Santos was baptized, Cornelia Chuashmenahuan was said to be her mother, but whether Cornelia was also Juana Teresa's mother is unmentioned. It is highly unusual, if not unprecedented, that two sisters would possess the same native name - "Sulmatiehue" - but this is what their baptismal entries tell us. It is certainly possible, however, that the missionaries mistakenly applied one sister's personal name to the other.

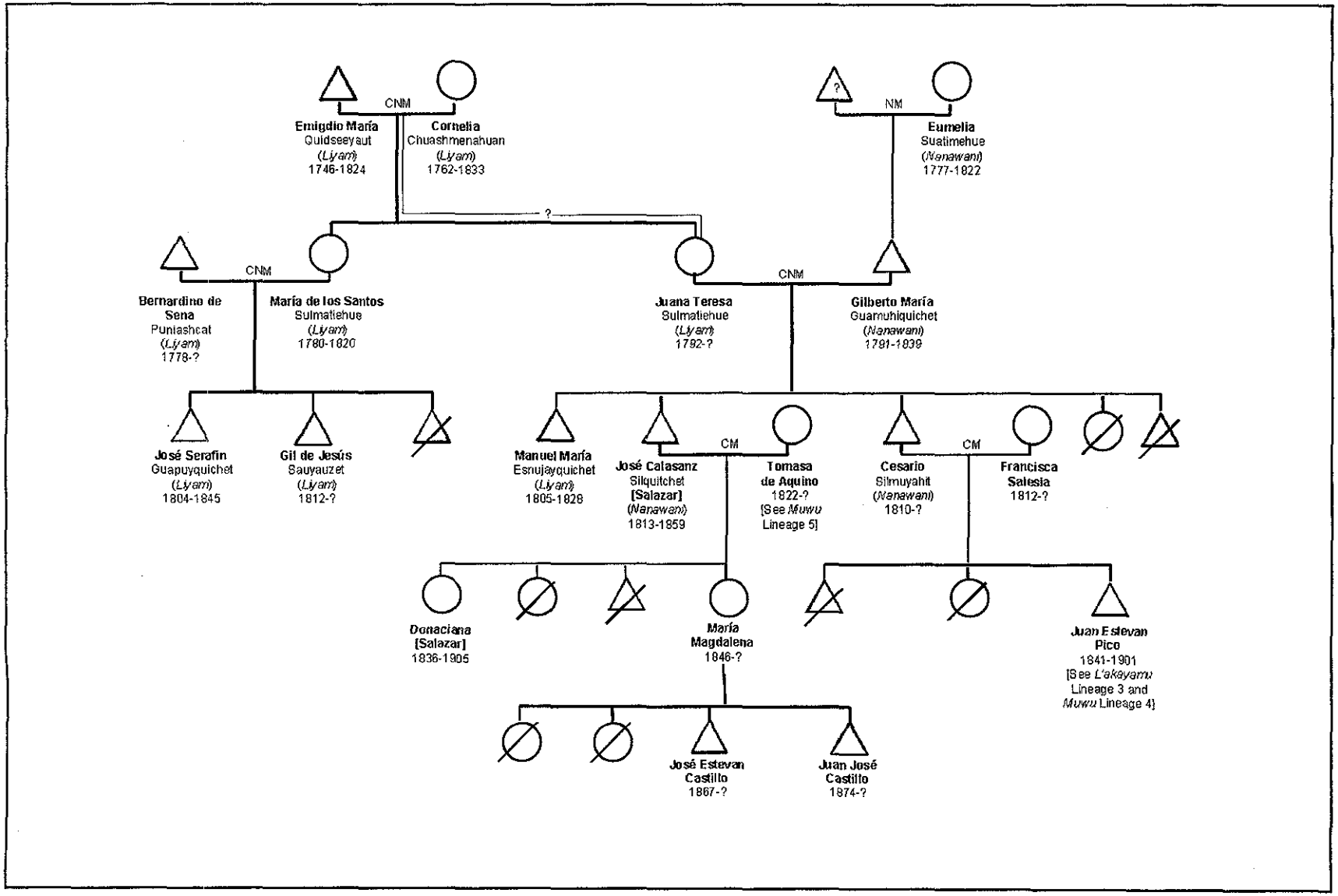


**Figure 10.6** *Liyam* Lineage 1: Descendants of Emigdio Mariá Quidseeyaut

Fernando Librado reported that an old Cruzeño Chumash man named Bernardino *Pashe* had been a former chief on Santa Cruz Island and was considered to be a leader of the Brotherhood of the Canoe, a guild of canoemen at Mission San Buenaventura (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978). This man is almost certainly Bernardino de Sena "Puniashcat, the husband of María de los Santos Sulmatiehue. He was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in May, 1816 at 38 years of age (MBV Bap. 2:560; Johnson 1991). Two children of Bernardino Puniashcat and María de los Santos were baptized in the same year: Gil de Jesús Sauyauzet, four, and José Serafín Guapuyquichet, twelve. Gil de Jesús married in 1840 and then disappears from the records, perhaps moving with his wife out of the local area (MBV Mar. 1143). José Serafín remained single and died in 1848 (MBV Bur. 2:814).

After his first wife died in 1820, Bernardino remarried Ysabel de Portugal Alujultemenahuan, a widow in her sixties who originally came from *Swaxil* (MBV Mar. 941). No burial record was found for Bernardino, who was widowed a second time in 1831. It is unclear whether Librado actually knew him or was merely told about him by an islander named Ysidro, who narrated a story about Bernardino and his role in the Brotherhood of the Tomol when a boatload of fishermen were lost at sea (Hudson, Timbrook and Rempe 1978).

Juana Teresa Sulmatiehue, sister-in-law of Bernardino Puniashcat, was baptized from *Liyam* in June 1815 when she was 23 years old (MBV Bap. 2:457). Her two sons, José Calasanz Silquitchet and Cesario Silmuyahit, one and four years old respectively, had both been born at *Nanawani* and had been baptized the previous fall (MBV Bap. 2:357-358). Both sons later married, José Calasanz to Tomasa and Cesario to Francisca Salesia (MBV Mar. 1111 and 1095 respectively). Descendants of these marriages appear in Figures 11.4 and 11.5 (*Muwu* Lineages 4 and 5), as well as in Figure 10.6.

José Calasanz was known as José "Chapo" or José Salazar and worked as a vaquero. Two of his daughters, Donaciana (baptized "Rogaciana"), born in 1836, and María Magdalena, born in 1846, grew up to be married (MBV Bap. 2:1263,1466). Donaciana was married to Norberto in 1852 and María Magdalena married Luís Valenzuela of Los Angeles in 1866 (MBV Mar. 1213 and 1310). Donaciana had no known children. Burial entries in the 1860s were found for two of María Magdalena's four known children (MBV Bur. 2:1224, 1252, 1257). Burial entries for any children she may have had, and for María Magdalena herself, have not been found.

Donaciana and María Magdalena were both noted basketmakers of the late nineteenth century along with Petra Pico, Donaciana's sister-in-law (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 6, Fr. 191; Hudson 1979:33; Hudson and Blackburn 1987:238; Johnson 1994). Librado told Harrington that Donaciana was one of the last to know the songs of the Swordfish Dance (Hudson et al. 1977: 77; Hudson 1979:33). After Norberto's death, Donaciana lived with Estanislao, who is listed with her in the same household in the 1880 census among the residents of the Chumash community in Ventura. Librado said that she worked for years in the household of the wife of John Calvin Brewster, the well-known photographer. It is probably the latter who took a well-known photograph (Plate XXXV) of Donaciana and Petra Pico with some of the baskets they were making (Hudson and Blackburn 1987:238; Johnson 1994:45).

**Plate XXXV.** Donaciana Salazar (*Liyam* Lineage 1) and Petra Pico (seated) about 1890.
*Courtesy of Ventura County Museum of History and Art.*

Cesario Silmuyahit, the brother of José Calasanz and uncle of Donaciana and María Magdalena, was also known by the Indian name *T'm'ɨwɨ'i'* according to Fernando Librado (Hudson 1979:28). Librado gave a vivid description of Cesario's performance of the Chumash Jealousy Dance at a wedding party for his niece, Donaciana, and several other couples (Hudson 1979:28-30). Cesario was listed as the father of Juan Esteban Pico when the latter was baptized in 1841, and so Pico and his children have been included in our list of descendants from *Liyam* (MBV Bap. 2:1355). Later records indicate that although Cesario may have raised Juan Esteban Pico, he was not the latter's biological father (Heizer 1955:187; Hudson 1979:151). Juan Esteban Pico's descendants have been listed under the *L'akayamu* section above.

### *Liyam* Lineage 2: Descendants of Guillerma Matimenahuan

Guillerma Matimenahuan was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura at the end of 1816 when she was 56 years old and no longer married (Figure 10.7). Her two children, baptized in the same year, were Hermenegildo María Januhiatchet and Marcelina Silitmenahuan, 30 and 28 years old respectively (MBV Bap. 2:512, 680). Hermenegildo María Januhiatchet's descendants are shown in Figure 10.10 which accompanies the discussion of *Nanawani* Lineage 3.

Marcelina Silitmenahuan had two young sons baptized from *Liyam* in 1815-1816 and a daughter born at the mission in 1817 (MBV Bap. 2:481, 534, 756). One of the sons, Anselmo Antonio Manyalahichet, and the daughter, Ciriaca María, grew up to be married. Anselmo Antonio wed María Josefa in 1832 (MBV Mar. 1090). This couple had three children born between 1834 and 1840, but no further records have been found pertaining to this family. They do not appear among Chumash Indian families listed in the 1852 California State census.

Marcelina's daughter, Ciriaca María, was married twice and had five children born between 1834 and 1849 (MBV Mar. 1101 and 1141). Ciriaca's second husband was Pacífico, who was remembered by Fernando Librado as an artist who painted the pictures on the walls and ceilings of the San Buenaventura and Santa Bárbara Missions (Hudson 1979:8). Ciriaca María's youngest daughter is the only member of the family listed in the 1852 California State census, and this child died the following year. It is certain, however, that at least the eldest of Ciriaca's sons, Saturnino, was also living at that time but seems to have been overlooked in the 1852 census. No burial record has been identified for Ciriaca.

Ciriaca's son, Saturnino, sometimes appears in mission documents as "Saturnino Capena" or as "Saturnino Pacífico" (using his step-father's name as a surname). Saturnino was born in 1836 (MBV Bap. 2:1272). He was only a few years older than Fernando Librado, who told Harrington about a time the two had gone harpoon fishing together (Hudson and Blackburn 1982:208). When he was fifty years old, Saturnino married María Delfina, a widow, who was also partly of Island Chumash ancestry (MBV Mar. 1493). Three children were born to this couple in the 1880s (MBV Bap. 2:659, 783, and 953). Juan Estevan Pico and his wife served as godparents when each child was baptized. Saturnino Pacífico died in 1912, just about the time Harrington was beginning his fieldwork among the Chumash (MBV Bur. 2:2575).

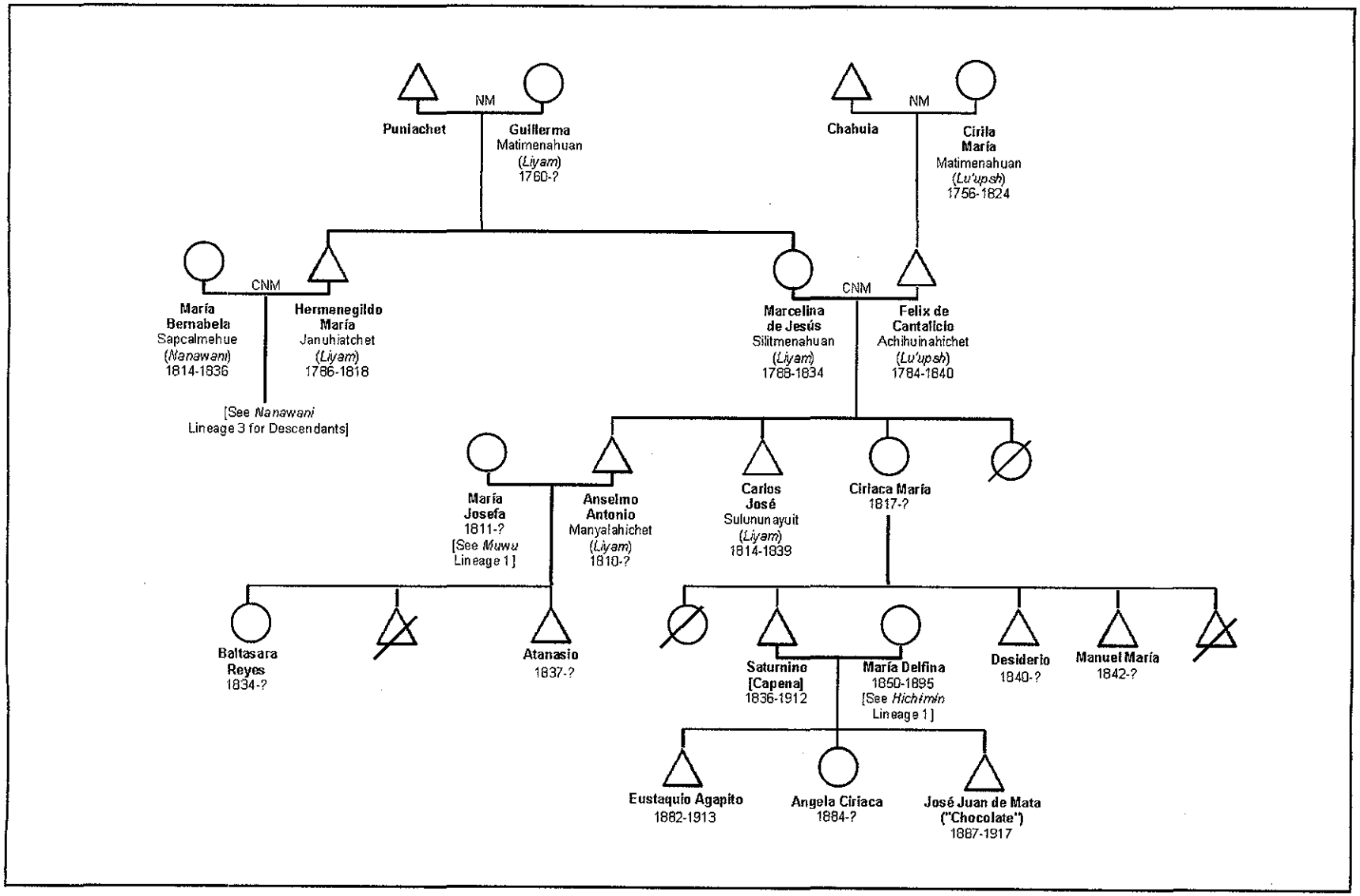


**Figure 10.7** *Liyam* Lineage 2: Descendants of Guillerma Matimenahuan

In some notes written in 1912 about potential Chumash consultants, Harrington wrote:

> The case of Agapito Pacifico [Saturnino Pacífico's eldest son], full-blooded Indian boy of Ventura, is this: He had been employed for a long time by a Basque and an Italian .... They refused to pay him anything but a mere trifling sum. He came to Judge Luis Ortega and [he] told him he must sue his employers. He did so and the boy got about $100.00 after the employers had made a hard fight on him. About 7 years ago this happened ....
>
> Juanito [Pacífico] was younger son of Saturnino of Ventura. Father Grogan calls him "Juanito Chocolate." [He is a] small man. Saturnino's [step] daughter [Josefa] is living She is married to Felipe [Castiano]. She is a janitress of the Hill School at Ventura and her husband helps her in janitor work when he is not working [Harrington n.d.a].

As the passage quoted above indicates, Saturnino Pacífico's youngest son was José Juan de Mata Capena, also known as Juan Pacífico or "Juanito Chocolate." Harrington met Juan Pacífico at his home in Ventura on the evening of March 12, 1813. His notes contain information about Juan Pacífico's family, other Chumash Indians who might be interviewed, and some brief data about Chumash watercraft and houses. The latter information has been incorporated into Hudson's and Blackburn's volumes on Chumash material culture (Hudson and Blackburn 1982-1987). Portions of Harrington's notes from Juan Pacífico provide some details of his family history and give an idea about which Chumash cultural traditions still persisted:

> Juan has a brother, two years older [sic], who went off to the circus and has been gone two years now and nobody has heard from him. Juan does not know what show this was.
>
> Juan had another brother, now dead, who was a snake charmer. This brother could make himself invisible, so that [when] he walked on the street nobody could see him.
>
> Juan went to the circus himself. He was a snake charmer .... Did not like the work, so he quit it when [he had] gone as far as San Jose. His father made him return home when [he had] gone that far.
>
> Juan knows only a few Indian words .... What he knows, he learned from his cousin [María] Antonia Tumamait [his mother's sister's daughter], and most of these he has forgotten.
>
> Fernando Librado is his uncle [a classificatory relationship, no biological relationship is documented between the two].
>
> Juan's Father was Saturnino (Pacifico). Saturnino died a natural death, only last year .... Saturnino used to hold conversations with Jose Cruz (?) about ancient things, but would never talk much when Juan was around, nor would they tell him anything. Saturnino would send him (Juan) on an errand on such occasions to get rid of him.

> Saturnino never told Juan much except as an answer to direct questions. Saturnino would hush up talking to Juan when Juan's sister came around. Saturnino was apparently quite severe with Juan ....
>
> Saturnino told Juan that the Indians used to go to the islands, two in each canoe and fifteen or twenty would be seen starting off at a time. When [they] returned, four would be in one canoe and another would be loaded with fish and towed behind.
>
> Saturnino had a horse but preferred to walk. Saturnino [and his] family would walk to Los Pitos along [the] beach, Saturnino fishing from shore for surffish all the way. He would throw from shore. He used sand fleas for bait [Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 571-578].

Several years later, when Harrington was working with another Ventureño Chumash consultant, José Peregrino Romero, he learned what became of Juan Pacífico:

> [Romero] heard that Juanito was bitten by a vibora [rattlesnake] at Canada Larga when working on wood and went to Ventura and died of the bite about 2 years ago. Only Josefa [a step-daughter] now survives of Saturnino's offspring [Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 138].

### *Liyam* Lineage 3: Descendants Jorge Juan Guehiachet

There is yet one other lineage from *Liyam* that is traceable to descendants alive today. A 25-year-old man named Guehiachet from *Liyam* was baptized as "Jorge Juan" at Mission San Buenaventura in 1803 (MBV Bap. 1:1723). His father, Eliseo Quitanmiat from *Lu'upsh*, whose age was estimated at 90 years, was baptized three years later (MBV Bap. 1:2248). Jorge Juan married Luisa Albertonia from *Muwu* in 1805 (MBV Mar. 420). They had two children, born in 1807 and 1811 (MBV Bap. 1:2328, 2:209). The eldest, Gregoria María Saputiyehue, grew up and in 1820 married Ciriaco José of *Muwu* (MBV Mar. 936). Two of Gregoria María's six children, born between 1821 and 1834, grew up and married. One of these, Dorotea, married a Santa Barbara fisherman named Richard Jenkins in 1859 (SB Pres. Mar. 495). Jenkins, who had been born in Portsmouth, England, spent much time fishing around the Channel Islands, and Dick's Harbor on Santa Cruz Island is named for him (Harrington n.d.b).

The daughter of Dick and Dorotea Jenkins was María Ana Jenkins, born in 1860 in Santa Barbara (OLS Bap. 2111). María Ana married Charles Hall (1857-1924) and was interviewed by John P. Harrington in 1923 (see Plate XLII in Chapter 11). An article on the occasion of her 92nd birthday appeared in the *Santa Barbara News-Press* on November 20, 1952. It mentions that she had 20 grandchildren and 26 great grandchildren living in that year. Thirty-two descendants of Dorotea Jenkins and her daughter María Ana Jenkins Hall are listed in an application submitted by Rosario Curletti for the 1968-1972 California Roll compiled by the BIA (Curletti Ms.). Because Dorotea's lineage is also descended from the chief of the major Chumash town of *Muwu* near Point Mugu, further discussion may be found in Chapter 11 along with the known descendants of her brother, Mateo (see Figure 11.1, *Muwu* Lineage 1).

### *Nanawani* (Nanaguani)

All but one of the 61 individuals from *Nanawani* were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. The single exception was a man who had married into *Xaxas* and later went with his wife and young son to Mission Santa Bárbara. Of individuals who had parents from *Nanawani*, 18 were born at other towns and 53 at the missions (Table 10.1). All but one of this "first generation" descended from *Nanawani* parents were baptized at San Buenaventura. Through the second, third and fourth generations, the numbers of *Nanawani* descendants in mission records declined from 55 to 21 to 14, respectively. As might be expected, most of these descendants were found in Mission San Buenaventura's registers.

### Prominent Individuals from *Nanawani*

#### Maximiliana Alcuapehue

Maximiliana Alcuapehue from *Nanawani* was another islander about whom information has been preserved in Harrington's ethnographic notes. She was baptized in November 1814 at Mission San Buenaventura when she was 24 years old, along with a large group of Chumash islanders (MBV Bap. 2:381). Her husband was Bartolomé Ligichait, also from *Nanawani* (MBV Bap 2:371, Mar. 766). Both lived beyond the Mission Period. Bartolomé died in 1845, and Maximiliana died in 1859 (MBV Bur. 2:798, 1134).

Maximiliana enters the ethnographic record because she was remembered by Fernando Librado as one of the island women who lived at *Kamexmey*. Librado reported to Harrington that Maximiliana and another island woman, Encarnación, had a tule house built for them by Evaristo, the chief of *Kamexmey*. Maxmiliana was an *abalorio* (bead money) maker. A sketch map of *Kamexmey*, made by Harrington with Librado's assistance, shows the house for the two old women and a half-circle shelter where Maximiliana made bead money (see Fig. 8.2). Maximiliana's name, incorrectly written as "Maxiniana" in the 1852 California State Census, which lists her immediately following the chief Evaristo, his mother, and Encarnación. Her age is given as "72," although mission register information suggests she was actually 62.

### Traceable Descendants from *Nanawani*

#### *Nanawani* Lineage 1: Descendants of Florentina Alalimehue

Florentina Alalimehue from *Nanawani* and her husband, Leandro María Juyanahuit from *Lu'upsh*, were baptized in December 1816 (Figure 10.8), two years after their three children had arrived at Mission San Buenaventura. One of the most dramatic stories recounted by Fernando Librado to J. P. Harrington involves this family. The story dates to the 1830s but was told to Fernando around mid-century by a Chumash fisherman at San Buenaventura named Ysidro, who may also have been from *Nanawani* (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:154-167; Johnson 1991).

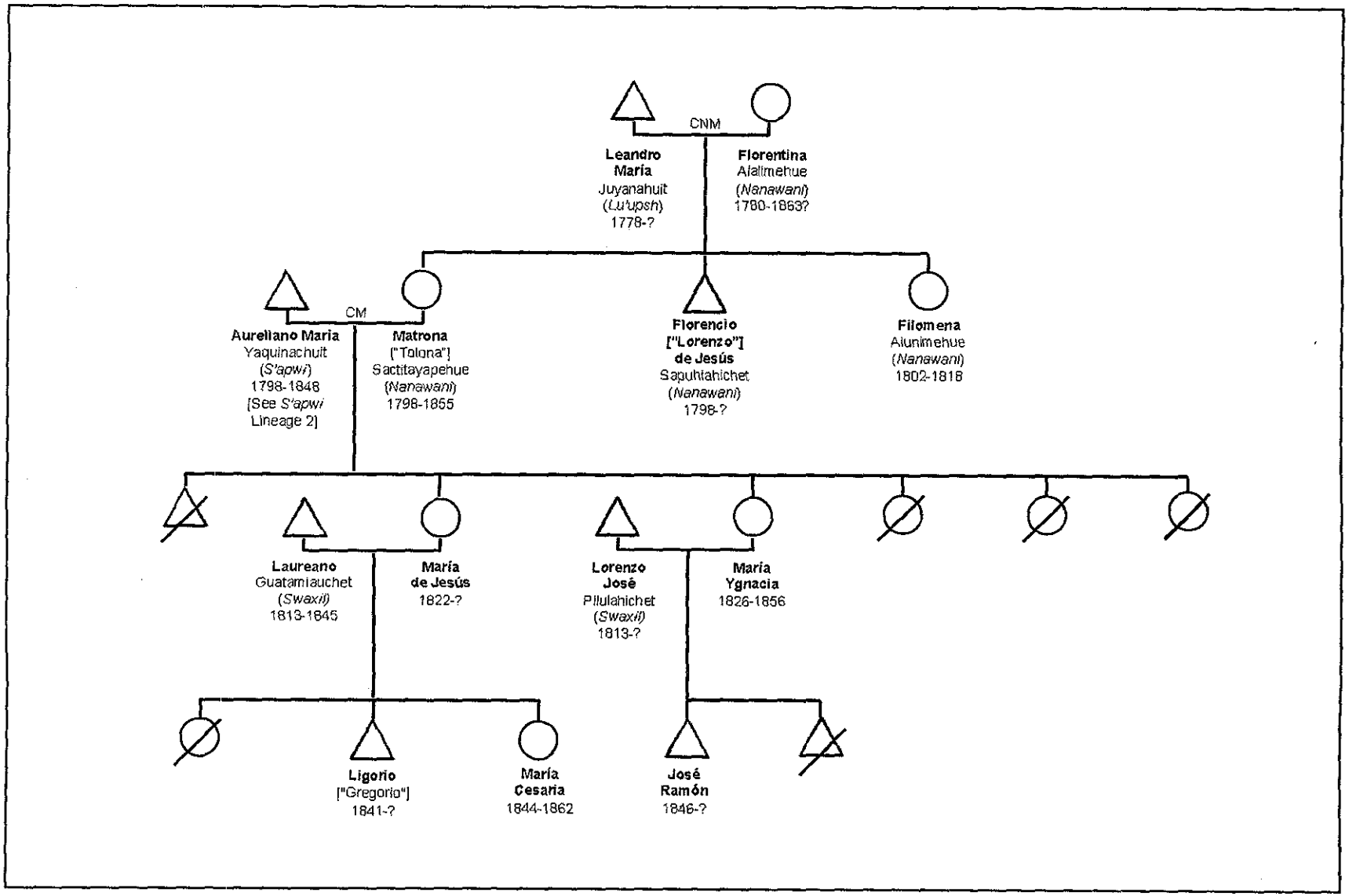


**Figure 10.8** *Nanawani* Lineage 1: Descendants of Florentina Alalimehue

Ysidro's narrative describes an incident about a group of men, mostly islanders, who participated in a Chumash guild called the "Brotherhood-of-the-Canoe." Members of this guild owned, manufactured, and used the *tomols* (plank boats) employed for fishing and cross-channel transportation. A storm took the lives of one canoe-load of fishermen who were members of the Brotherhood. According to the story, one of the men who drowned was "Lorenzo," and his parents, Leandro María and Florentina, and older sister "Tolona," participated in the ceremonies mourning the lives lost in the disaster.

"Lorenzo" and "Tolona" may be identified in mission records, but not under the names provided by Fernando. These two are almost certainly a pair of siblings from *Nanawani*, the children of Leandro María and Florentina, who were christened as Florencio and Matrona. Their Spanish names seem to have been transformed by speakers of Chumash languages to "Lorenzo" and "Tolona," because of problems in pronouncing the unfamiliar Spanish phonemes of [f] and [r] (Johnson 1991). Florencio de Jesús Sapuhiahichet and Matrona Sactitayapehue were both baptized in November 1814 with many other islanders, including their younger sister, Filomena Alunimehue (MBV Bap. 2:387, 388, 397). Both Florencio's and Matrona's ages were estimated at 17 years by the missionaries, although the narrative recorded by Harrington states that "Tolona" was older. Florencio married in 1825 (MBV Mar. 1017), but no children apparently resulted from this union.

Matrona married in 1816 to Aureliano María from *S'apwɨ* (see *S'apwɨ* Lineage 2 in Chapter 11) and later lived at *Kamexmey* on the west side of the Ventura River with other families of islanders in post-mission times (Johnson 1991). This couple had five children born between 1818 and 1837. Two of their daughters grew up and married to men from Santa Cruz Island: María de Jesús (MBV Bap. 2:950) married Laureano María Guatamiauchet of *Swaxɨl* in 1836, and María Ygnacia (MBV Bap. 2:1069) married Lorenzo Pilulahichet of *Swaxɨl* by the mid-1840s (MBV Mar. 1120; MBV Bap. 2:1474, 1529).

María de Jesús apparently had three children before she was widowed in 1845. One died in infancy and the other two, Cesaria and "Gregorio," are listed with María de Jesús in the 1852 California State Census, along with Florentina. María Ygnacia, her husband, and their one surviving child are also listed in the 1852 census, but both mother and son died in 1856 (MBV Bur. 2:1067, 1078). Matrona's death seems to have taken place the preceding year, while her mother, Florentina, may have survived into her eighties, passing away in 1863 (MBV Bur. 2:1052?, 1217?) No records beyond 1852 have been found to determine what became of María de Jesús and her daughter, Cesaria. Her son "Gregorio" (apparently baptized as Ligorio) moved to Los Angeles and has not been traced further (see *S'apwɨ* Lineage 2 in Chapter 11 for further details).

### *Nanawani* Lineage 2: Descendants of Mariana Luisa Quinamushmehue

On June 24, 1815, a group of thirteen adult islanders, consisting mostly of married couples from towns on the east end of Santa Cruz Island, were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. One of the couples was Fermín Antonio Teshcat, 43 years old, from *Xaxas* and his wife, Mariana Luisa Quinamushmehue, 40 years old, from *Nanawani* (Figure 10.9). This couple had lived for many years at *Nanawani*, which is revealed by the fact that both of their sons, José Diego Pamachiet, 16 years old, and

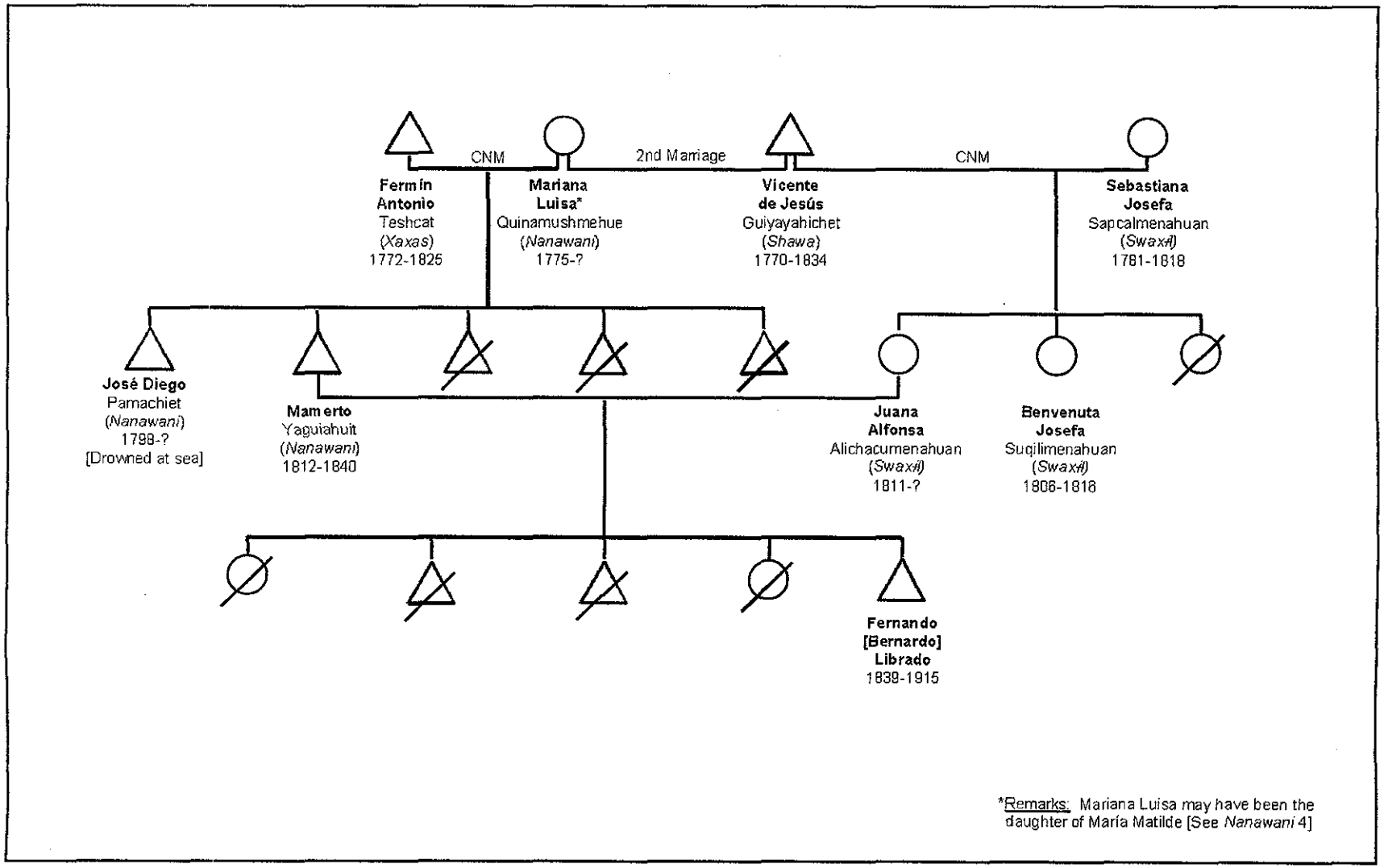


**Figure 10.9** *Nanawani* Lineage 2: Descendants of Mariana Luisa Quinamashmehue

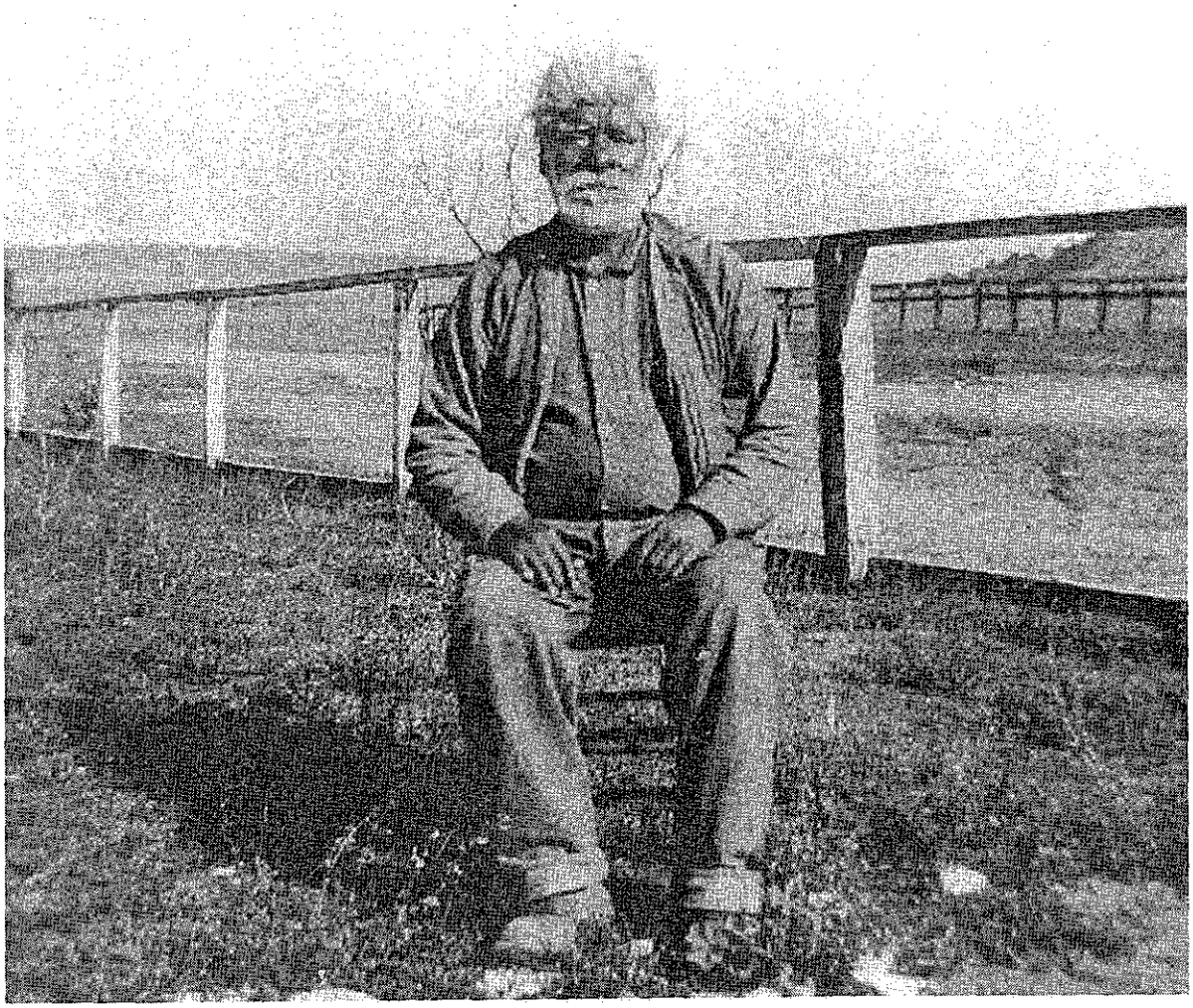

**Plate XXXVI.** Fernando Librado *Kitsepawit*, 1907, (*Nanawani* Lineage 2).
*Courtesy of Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library.*

Mamerto Yaguiahuit, 2 years old, had been born at that town (MBV 2:367 and 407). Fermin Antonio Teshcat and Mariana Luisa Quinamushmehue were the paternal grandparents of Fernando Librado through their son Mamerto (Johnson 1988a:232).

After Fermin Antonio's death in 1825, Mariana Luisa married another Cruzeño Chumash man, Vicente de Jesús Guiyayahichet (MBV Mar. 1027). Five years later, Mariana Luisa's youngest son, Mamerto Yaguiahuit, married a young widow named Juana Alfonsa, the daughter of Vicente de Jesús Guiyayahichet (MBV Mar. 1066). Although technically Juana Alfonsa was Mamerto's step-sister, they had not grown up as children within the same family. Mamerto and Juana Alfonsa had five children born between 1831 and 1839, but only their last, Fernando Librado *Kitsepawit*, survived infancy (Plate XXXVI) (Johnson 1982b, 1988a:232-233). He was destined to become famous through his collaboration with John P. Harrington.

Within a year of Librado's birth, his father was killed from a blow to the head by an unknown assailant at the Santa Bárbara Presidio (MBV Bur. 2:1840). Mamerto's older brother, José Diego Pamachiet, had wed three times but no children resulted from any of these marriages. José Diego had died in the 1830s in the same storm-caused canoe accident that took the life of another former resident of *Nanawani*, Florencio ("Lorenzo") Sapuhiahichet (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978; Johnson 1991; and see also the preceding section). Fernando Librado, who never married, was the last of this lineage from *Nanawani* when he died in 1915 in Santa Barbara.

### *Nanawani* Lineage 3: Descendants of Bononia Sulmatipehue

From November 15-17, 1814, the largest contingent of *Nanawani* residents were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. Among these were Bononia Sulmatipehue, 56 years old, and her daughter, María Bernabela Sapcalmehue, 25 years old (Figure 10.10). The latter had two small children who had been baptized earlier in the year, born at *Liyam*. Their father was Hermenegildo María Januhiatchet (see *Liyam* Lineage 1). Within a year of her arrival at the mission, María Bernabela married Matutino Sagicucai, a widower from *'Awha'y* (MBV Mar. 793). This couple had five children born before Matutino's death in 1832. Two of María Bernabela's daughters and one son, Ramón Nonato, grew up and married, but only the son had children who survived childhood.

Ramón Nonato was born in 1817 and was known by the name *Shinayaxsh*, said to mean "big noise, smoke and dust" by Fernando Librado (Hudson 1979:58, 150; MBV Bap. 2:760). Because Librado referred to him as his "uncle," it seems that Librado's paternal grandmother, Mariana Luisa, may have been related to Ramón Nonato's grandmother, Bononia. However, the most that can be said from mission register evidence is that both women came from the same island town, *Nanawani*.

Ramón Nonato and Fernando Librado left Ventura together in the early 1850s and took jobs on the Espada Rancho in Jalama Canyon in western Santa Barbara County (Johnson 1982b). Librado's memories of Ramón Nonato included several stories regarding native remedies for various maladies (Hudson 1979: 58, 62). Ramón Nonato subsequently courted Margarita [Bernal], a young Ineseño Chumash

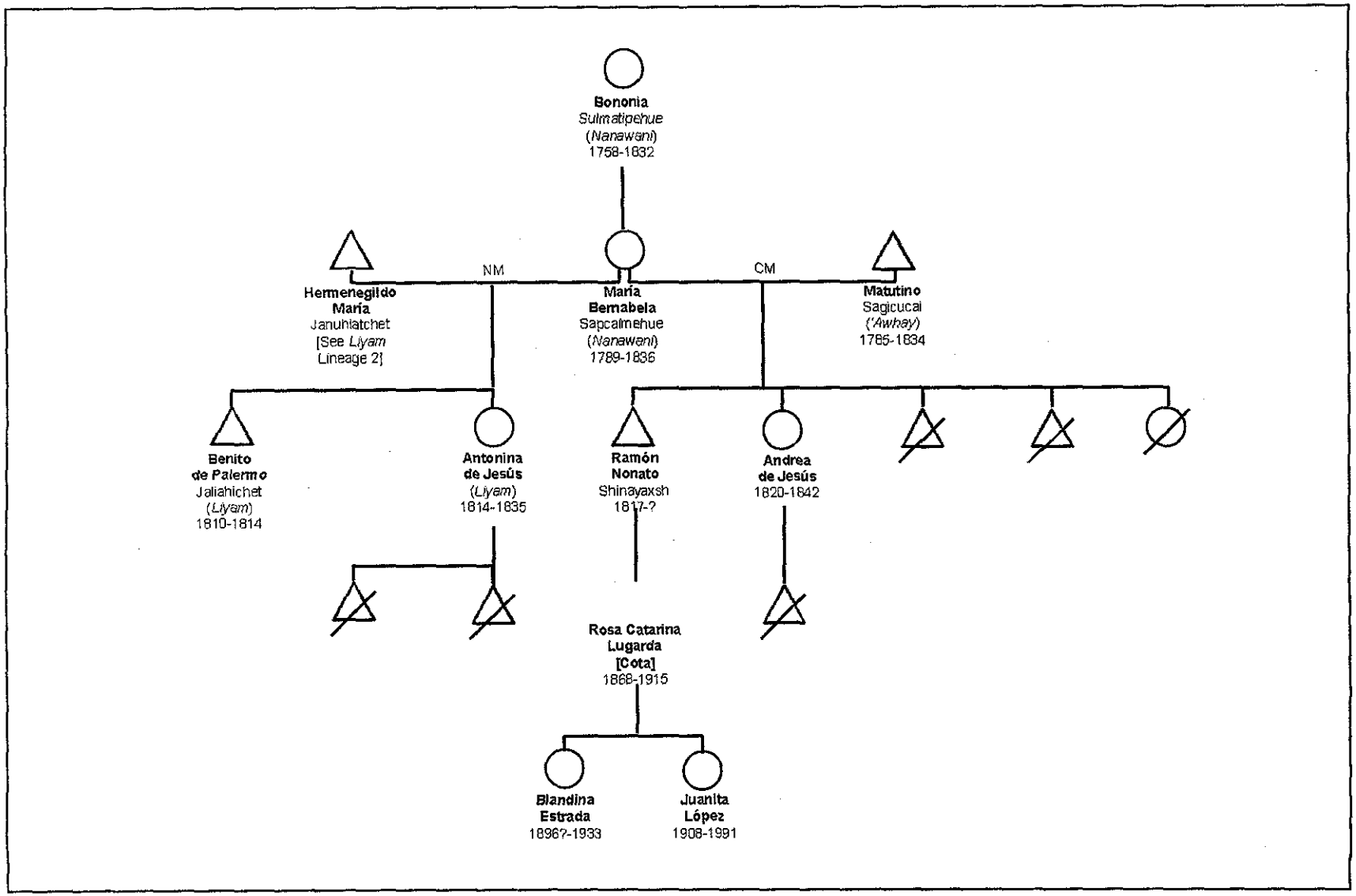


**Figure 10.10** *Nanawani* Lineage 3: Descendants of Bononia Sulmatipehue

**Plate XXXVII.** Margarita Bernal and her daughter, Rosa Cota *(Nanawani* Lineage 3). Photo by Tulita de la Cuesta, 1900.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31414.*

woman living near Santa Ynez. Despite the disparity in their ages (Margarita was eighteen, while Ramón was forty-nine), the couple married in 1866 and had one daughter born two years later, Rosa Catarina Lugarda (MSY Mar. 560; MSY Bap. 1946).

Margarita and Ramón Nonato later separated, and Ramón then lived with Rosa, a Purisimeño Chumash woman, on the ranch of Eduardo de la Cuesta. María Solares related that one evening on his way to visit Rosa, Ramón was so frightened upon seeing a supernatural apparition of a black dog up on the bell tower next to the Santa Inés Mission church that, not watching what he was doing, he fell into the mission fountain and lay there injured until morning (Blackburn 1975:296; Harrington n.d.b).

Ramón's and Margarita's daughter, Rosa [Cota], was one of the founding members of the Santa Ynez Reservation (Plate XXXVII). She died in 1915. She had two daughters, Blandina Estrada and Juanita López (Grand). Blandina had two children, Adelaida Romero (1914-1935) and Ramón Romero (born in 1912). Ramón Romero's five daughters are voting members of the reservation. Adelaida Romero's only living descendant is a grandson, also living in Santa Ynez.

The youngest daughter of Rosa Cota, Juanita López Grand, passed away in 1991. Her three children and eight grandchildren are all eligible voting members of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation. Elise Tripp, who helped compile the mission register data base for this project, is a granddaughter of Juanita Grand and one of the living descendants of *Nanawani* Lineage 3.

### *Nanawani* Lineage 4: Descendants of María Matilde

The first two individuals baptized from *Nanawani* were María Matilde and her sister, María Saturnina, who came to Mission San Buenaventura as adults in 1787 (MBV Bap. 1:244 and 245). At the mission, María Matilde married Thadeo José Juayuyanait (or Cuxas), who had arrived two years earlier from *Lu'upsh*, another Santa Cruz Island town (Figure 10.11). This couple must have lived together in native society prior to coming to the mission because their six-year-old son, Anselmo Cuimayachet, was baptized from *Lu'upsh* in 1789 (MBV Bap. 1:437). Thadeo and María Matilde died in 1800 and 1803 respectively, being survived only by their eldest son, Anselmo, who married in 1801 (MBV Mar. 235). Anselmo Cuimayachet's wife was María Ricarda, who came from the large inland Ventureño town of *Mat'ilxa*. They had eleven children born between 1801 and 1815, but only two sons, Lino María Anucuahuit, born in 1805, and Juan de Jesús Sumamait (Tumamait), born in 1811, survived infancy (MBV Bap. 1:2092, 2:214). María Ricarda died after childbirth in 1815 and her husband succumbed four years later (MBV Bur. 1:1879, 2060).

During an interview with Fernando Librado on August 6, 1913, Harrington jotted down the following note:

> Juan de Jesus's father [sic] was a Matilija Indian. Juan de Jesus's mother [sic] was a Cr[uzeño] and was a sister [sic] of F[ernando]'s paternal grandmother [Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 8, Fr. 176].

As recounted above, mission register evidence reveals that it was actually Juan de Jesús Tumamait's mother, María Ricarda, who came from *Mat'ilxa*, and it was his father, Anselmo Cuimayachet, who was Cruzeño Chumash. Evidently either Librado or Harrington mixed up Tumamait's parents' origins. When the note from Librado is corrected according to known facts, we reach the conclusion that he believed his grandmother, Mariana Luisa, to be the paternal aunt of Juan de Jesús Tumamait. Although mission register evidence does not confirm this precise relationship, it is perhaps significant that Mariana Luisa and María Matilde, the likely candidate for her mother, both were from *Nanawani*.

When Lino María Anucuahuit and Juan de Jesús Tumamait were orphaned in 1819, they could have been raised by Mariana Luisa, if indeed she was their aunt, or perhaps by their mother's parents, Almachio Pichu and Almachia Saputimehue from *S'omis*, who were listed among other married couples in the 1825 *padrón* of Mission San Buenaventura. As adults, Lino María and Juan de Jesús eventually took prominent roles in the San Buenaventura Chumash community after the secularization of their mission in 1836.

Lino María Anucuahuit married Ysidora, a recently widowed Ventureña neophyte in 1824 (MBV Mar. 997). They had three children born between 1826 and 1834. The first child died within her first year of life, and a second daughter, Estanislaya, born the following year has not been traced beyond 1840 A son, Pedro Pablo, died when he was eighteen in 1852 (MBV Bur. 2V:993).

In 1845, Lino María applied to the last Mexican governor of California, Pío Pico, for a tract of land 561 varas in circumference, where he had built a home near San Buenaventura. This was approved by the Assembly the following year just prior the conquest of California by the United States (Johnson 1993a:159). Fernando Librado described Lino's participation in Ventureño Chumash ceremonial activities as a dancer and erector of a shrine pole (Hudson and Blackburn 1983:218-219, 1986:236). Lino María and his wife were listed in the 1852 California State Census as living in Ventura, but they subsequently left for Monterey never to return (Hudson 1979:147).

It is through Juan de Jesús Tumamait that descendants of María Matilde may be traced to the present day (Plate XXXVIII). He rose to the position of alcalde, a leader elected by the Mission Indian community at San Buenaventura, and was co-recipient of a small grant of land on the west bank of the Ventura River above Cañada del Diablo (Johnson 1993a:159). Juan de Jesús was remembered by Fernando Librado as an educated man, honest, and a great storyteller. He appears prominently in the many vignettes of nineteenth century Chumash life that Librado recounted for Harrington (Hudson 1979).

Juan de Jesús Tumamait was married four times. His first two marriages were without children. Then in 1856 at Mission Santa Bárbara, he wed Rita Antonia (MSB Mar. 1420), the sister of Luisa [Ygnacio], who later became one of Harrington's principal Chumash consultants (Plate XIX). Two children were born from this marriage, but Rita died within a year of the birth of her second child, who also did not survive (MBV Bur. 2:1153, 1167). Their eldest daughter, María Juana de Jesús, married Anastacio Valenzuela and bore at least five children by him between 1872 and 1883. She died shortly after the birth of her last son in May 1883 (MSB Bur. 1578). Within a few months of each other, between August, 1894 and February, 1895, four of the five known Valenzuela children are listed in the burial records of Mission San Buenaventura. It is unknown what malady struck the family during this period and the fate of the remaining daughter is unknown.

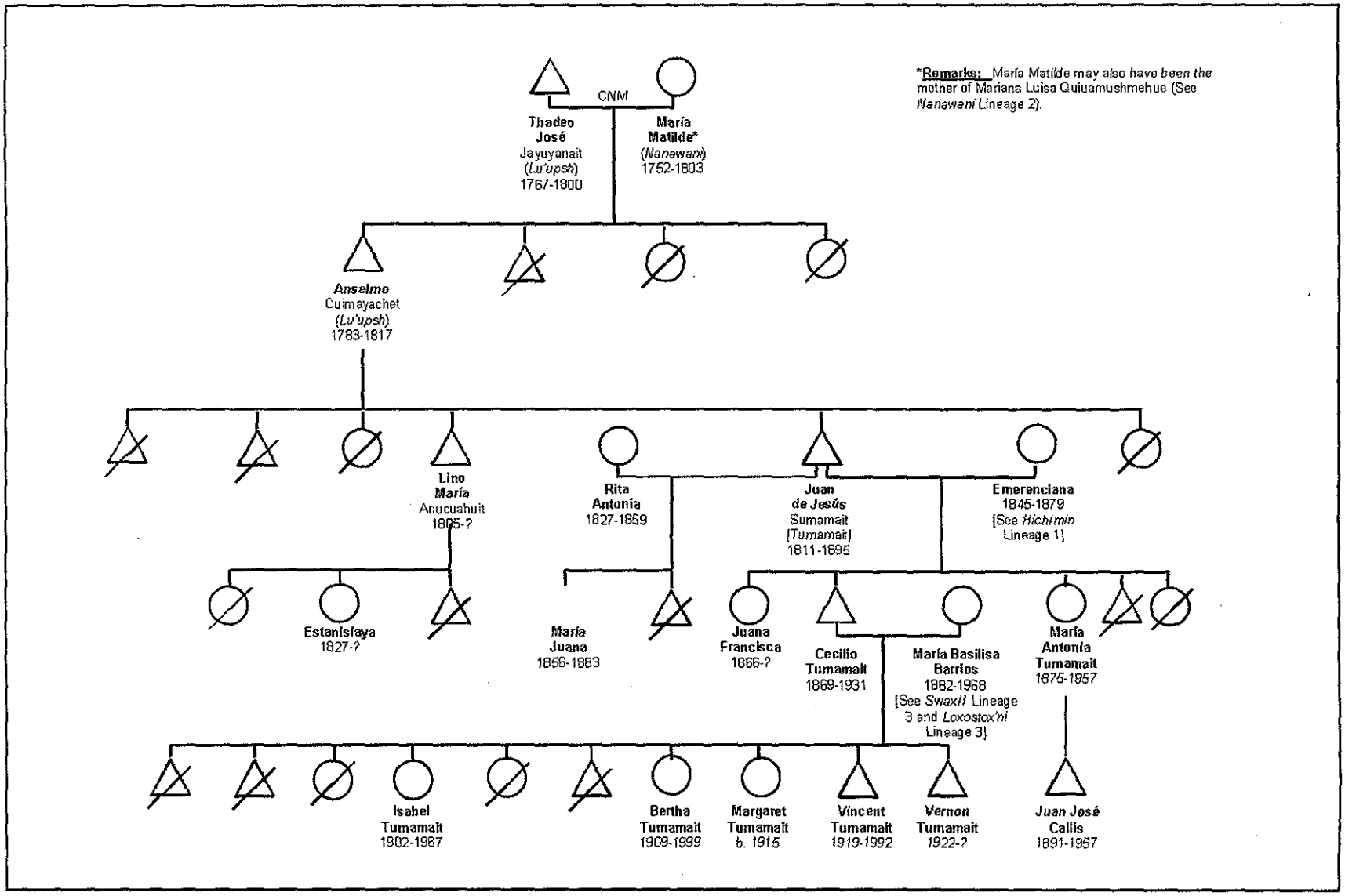


**Figure 10.11** *Nanawani* Lineage 4: Descendants of Maria Matilde and Thadeo José Jayuyanait

**Plate XXXVIII.** Chumash Musicians at Mission San Buenaventura, 1873. Juan de Jesús Tumamait is the man holding the violin, second from left.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31412*

Juan de Jesús remarried in 1865 to Emerenciana, who had been born at Mission Santa Inés (MBV Mar. 1291). They had five children born between 1866 and 1878. Emerenciana died in 1879. Juan de Jesús had settled with his family at Pitas Point, where he raised lima beans. He would travel by wagon every Sunday to church with his two daughters, Andrea and María Antonia. He built a gabled house made of driftwood with mud covering and a roof thatched with carrizo cane. After this house was destroyed during heavy storms in 1889-90, he built a frame house to replace it (Hudson 1979:61, 128).

In 1887 Juan de Jesús was interviewed by G. H. Gould and Lorenzo Yates for information regarding the Ventureño Chumash language and culture (Gould 1887; Heizer 1955; Yates 1889). He finally succumbed in November 1895 at the age of 84, although his contemporaries believed him to be a centenarian (e.g., Bard 1894). He was survived by a son, Cecilio Tumamait, and one daughter, María Antonia.

Cecilio Tumamait married María Basilisa Barrios (Plate XXXIX), who was half-Ventureño Chumash by descent (see *Swaxil* Lineage 3 and *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 3). He made his living as a sheepshearer and carpenter and was interviewed briefly at his home on North Olive Street by J. P. Harrington in 1913. Cecilio and María Basilisa had ten children born between 1898 and 1921. Cecilio Tumamait died in 1931. Two of his daughters, Bertha Tumamait Blanco and Margaret Tumamait Duarte, still make their homes in Ventura. Grandchildren and great grandchildren of Cecilio Tumamait, through his son, Vincent Tumamait (1919-1992), and daughter, Isabel Tumamait Arellanes (1902-1967) are actively involved in Chumash affairs in Ventura County today.

María Antonia Tumamait, the surviving daughter of Juan de Jesús, had one son, Juan José Callis, born in 1891 (MBV Bap. 3:1198). She subsequently married Henry Leyva and lived next door to her brother, Cecilio Tumamait, at 53 North Olive Street in Ventura. Her son married Clara Gardner, a descendant of Indians affiliated with Mission San Fernando (see Plate XLI), and had two sons, one now living elsewhere in California and another in Tennessee (John F. Callis, personal communication, 1987). María Antonia Tumamait Leyva was the last known speaker of the Ventureño Chumash language at the time of her death in 1957.

### *Swaxil* (Yshguagel)

Being the largest town on any of the islands, *Swaxil* naturally produced the most surviving lineages of descendants. A total of 205 people from *Swaxil* were baptized (Table 10.1). Another 16 people born at other island towns had a parent who came from *Swaxil*. Those in the first generation born at the missions numbered 155. The second generation born at the missions consisted of 78 individuals, the third generation had 66, and the fourth generation had 7. Several lineages of people who came from *Swaxil* are described elsewhere in this chapter, because they included individuals who came from other island towns. These were *Xaxas* Lineage 2, *L'akayamu* Lineage 3, *Nanawani* Lineage 2, and *Lu'upsh* Lineage 1 (see Figures 10.2, 10.5, 10.9, and 10.16).

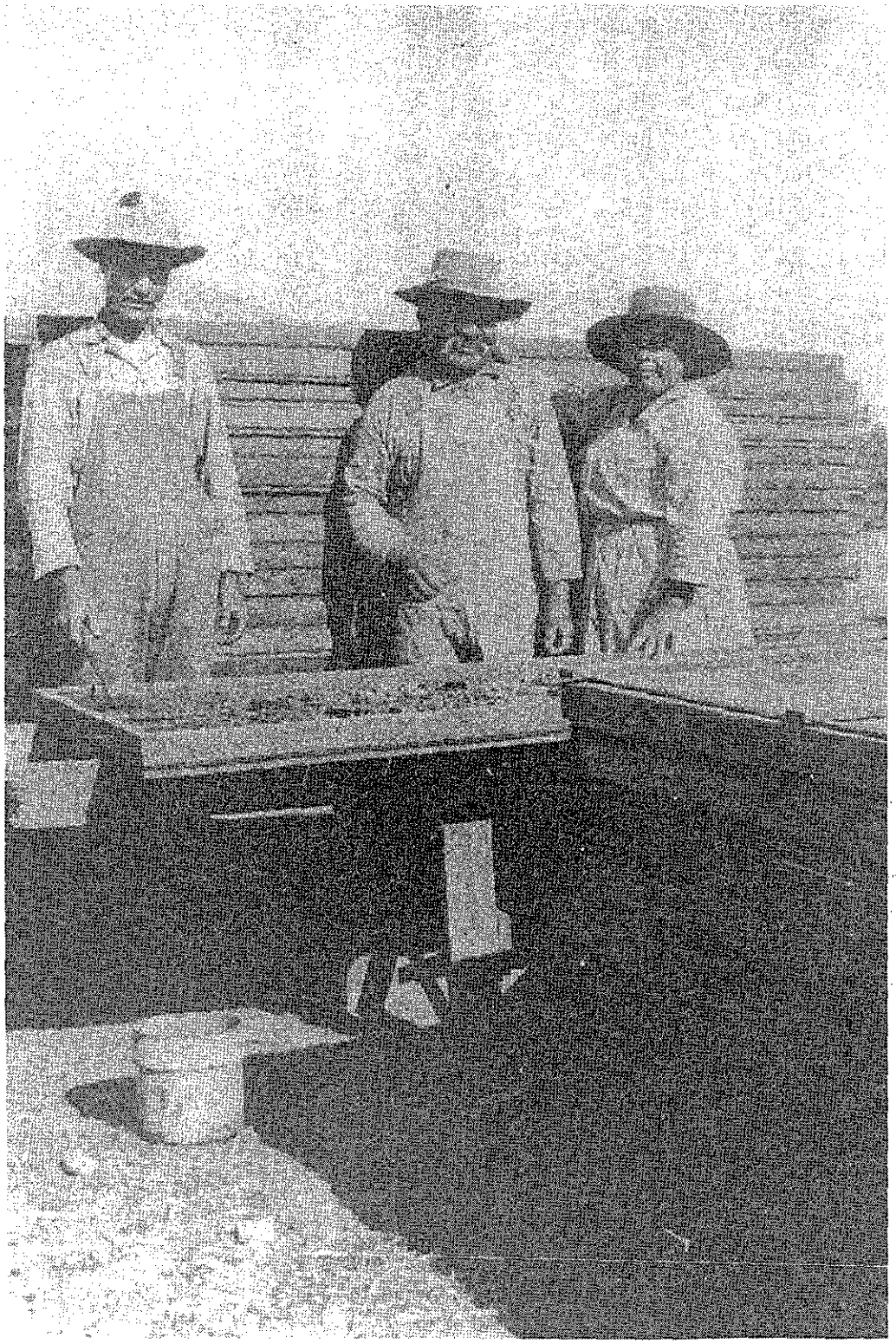

**Plate XXXIX.** Cecilio Tumamait (center), (*Nanawani* Lineage 4 and *Hichimin* Lineage 1), and his wife, María Basilisa Tumamait (*Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2) drying apricots in the late 1920s. The man on the left is Patrick Palomino.

*Courtesy of Ventura County Museum of History and Art.*

### Prominent Individuals from *Swaxil*

Eleven individuals in the 1852 California State Census have been identified as people who came from *Swaxil.* All had been originally baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. Prominent among these were Evaristo María Chanamahichet, María Encarnación Suatalienahuan, and Lorenzo José Pilulahichet. Evaristo María was the founder and chief of the Chumash settlement of *Kamexmey*, where several island families lived following mission secularization. María Encarnación was an elderly resident of *Kamexmey*, who kept her own language and maintained other island cultural traditions.[25] Lorenzo José was another islander who exemplified cultural continuity and founded a small community at *Quyuy* in post-Mission times. Further discussion regarding the traditional roles played by these individuals may be found in previous studies (Hudson 1979; Hudson et al. 1977; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978; Johnson 1991).

### Traceable Descendants from *Swaxil*

#### *Swaxil* Lineage 1: Descendants of María Rosa Ortega

Eleven days before Christmas in 1783, María Rosa, an eleven-year-old orphaned girl from *Swaxil,* became the first person from the Channel Islands to be baptized and only the twenty-seventh Chumash Indian to arrive at Mission San Buenaventura. Upon reaching puberty, María Rosa married Miguel Bartolomé Ortega, a servant of the mission, who came from Aljucuca, Mexico (Edberg 1982). This couple had eight children born between 1788 and 1800 at San Buenaventura and Los Angeles, but only three survived childhood (Figure 10.12). Ortega was given a land concession at Rancho Las Virgenes in the Santa Monica Mountains where his family settled. María Rosa and Miguel Ortega served as godparents for Chumash Indians from native towns in the vicinity of their rancho who were baptized at Mission San Fernando. María Rosa died in 1805 and was buried at Mission San Fernando. Ortega then remarried a Chumash woman from *Humaliwo* named Ana Antonia Guataljiulelgeni (Edberg 1982).

Three of María Rosa Ortega's children eventually settled in Santa Barbara. José Antonio Ortega, her first born, served as a soldier at the Santa Bárbara Presidio. His sister María Toribia Ortega married Carlos Lorenzana, an Indian from a Mexico City orphanage who had been brought to California as a boy in 1799 as part of an early immigration program (Hernandez 1990:212). The younger daughter of María Rosa Ortega was María Agueda Ortega. She married Julián Lara, who worked as a servant at Mission La Purísima. All three of María Rosa Ortega's adult children died comparatively young: María Toribia died in 1830, José Antonio Ortega in 1832, and María Agueda in the summer of 1844 during a major smallpox epidemic that took many Indian lives at La Purísima.

The only lineages of María Rosa Ortega's descendants who have been traced to the present day come from José Antonio Ortega. He married Segunda Cordero, whose father was a presidio soldier at

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[25] See Chapter 8 for further information about Evaristo María and María Encarnación.

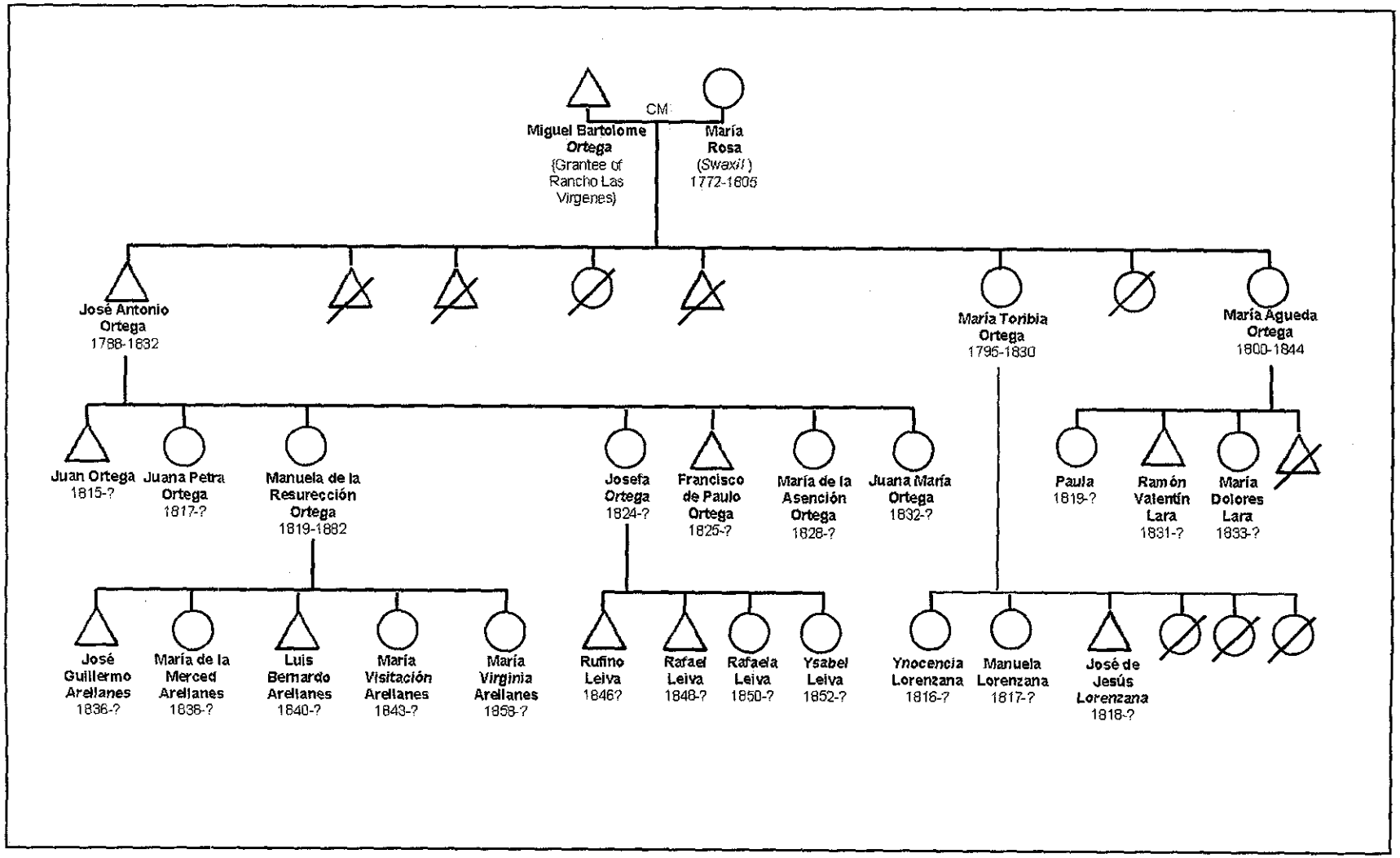


**Figure 10.12** *Swaxil* Lineage 1: Descendants of María Rosa Ortega

Santa Bárbara. It is interesting to note that Segunda Cordero's brother Miguel Cordero, the grantee of Rancho Las Cruces, also had a half-Chumash spouse, María Antonia Jiménez (Northrop 1984:52-55; Olivera 1986). José Antonio Ortega and Segunda Cordero had seven children between 1815 and 1832. The fate of most of their offspring is unknown, except for two daughters, Manuela de la Resurreción and Josefa, who married into Spanish Californian families.

Manuela de la Resurreción Ortega Manuela married José Arellanes, and Josefa Ortega married Rafael Leiva. Fernando Librado mentioned these families in his recollections narrated to J. P. Harrington and mentioned that they were of Santa Cruz Island descent (Hudson 1979:116). Luís Arellanes, son of Manuela Ortega and José Arellanes, left a manuscript account of early non-Indian settlers and old adobe residences in San Buenaventura in the 1850s and 1860s (Arellanes 1982). He has many descendants living in Ventura County today. Descendants have also been traced from his first cousin, Rafaela Leiva, who married into the Cordero family (Olivera 1986).

### *Swaxil* Lineage 2: Descendants of Manuel Ecsaya

Manuel Ecsaya was originally baptized at his native town of *Swaxil* on May 24, 1803, by Pío Yalainahuit, a San Buenaventura neophyte. This baptism was administered on Santa Cruz Island instead of at the mission because Manuel Ecsaya was in danger of death. He was the father of two sons from *Swaxil* who had previously been baptized. A note near Manuel Ecsaya's entry in the mission register indicates that he eventually received formal rites of baptism in the mission church, but he was soon to succumb from his illness. The last member of his family to be baptized was a daughter, María Purificación Sajutimelelene, who came to the mission from *Swaxil* in 1808 (Figure 10.13).

Manuel Ecsaya's eldest son, Ygnacio Pamasiguanapahichet, had eight children born at Mission San Buenaventura between 1795 and 1817. Two of his daughters, Bernabela and Apolonia de Jesús, were members of the post-secularization Indian community at San Buenaventura. Bernabela married Justino José Pahuaylihuit, who served as one of the elected alcaldes of the Ventureño neophytes. Their descendants are described in Chapter 11 in the discussion of *Lisiqishi* Lineage 3.

Apolonia de Jesús was the first wife of Juan de Mata, a Ventureño man known to Fernando Librado (Hudson 1979:72). They had four children between 1834 and 1848. Their daughter Apolonia married Domingo de Jesús Guzmán, the maternal uncle of Simplicio Pico, one of Harrington's principal Ventureño consultants. Apolonia Guzmán was photographed with Petra Pico on the steps of Mission San Buenaventura in the 1880s (Hudson 1979:86). Three of Apolonia Guzmán's children married and had children of their own who were living in the early twentieth century. Further details regarding these families are presented in the discussion of *Sumo* Lineage 1 in Chapter 11.

Hilaria, the youngest daughter of Apolonia de Jesús and Juan de Mata, married José Roberto Salmerón, an Indian from Chihuahua, Mexico. Their family was tabulated in the 1880s census, residing next door to the family of Juan Estevan Pico (Johnson 1994:42). Pico's mother had married Hilaria Salmerón's father in 1863 after both were widowed, so the fact that the Picos and Salmeróns were neighbors may have

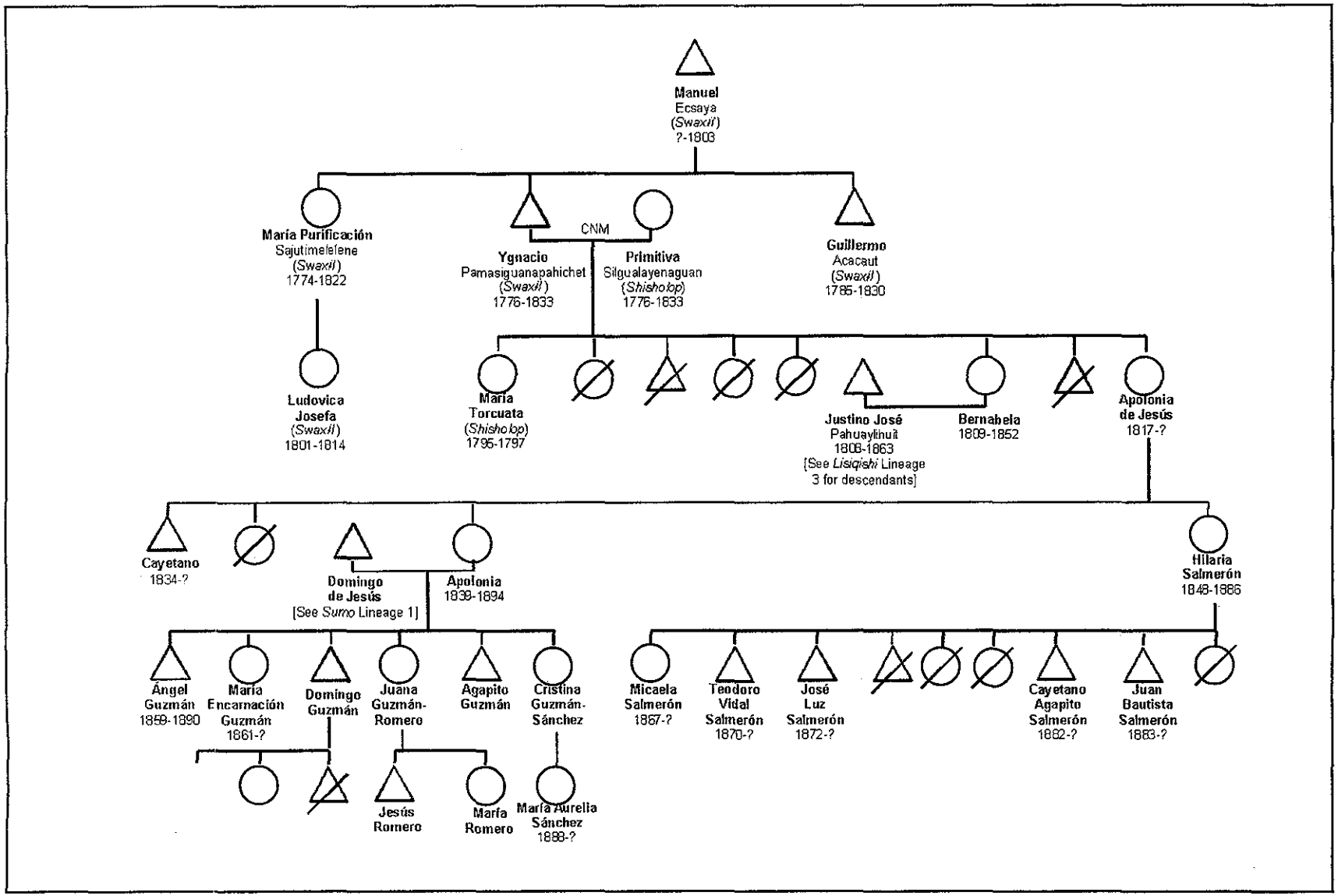


**Figure 10.13** *Swaxil* Lineage 2: Descendants of Manuel Ecsaya

resulted from their shared inheritance of family property. Baptismal records exist at Mission San Buenaventura for nine children born to the Salmeróns between 1867 and 1886. Hilaria Salmerón seems to have died in 1886 from complications during the birth of her last daughter, who also did not survive. Although burial records have been found for some of the Salmerón children, the later history of the remainder is unknown at present.

### *Swaxil* Lineage 3: Descendants of Beata de la Cruz Sinactipenahuan

On April 8, 1817, the last group of Chumash islanders was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. They numbered fourteen in all, most of them elderly people from *Swaxil*. Among this group was Beata de la Cruz Sinactipenahuan, 76 years old, the mother of three adult children from *Swaxil* who had been previously baptized with their families within the preceding two years (Figure 10.14).

Three of Beata de la Cruz's grandchildren from *Swaxil* had been baptized earlier at San Buenaventura. One of these was Justo María Guichiajahuichet, whom Fernando Librado knew well. Librado described Justo María as his mother's brother (Hudson 1979:98), although this relationship is unsubstantiated when genealogical evidence is examined (see Figures 10.9 and 10.14). It is possible that Fernando Librado's maternal grandmother and Justo María's mother were sisters, because both came from *Swaxil*, were only two years apart in age, and did not have parents who were otherwise identified in mission registers. If Justo María and Fernando's mother were parallel cousins, then according to Ventureño Chumash kinship terminology, Justo María may well have been known to Librado by the kin term for 'mother's brother' because his mother and Justo María would have used sibling terms to describe their consanguineal relationship (Johnson 1988a:185-188).

Justo María Guichiajahuichet had no equal in dancing the Seaweed Dance, according to Librado, and he also performed the Barracuda Dance (Hudson et al. 1977:79, 92). He played many Indian tunes on an iron flute (Hudson and Blackburn 1986:365). Librado noted that Justo María served as a cook for Fremont during the latter's campaign to conquer California in 1847 (Hudson 1979:79). By 1848 Justo María and his wife had moved from San Buenaventura to Santa Barbara. After his first wife died in 1848, Justo María was married the following year to Pilar, who was the widow of José Crespín *Kamuliyatset's* son Teófilo (see Figure 10.1). According to Librado, Justo María was a relative of José Crespín *Kamuliyatset*, former chief of *Liyam*, and used to visit him at his home near the Goleta estero (Hudson and Blackburn 1986:365). Justo María (listed as "J. Ventureno") and Pilar were tabulated together in the 1852 census among the community of Indians who were living at *Qwa'* near the Goleta estuary. Justo María died in 1861 at San Buenaventura.

Magina de Jesús Gilipienahuan, another grandchild of Beata de la Cruz Sinactipenahuan, had a only one daughter, María del Espíritu Santo, born in 1836. María del Espíritu Santo married Manuel Barrios from Mexico in 1853. Lucas Barrios, the eldest child raised by Manuel Barrios and María del Espíritu Santo, may not have been their child at all. His mother's name is listed as "María Lorenzana" in his baptismal record at San Buenaventura, but he originally was born in Los Angeles and later taken into the household of Antonio Schiappapietra. He married Carmen Real of Sonora, Mexico in 1880. This couple

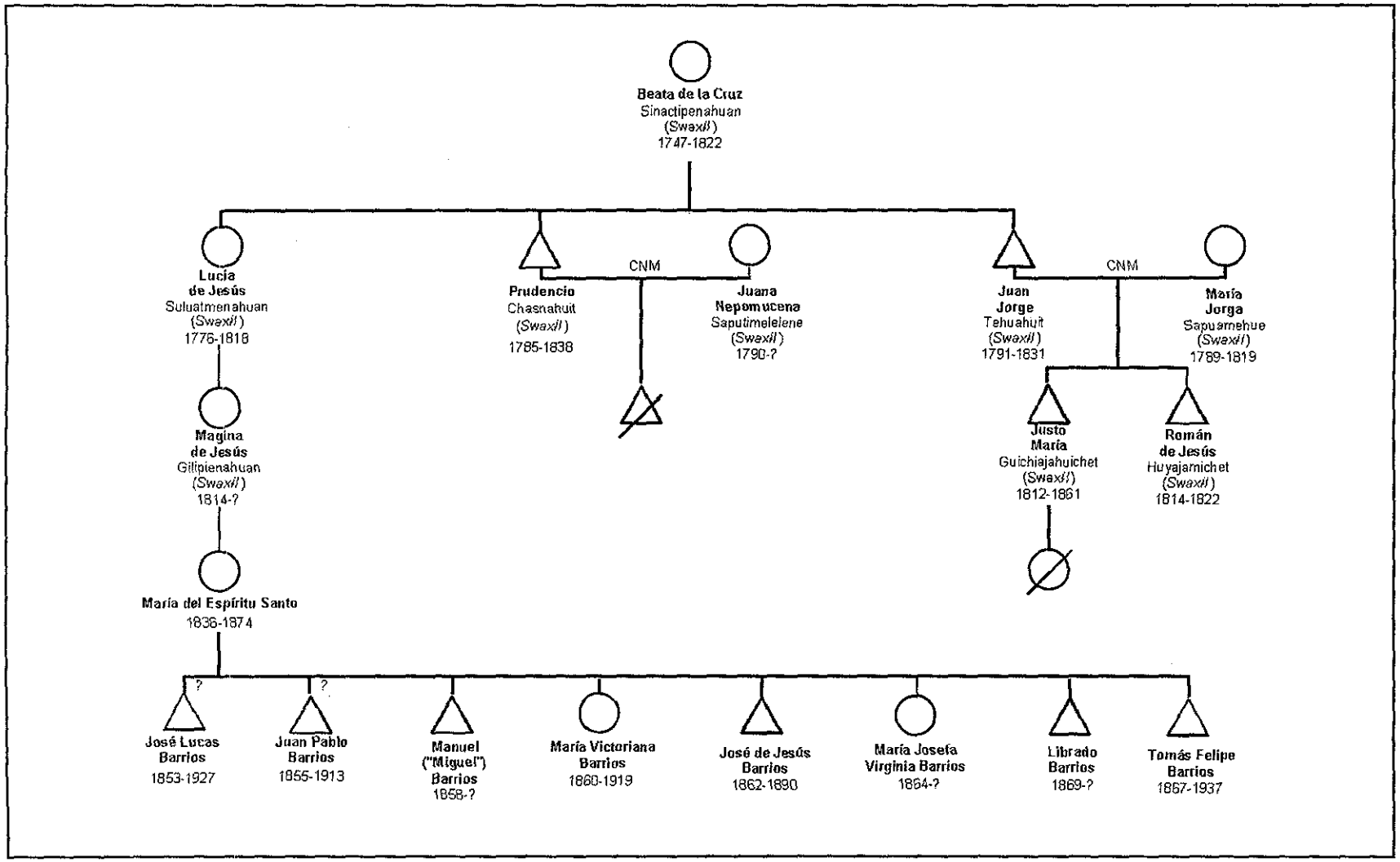


**Figure 10.14** *Swaxil* Lineage 3: Descendants of Beata de la Cruz Sinactipenahuan

**Plate XL.** Francisca Ortega and Juan Pablo Barrios (*Swaxil* Lineage 3), possibly their wedding portrait in 1888. Photograph by J. C. Brewster.
*Courtesy of Charles Barrios.*

had six children, but their family does not consider themselves to be of Chumash ancestry, and they were not listed in either the 1928 or the 1972 BIA California Indian enrollment (Herlinda Carney, personal communication).

Juan Pablo Barrios, born about 1855, was the second son of Manuel Barrios and María del Espíritu Santo, according to information provided at the time of his marriage, but no record of baptism exists for him in the San Buenaventura registers. His first child, María Basilisa Barrios, was born in 1882 to Juana de la Cruz Villaescuesa (see *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2, Chapter 11). María Basilisa Barrios later married Cecilio Tumamait and raised a large family in Ventura (see also *Nanawani* Lineage 4, this Chapter). Two of her daughters and many of her grandchildren and great- grandchildren reside in Ventura County today. Julie Tumamait and Eleanor Arellanes, who worked as research assistants on this project, are descendants of María Basilisa Barrios Tumamait.

In 1888, Juan Pablo Barrios married Francisca Ortega (Plate XL), whose mother was Ventureño Chumash (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 561, 591; Johnson 1989b). They had seven children between 1889 and 1902, five of whom reached adulthood. Information regarding their descendants has been provided by two of their grandchildren (E. Chaves and C. Barrios, personal communications, 1995).

Irene Barrios, the eldest daughter of Juan Pablo Barrios and Francisca Ortega, married Michael Bebeck from Austria. No children were born to this couple, who were proprietors of a restaurant in Los Angeles. Rosa Barrios never married. Louise ( María Eloisa) Barrios married James Otis and lived in Santa Maria. She had one daughter who lives in Santa Barbara County today. John (Juan Arturo) Barrios married Saline Wilson. Their four children and numerous grandchildren live in Ventura County today. The youngest daughter of Juan Pablo Barrios and Francisca Ortega was Stella Barrios, who married Pat McKeon and lived in Los Angeles County. They had a son, now deceased, and a daughter, who married and raised a family in the Los Angeles area.

The younger daughter of Manuel Barrios and María del Espíritu Santo was María Victoriana Erlinda Barrios, who wed Francisco Andrade of Sonora, Mexico in 1891. Francisco Andrade's brother, Lázaro Andrade, also married a woman of Chumash ancestry, Mónica Corrales, who was of Purisimeño descent. María Victoriana Barrios Andrade had six or seven children, most of whom moved to Los Angeles County. One of her daughters married and stayed in the Ventura area where her descendants live today (Herlinda Carney, personal communication).

The youngest daughter of Manuel Barrios and María del Espíritu Santo was María Josefa Virginia Barrios, who married Cirilo de Jesús Sosa. María Josefa Barrios Sosa had one daughter, Amada Sosa. After her first husband's death, María Josefa Barrios moved to Lopez Canyon near San Luis Obispo. Her daughter, Amada Sosa, married a Martínez in San Luis Obispo and had one son. Amada Sosa Martínez used to visit her friends and relatives in Ventura area fairly often, and they in turn would travel north to visit her, thereby maintaining Chumash community ties (Vincent Tumamait, Edna Rodríguez, and Herlinda Carney, personal communications).

The largest number of Barrios descendants come from Tomás Barrios, who married Rosa Velarde. The baptismal records of Mission San Buenaventura list their fourteen children born between 1893 and 1919. One of their daughters and many descendants reside in Ventura County today.

### *Swaxil* Lineage 4: Descendants of Felipa Benicia Alulupiehue

On December 22, 1816, a woman from *Swaxil* named Alulupiehue, estimated to be 70 years old, was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura and given the name Felipa Benicia (Figure 10.15). Her daughter, Juana Petra Alguayenahuan, was baptized two days later, a single mother of a three-year old boy from *L'akayamu*. Juana Petra remained single for a few years before she married Sereno José Suayehuia, a widower from *Mat'ilha* (Matilija).

Two daughters were born to Juana Petra and Sereno José: Matía de Jesús in 1821 and Simona in 1823. Both grew up and were married at San Buenaventura. Matía de Jesús wed a man from her mother's town of *Swaxil*, while Simona married the son of a couple from *Mat'ilha*, where her father had been born. These may be examples of the importance of town affiliation continuing to be a factor in marriage partner selection within the mission community.

Matía de Jesús was deceased by 1845, when her husband remarried. She left no children. Simona had six children before her first husband died in 1850. Three of Simona's children were listed with her in the 1852 census among the San Buenaventura Indian community: José María, María Antonia, and José de los Reyes. There is no further record of José María. José de los Reyes seems to have moved to the Chumash community of Saticoy, because Fernando Librado mentions him there about 1870, but no further record of him has been located (Hudson 1979:130).

Simona's daughter, María Antonia, married Mateo Vásquez of Panama in 1866. Between 1866 and 1875, they had seven children who are listed in the San Buenaventura baptismal registers. Unfortunately no further information has been located pertaining to this family's history. They do not seem to be listed in either the 1870 or 1880 U.S. census records for the Ventura area.

### *Lu'upsh* (Luupsh)

All but two of the 63 people baptized from *Lu'upsh* went to Mission San Buenaventura. The two exceptions were baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara. A total of fifteen children of *Lu'upsh* parents were tabulated from other Chumash towns. Four of these were born at the mainland towns of *Lisiqishi* (1) and *Shuku* (3). Parents from *Lu'upsh* had children at four island towns: *Liyam* (3), *Nanawani* (3), *Swaxil* (3), and *Xaxas* (2). There were 63 children born at the mission who had parents from *Lu'upsh* (Table 10.1).

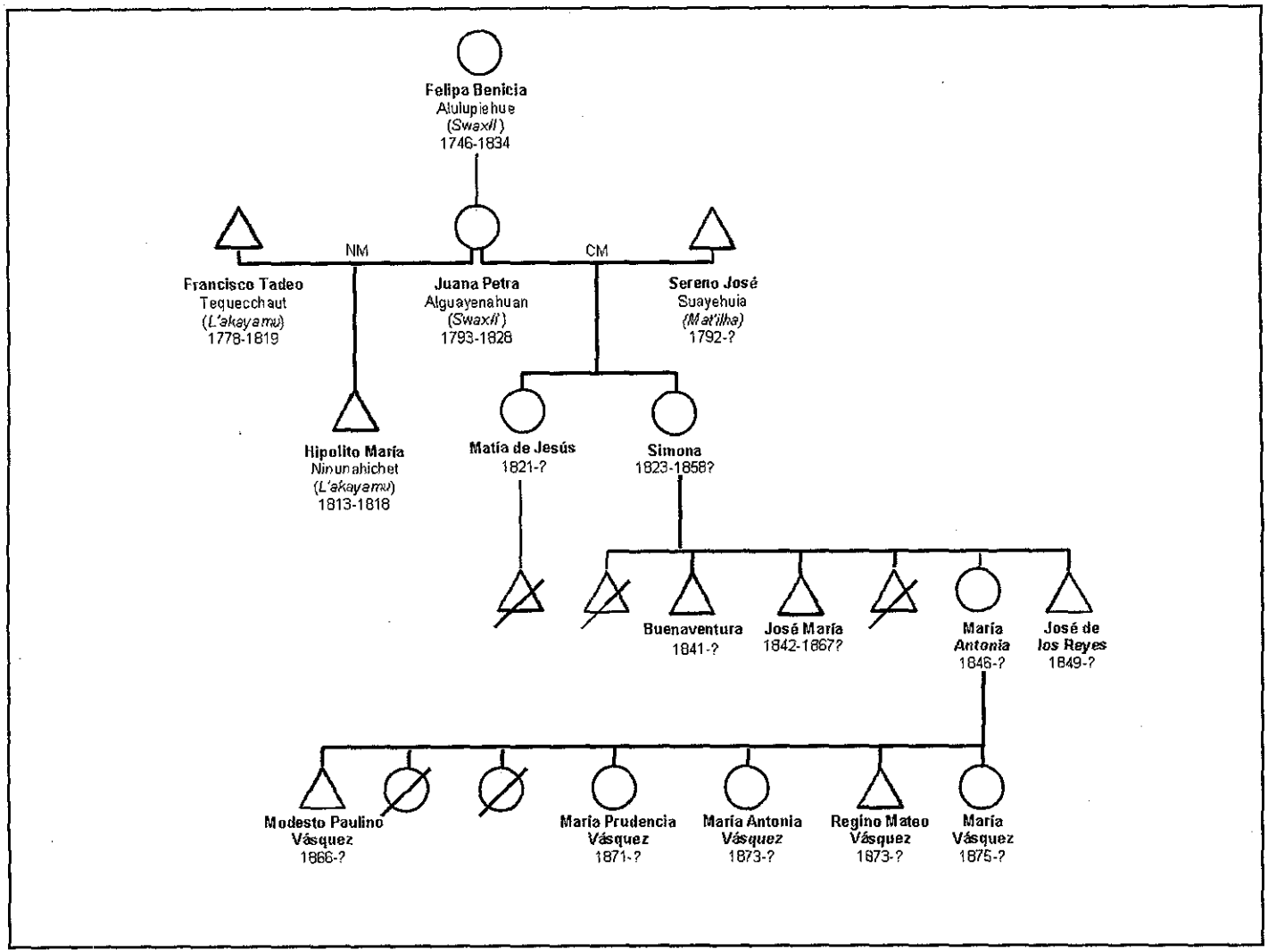


**Figure 10.15** *Swaxil* Lineage 4: Descendants of Felipa Benicia Alulupiehue

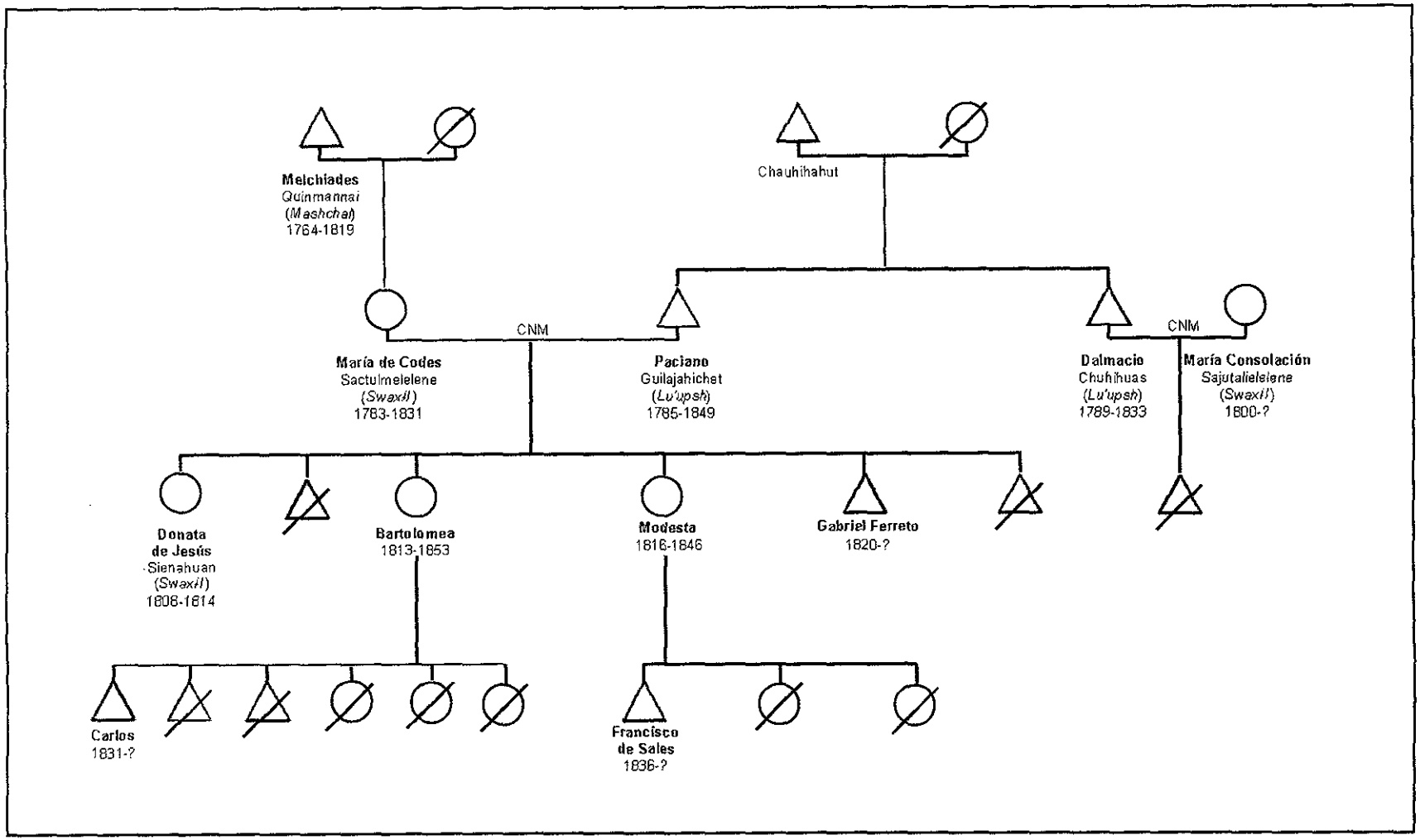


**Figure 10.16** *Lu'upsh* Lineage 1: Descendants of Paciano Guilajahichet

Children whose grandparents came from *Lu'upsh* numbered 55. The third and fourth generations who were descended from *Lu'upsh* ancestors numbered 28 and 4 respectively. People from *Lu'upsh* appear in some of the genealogies previously discussed for Santa Cruz Island: *L'akayamu* Lineage 3, *Liyam* Lineage 2, *Nanawani* Lineage 1, and *Nanawani* Lineage 4 (see Figures 10.5, 10.7, and 10.11, respectively).

## Traceable Descendants from *Lu'upsh*

### *Lu'upsh* Lineage 1: Descendants of Paciano Guilajahichet

On April 4, 1801, one man and four teen-age boys from Santa Cruz Island were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. These included two brothers from *Lu'upsh*: Paciano Guilajahichet, who was sixteen, and Dalmacio Chuhihuas, aged twelve (Figure 10.16). Both later married young women from *Swaxil*. Paciano Guilajahichet returned to the island to seek a wife. Their daughter was born at *Swaxil* in 1808. Paciano's wife, María de Codes Sactulmelelene, was not baptized until the end of December, 1809.

Paciano Guilajahichet and María de Codes had a total of six children recorded in the Mission San Buenaventura baptismal register. In 1828, Paciano Guilajahichet officially transferred with his family to Mission Santa Bárbara, according to entries in the *padrones* of both missions. María de Codes Sactulmelelene died in 1831. Their daughters Bartolomea and Modesta married Chumash men who were part of the Santa Barbara neophyte community.

Paciano Guilajahichet is the man whose name was erroneously recorded as "Paisano" in publications based on Harrington's notes from Fernando Librado. "Paisano" was described as a "Santa Barbara Indian who aided José Sudón and Laudenzio in constructing two plank canoes at La Patera" (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:176). This comment suggests that Paciano Guilajahichet probably lived with other former islanders at the community of *Qwa'* near the mouth of the Goleta estuary that was led by José ("Sudón") Crespín *Kamuliyatset*. He had probably learned canoe-building while being raised on Santa Cruz Island. Paciano's performance of the Bear Dance at a big celebration at Cieneguita was also documented in Harrington's notes (Hudson et al. 1977:83). Paciano Guilajahichet's death was recorded in 1849 in the Santa Bárbara Presidio burial register.

Paciano's eldest daughter, Bartolomea, married Primo, a widower, in February 1831. Their son Carlos was born that fall. Five other children were to follow but none of them reached adulthood. As a young girl, María Solares met this family when her parents took her along to visit relatives at Cieneguita. She saw "at Santa Barbara town Bartola [Bartolomea] and her husband Bartolo [sic] and their son Carlos. They were cooks at Santa Bárbara Mission for Fr. Antonio [Jimeno]" (Harrington n.d.b). Primo and Bartolomea were listed in the 1852 census with the group of Indian families headed by José ("Sudón") *Kamuliyatset*. Primo's occupation at that time was given as "carpenter." Bartolomea died in 1853, and Primo followed her two years later.

Carlos wed María de los Angeles at Mission Santa Bárbara in 1851. Their marriage seems to have had its problems. In 1854 María de los Angeles gave birth to an illegitimate daughter of Vicente Hill, the son of Goleta pioneer Daniel Hill. The Hills raised the child, Dolores Hill, who later married Emile Pommier, a French immigrant. Justice Court records of the 1850s indicate that Carlos was occasionally arrested for drunkenness. His subsequent history is unknown.

Carlos is not the only one of Paciano Guilajahichet's descendants who seem to have disappeared from the records. Nothing further is known of his son, Gabriel Ferreto, nor of Francisco de Sales, his grandson through his daughter Modesta. If any of these moved out of the local area, the possibility exists that they may have married and produced descendants elsewhere.

## SANTA ROSA ISLAND DESCENDANTS

### *Qshiwqshiw* (Siucsiu)

*Qshiwqshiw,* the largest Chumash settlement on Santa Rosa Island, produced three lineages of descendants that were traceable beyond the mid-nineteenth century, more than any other town on the island. A total of 118 individuals were assigned to *Qshiwqshiw* in our data base. Children of people native to *Qshiwqshiw* included 88 born at the missions and 13 from other island towns. Fourteen children had grandparents from *Qshiwqshiw*. The third and fourth generations of individuals who were descended from *Qshiwqshiw* ancestors numbered only 2 and 1, respectively, in our data base (Table 10.1). These figures are deceiving, however, because more descendants than these may be traced using non-mission register sources.

### Traceable Descendants from *Qshiwqshiw*

### *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 1: Descendants of Juliana

In early December, 1814, Francisco Chulutchu, a Chumash neophyte interpreter from Mission Santa Bárbara, visited Santa Rosa Island and baptized a number of elderly residents at *Qshiwqshiw* and neighboring towns (Johnson 1982a:71). One of the women he baptized was a 70-year-old lady, upon whom was bestowed the name "Juliana." In her baptismal entry, written down by Fr. Ramón Olbés, Juliana was said to be the mother of a "gentile" man known by the unusual nickname of "Santa Clara" (Figure 10.17). "Santa Clara" was later baptized at Mission Santa Inés on September 26, 1816 and given the name Gualverto. His Indian name was Sumimiachet. One of Gualverto Sumimiachet's young daughters, who had been born on Santa Rosa Island, was baptized as "Clara," undoubtedly in honor of her father's nickname.

Clara was married three times at Mission Santa Inés. With her second husband, Francisco de Asís, who had been born and raised at the mission, she had a son, Nicomedes (listed as "Diomedes" in his baptismal entry). Nicomedes became the second husband of María Solares, whom he wed on February 6, 1866. Their marriage was destined to be short lived because Nicomedes died the following August. He

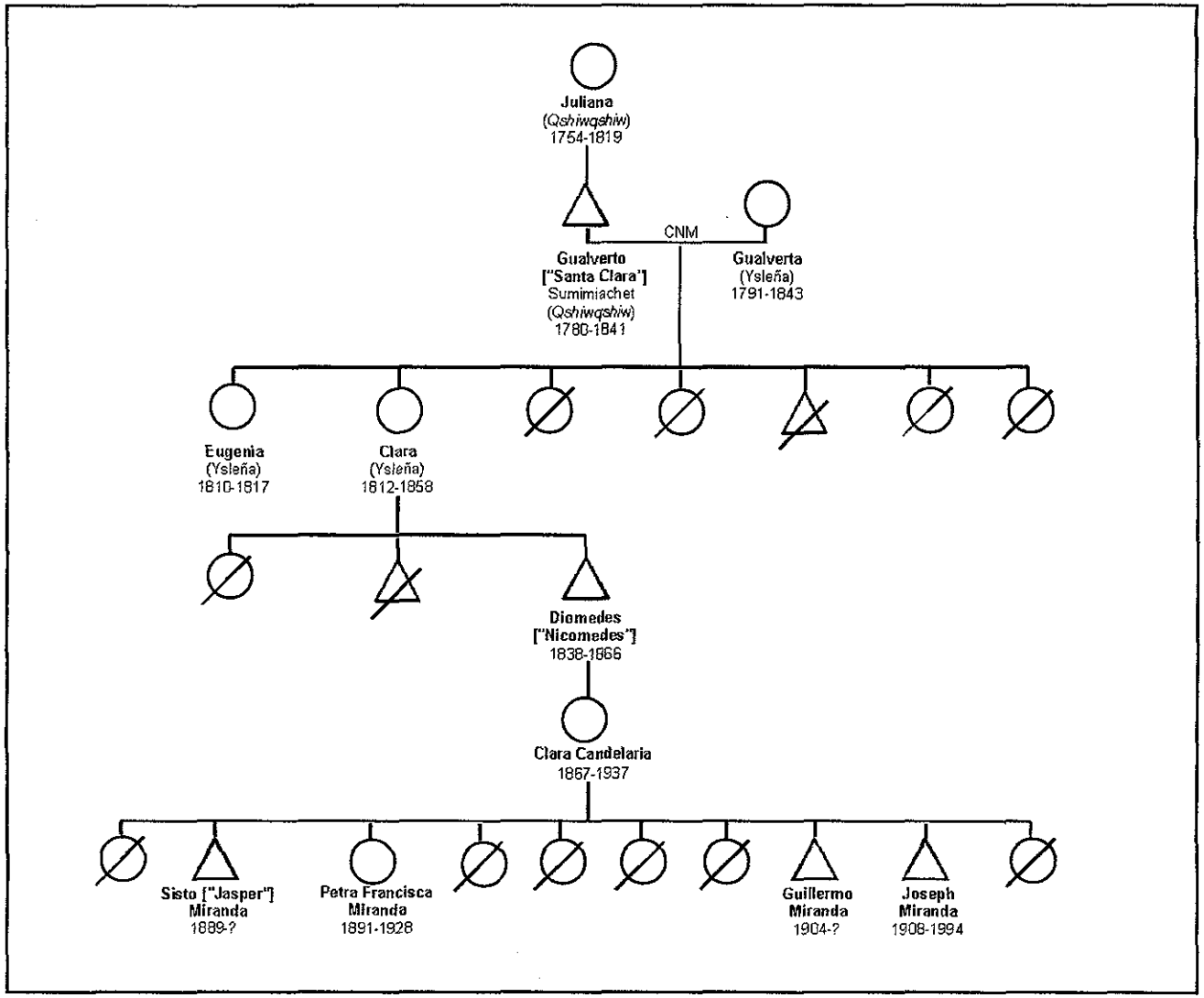


**Figure 10.17** *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 1: Descendants of Juliana

**Plate XLI.** Clara Candelaria Miranda (*Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 1) on left and Clara Gardner, a descendant of San Fernando Mission Indians. Taken at Bill Gardner's "Fish Camp" near Pitos Point, Ventura County, about 1915.
*Courtesy of Caroline Pulido and Edna Rodriguez.*

did not live to see the birth of his daughter, Clara Candelaria, who arrived the day after Christmas and was named after her paternal grandmother.

Clara Candelaria married Juan Miranda from Sonora, Mexico and had a large family. She was sometimes present during the sessions when her mother served as an ethnographic and linguistic consultant to John P. Harrington at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation (Plate XLI). Clara Miranda later worked with C. Hart Merriam in 1834, when he recorded his Ineseño Chumash vocabulary. She died in 1937.

Four of Clara and Juan Miranda's ten children survived to adulthood. Their eldest son, Sisto ("Jasper") Miranda, moved out of the local area, and the family lost track of him. Their son, Guillermo ("Willy") Miranda, never married. He served as the tribal chairman of the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians for many years. Descendants of Clara Miranda through her children, Petra Francisca Miranda Kahn (1891-1928) and Joseph Cyril Miranda (1907-1994), are members of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation today.

### *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 2: Descendants of Claudio Sicmeguit

Claudio Sicmeguit was the first Santa Rosa islander to become part of the fledgling mission communities on the mainland. He was baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara on August 12, 1787 when he was about twenty years old (Figure 10.18). A decade later, his younger brother, Eduardo Chrisanto Lihuinumamhuit, also joined the mission population. Claudio Sicmeguit married four times at Mission Santa Bárbara and outlived each of his wives. Before that, another woman on Santa Rosa Island had borne him a son about the time he crossed over to the mainland. This boy, Casto Xapnapaitset, grew up and married in native society before finally moving to the mission with his family in 1816.

Claudio's son, Agatón, born in 1811 from his last marriage, was his only other child who reached adulthood. Agatón married Estefana, another member of Santa Barbara's Chumash community, in 1840. This family lived at the old Mission, where Agatón worked as a cook for Fr. Antonio Jimeno. The names of six children of Agatón and Estefana were recorded in the baptismal and burial records of Mission Santa Bárbara. For two of these, Rosa and Rafael, no burial entries have been found.

Estefana was apparently not happy in her marriage to Agatón. Luisa Ygnacio told Harrington that her older sister, Rita, who was widowed at the time, fled with Estefana and were taken by two Santa Barbara vaqueros to San Luis Obispo. The missionary eventually sent one of his alcaldes and Rita's father to retrieve them and then ordered them to be severely whipped for running away (30 lashes each morning over a nine-day period). Agatón was ordered to do the whipping, but he felt sorry for his wife, so one of the Indians alcaldes took charge of this punishment. Luisa Ygnacio mentioned that Estefana's daughter, Rosa, was about five years old at this time, so this incident must have occurred about 1850 (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 4, Fr. 78-81).

Estefana did not remain long with Agatón at Santa Bárbara, but soon fled again, this time to Los Angeles. Agatón was listed alone in the 1852 census, but thereafter no record of him has been found, so he may have moved out of the local area. Estefana died in Los Angeles in 1855. If her two remaining

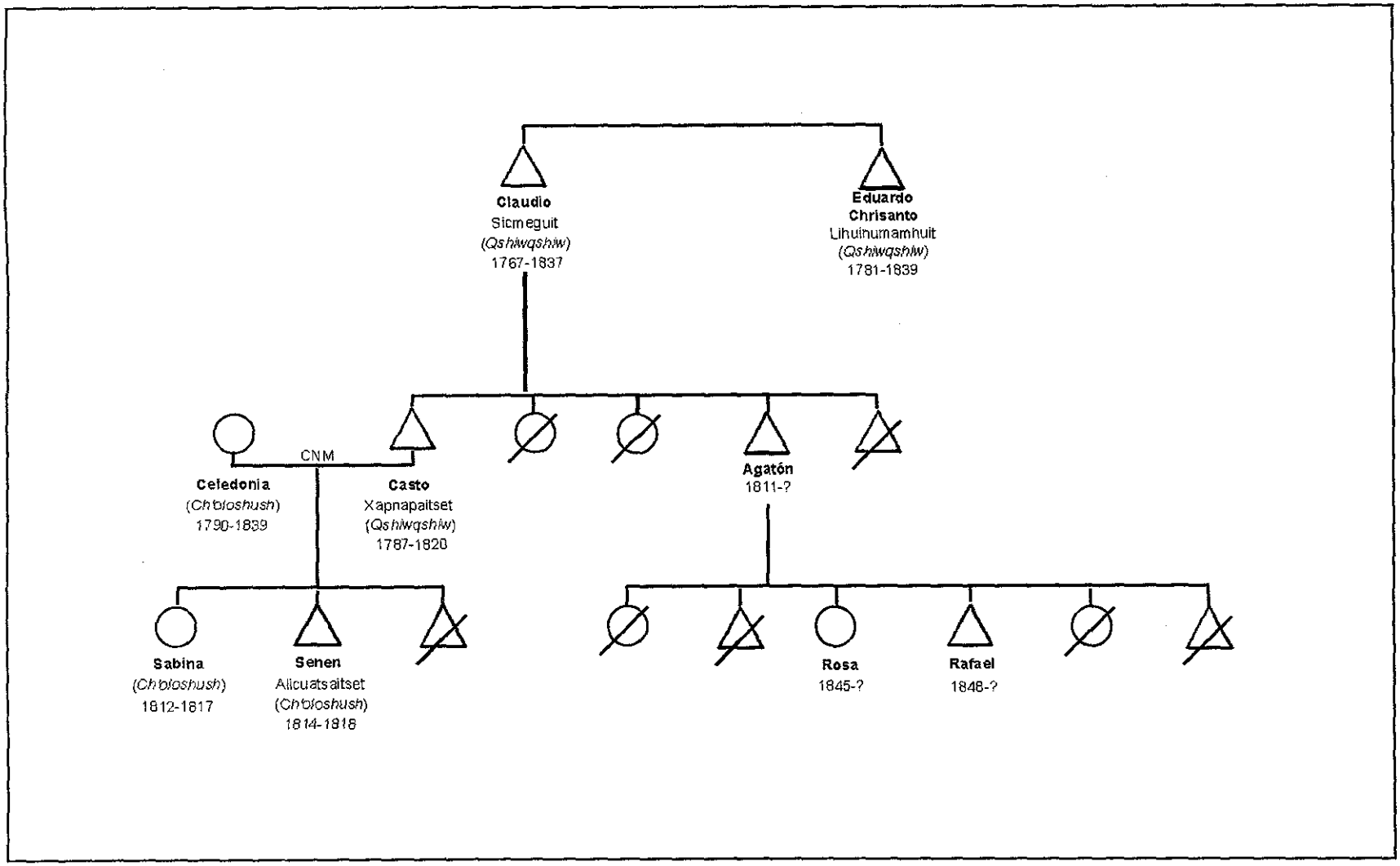


**Figure 10.18** *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 2: Descendants of Claudio Sicmeguit

children were with her at the time, they may have then been placed in foster homes. Further work with the Plaza Church records and census records of the Los Angeles area may reveal whether descendants of Agatón and Estefana survived.

### *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 3: Descendants of Clementina

The last lineage of *Qshiwqshiw* descendants to have been traced past the mid-nineteenth century comes from Clementina, who was one of many islanders who was baptized in November 1816 at Mission Santa Inés (Figure 10.19). Her son Felicísimo Liguismuihuit and his wife Felicísima, both from *Qshiwqshiw*, had been baptized the preceding August. Felicísimo's sister, Catulina, and her husband were baptized in September of the same year.

Felicísimo's entry in the combined *padrón* of Missions Santa Inés and La Purísima in 1856 provides conflicting information to that contained in the baptismal register, because his his parents' names were listed as Martín and Martina. Martín Geele had been baptized with his wife Martina on the same day as Clementina in November, 1816. He was one of the chiefs of *Qshiwqshiw* (Brown 1967:16; Johnson 1982a:116) and, as such, may have had more than one wife in native Chumash society. Perhaps Felicísimo was Clementina's son by Martín Geele; or perhaps the missionary at Santa Inés was confused about Chumash kinship terminology and misunderstood Clementina's relationship with Felicísimo when she was baptized. Further complicating matters is that Martín Geele would have been only 13 years old at the time Felicísimo was born, while Clementina would have been 31; however, it should be noted ages estimated by the missionaries – especially by the particular priest who baptized these individuals – were notoriously inaccurate.

Felicísimo Liguismuihuit was recipient of a land grant issued by Governor Micheltorena about 1844. This was the Llano Grande grant, about 600 varas in size, located on a large flat of arrable land on the north side of the Santa Ynez River between the present day towns of Solvang and Buellton. According to documents filed by the Catholic Church on behalf of the Mission Indians during their land claims case, Felicísimo had built a small house and enclosed his land with a fence. He planted corn, vegetables, and melons on his acreage. Because his claim and those of most other Santa Inés Indians were rejected by the Board of Land Commissioners, Felicísimo and his family resettled at Sanja Cota with other former neophytes of Santa Inés on lands that were part of the Church's College Rancho (Johnson 1993a).

Two of Felicísimo Liguismuihuit's children are known to have married. His son Justo, who had been born in 1814 on Santa Rosa Island, was married in 1828 and had five children born at Mission Santa Inés. Justo died in 1845, and his wife remarried in 1848, only to succumb herself the following year. Only one of Justo's children, Sansón, who was born in 1838, has been traced beyond his parents's deaths. In the 1852 census, he was listed as a servant living with a non-Indian family along with another orphaned boy who was partly of island parentage – Nicomedes, who later married María Solares (see *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 1). Sansón's name does not appear in the 1856 *padrón* of Santa Inés and La Purísima nor in subsequent federal census records. No burial entry been found for him either, so his disappearance from

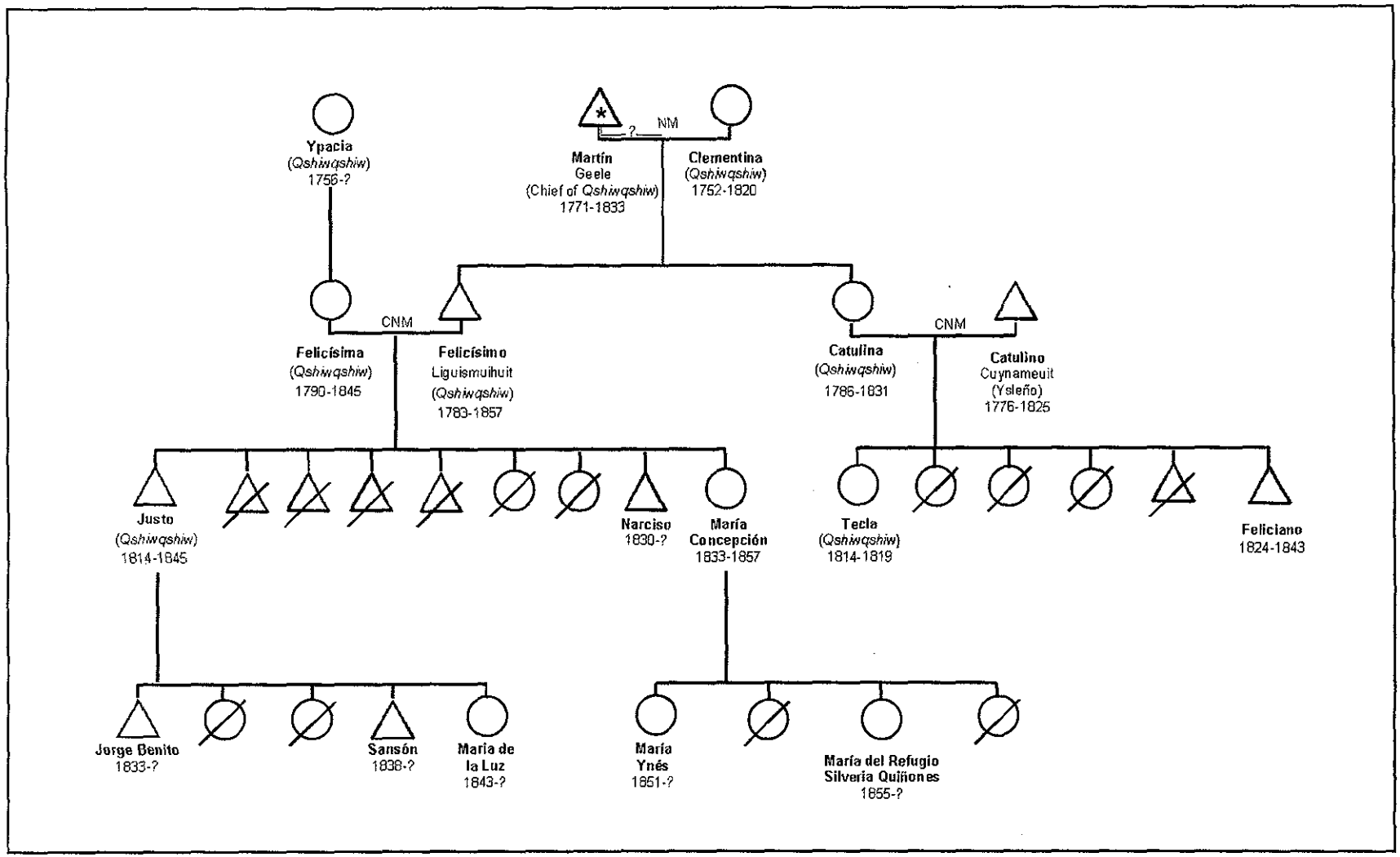


**Figure 10.19** *Qshiwqshiw* Lineage 3: Descendants of Clementina

local records may result from emigration out of the Santa Barbara region.

Felicísimo Liguismuihuit's youngest child, a daughter named María Concepción, gave birth in 1851 to a child named María Ynés, for whom no subsequent record has been found. In June 1852, María Concepción married Cipriano Quiñones of Sonora, Mexico. This couple and their year-old daughter, María del Refugio Quiñones, were listed at Sanja Cota in the 1856 *padrón* of Santa Inés and La Purísima, immediately following Felicísimo [whose name was recorded as "Precisimo"] and his second wife, Francisca. Felicísimo Liguismuihuit and Francisca both died in the spring of the following year. María Concepción Quiñones died later that fall, possibly from complications following the birth of a child who had perished shortly after being born. No further records have been located pertaining to Cipriano Quiñones and his young daughter, María del Refugio.

### *Hichimin* (Cheumen)

A total of 71 individuals were assigned to *Hichimin* in our data base. Children of people native to *Hichimin* included 63 born at the missions and 11 from other island towns. Thirteen children had grandparents who came from *Hichimin*. The third and fourth generations who descended from *Hichimin* ancestors numbered 13 and 17, respectively, in our data base (Table 10.1). As was the case for *Qshiwqshiw*, more *Hichimin* descendants have been found than are indicated in Table 10.1, because some information comes from census records and other non-mission register sources.

### Traceable Descendants from *Hichimin*

#### *Hichimin* Lineage 1: Descendants of Guria

On April 8, 1815, a group of ten men headed by Ángel Alaya, chief of *Hichimin*, were baptized at Mission Santa Inés. Their baptismal entries were accompanied by the statement, "todos de Cheaumen" [all from *Hichimin*]. Among these men was Jorje Pumissiauchet. His sister, Marta, was baptized in August 1816. Their mother, Guria, accompanied by her sister, was not baptized until November of that year (Figure 10.20).

Marta was pregnant at the time she arrived at Mission Santa Inés, and her youngest daughter, Andrea, arrived in November 1816. The father of Andrea and her three-year-old sister, María Thomasa, who had been born at *Nimkilkil*, was not mentioned. Andrea's eldest sister was Emiliana, whose father was identified in her baptismal entry as José María Puiuinatset of *Nimkilkil*, who had gone to Mission La Purísima.

By the time she was two years old, Andrea was alone, having lost her entire family except for her grandmother, Guria. She was raised at Missison Santa Inés and was first married in 1840 to Sebastián, who had been born at *Kuyam* (Cuyama) and baptized at Mission Santa Inés in 1811 when he was eight years old. Andrea had two children from her marriage to Sebastián. One of these was Emerenciana, who was born in January 1845, five months after her father's death.

Andrea's second husband was Juan Francisco Mupeesh, a widower from Mission San Buenaventura.

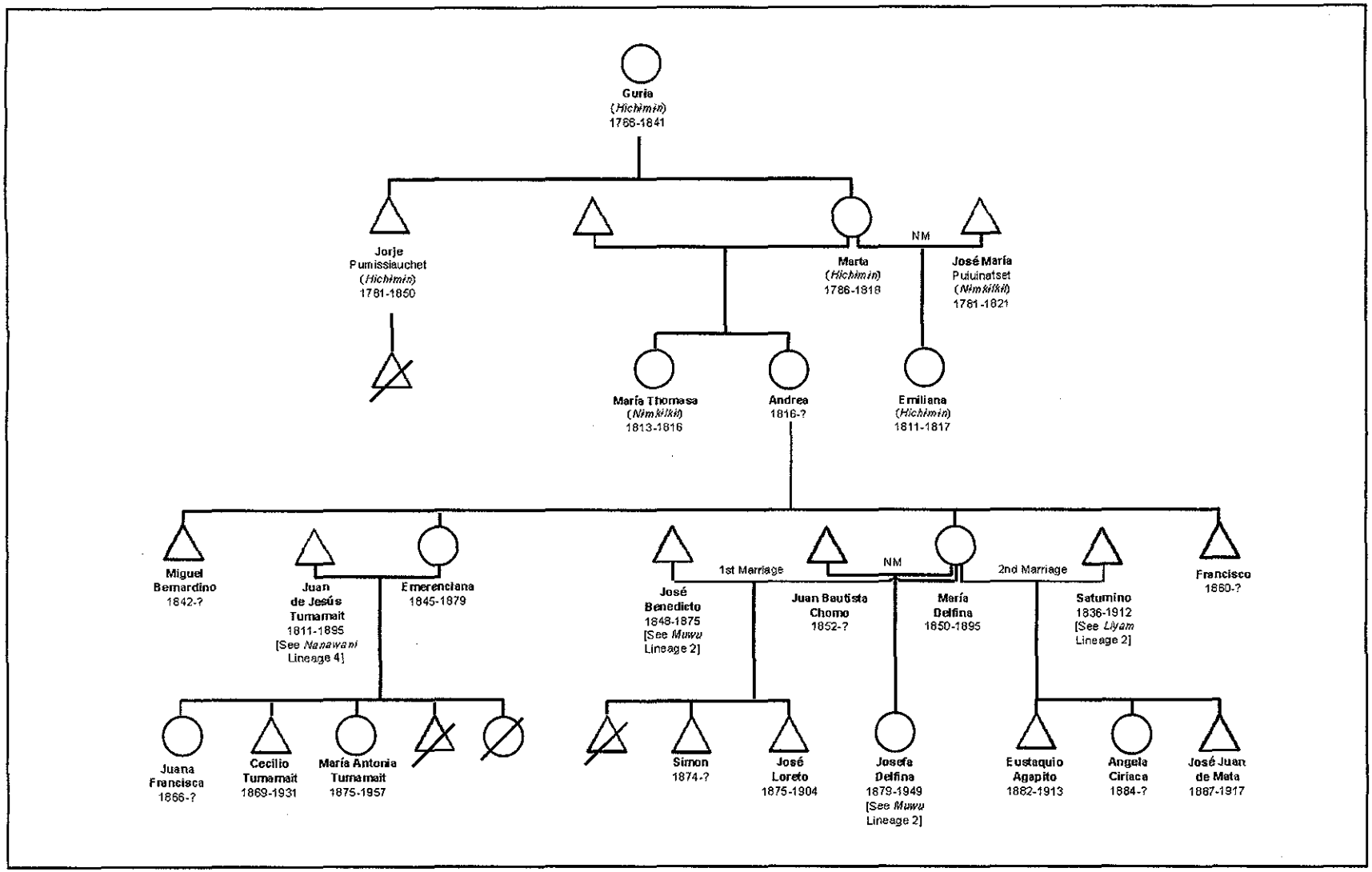


**Figure 10.20** *Hichimin* Lineage 1: Descendants of Guria

They were wed at Mission Santa Inés in November 1846, but then moved to San Buenaventura. Fernando Librado knew the family well when he was growing up. Juan Francisco built a house at *Quyuy* on the west bank of the Ventura River where he made his living through tilling the soil with his own team of oxen, not only on his own parcel but for other Indians as well. Librado said that Juan Francisco was the builder of Raimundo Olivas's two-storied adobe house on Rancho San Miguel, which still survives as a historical monument in Ventura County (Hudson 1979:27).

Juan Francisco's and Andrea's daughter María Delfina was born in 1850 and baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. The 1852 California State Census listed Juan Francisco, Andrea, Emerenciana, and María Delfina, but omits the name of Andrea's firstborn child, Miguel Bernardino. He may no longer have been living, although a burial entry for him has not been found.

Juan Francisco died in 1859, and, for the second time in her life, Andrea found herself widowed but expecting a child. María Solares remembered Andrea visiting Sanja Cota during this time and related her recollections to Harrington:

> Andrea was Chumash [i.e., an islander]. ... When Andrea ... had white hairs she came back here to Santa Inés on a visit and was big with child. She told [María Solares], "I am ashamed - look at my white hairs and yet I have this child." A boy was born named León [sic]. [María Solares] does not know what has become of him or what the name of Andrea's husband was, but thinks this was his son [Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 1, Fr. 387].

According to the baptismal records, Andrea's son was named Francisco, rather than León, and he was christened at Mission Santa Inés.

Andrea's daughter Emerenciana had been married at Mission San Buenaventura in 1857 to Lorenzo Pilulahichet, a widower, who originally came from *Swaxil*. They had no children and Lorenzo was deceased by 1865, when Emerenciana became the fourth and last wife of Juan de Jesús Tumamait (see *Nanawani* Lineage 4). This couple had five children between 1866 and 1878. Their last daughters were twins, one of whom was named for Emerenciana's mother, Andrea. Emerenciana died and was buried at Mission San Buenaventura on August 22, 1879. The histories of her children Cecilio Tumamait and María Antonia Tumamait Leyva and their descendants were presented in the section pertaining to *Nanawani* Lineage 4.

The descendants of María Delfina, Andrea's youngest daughter, have also been presented elsewhere. Her first husband was José Benedicto, the brother of Pomposa, the last chief of *Saticoy* (see *Muwu* Lineage 2 in Chapter 11). After José Benedicto's death, María Delfina bore a daughter, Josefa Delfina, whose father was Juan Bautista Chomo, Pomposa's son. One of Josefa Delfina's daughters and a number of her children and grandchildren reside in Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties.

In 1886 María Delfina married Saturnino Capena, who also was of Island Chumash descent. They lived in San Buenaventura's Chumash Indian neighborhood and had a family of three children. Their histories have been presented previously in the discussion of *Liyam* Lineage 2.

### *Hichimin* Lineage 2: Descendants of Tadea

On St. Barbara's Day, December 4, 1814, a *Nimkilkil* woman, estimated to be 70 years old was baptized at *Hichimin* by Francisco Chulutchu of Mission Santa Bárbara. She was given the name Bárbara in the honor of the saint whose day in was. Her daughter was said to be a "gentile" woman named "Lecte," who was married to a "gentile" man named Quiyahua. In the *padrón* of Mission Santa Bárbara is the notation that Bárbara went to Mission Santa Inés after she came over to the mainland.

On the basis of her son-in-law's Chumash name, Bárbara can be identified as the mother of Fortunata. This woman was the wife of Fortunato Dario Quiau (a variant spelling of Quiyahua), a *Hichimin* man who was baptized in November 1815 at Mission Santa Inés (Figure 10.21). When Fortunata was baptized, her father was identified as Camilo Tissu of *Qasil* (Refugio), so she was the result of a cross-channel union between a mainland father and island mother.

Fortunata's baptismal entry at Mission Santa Inés immediately precedes entries for two young girls from *Hichimin*, Tadea and María Soledad, who were said to be the sisters not only of Fortunata but of Alexandra, who had been baptized a few months earlier from *Nimkilkil*. The relationships between all of these "sisters" are far from clear. Bárbara was much too old to be the mother of Tadea and María Soledad, so presumably they were Alexandra's half-sisters by the same father whose name is unknown. Alexandra in turn was probably only Fortunata's half-sister with the same mother (Bárbara). If Alexandra, Tadea, and María Soledad were also Camilo Tissu's daughters, then their baptismal entries most likely would have said so explicitly. Figure 10.22 presents what is probably the most plausible explanation of how the individuals in this family were related to one another given the available information.

Of these four "sisters" from *Hichimin* and *Nimkilkil*, only Tadea produced children who reached adulthood. Tadea was married for the first time when she was just thirteen years old, but she was widowed the following year. Her second marriage was to José Antonio Saluayahua, a widower, who had been born at *'Aqitsu'm* (Cachuma). This couple had seven children between 1820 and 1844 (see Figure 10.21).

Marcela, the eldest daughter of José Antonio and Tadea, married Urbano, a Yawelmani Yokuts man, but she died young without issue. Their next child, Juan Gualberto, married María Reyes, whose parents were from *Hawamiw* in the San Rafael Mountains. This couple had but one son before María Reyes passed away in 1848. The, son, too did not survive long after his mother's death. No further record of Juan Gualberto has been found.

José Antonio Saluayahua died in 1844 just prior to the birth of his last child, Nicolasa. Tadea died in 1848. At least two of her daughters seem to have found homes in Santa Barbara. One of these died in 1849 but the other, Angela Fulgino, was married in Santa Barbara, only to die childless in 1861. No further record has been located regarding Tadea's youngest daughter, Nicolasa. Because the subsequent biographical details pertaining to Nicolasa and Juan Gualberto are unknown, it is conceivable that more descendants of this lineage may yet be found.

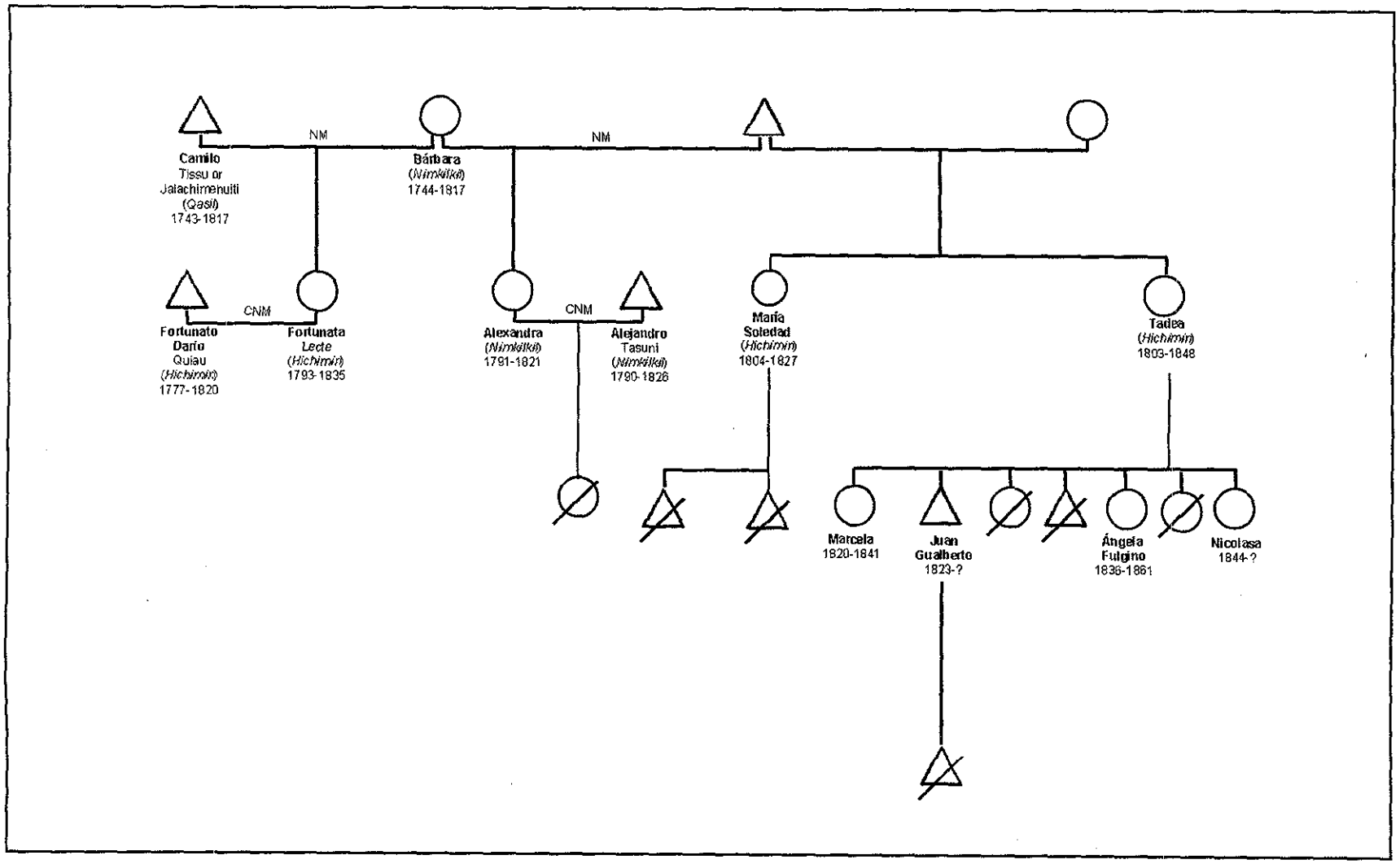


**Figure 10.21** *Hichimin* Lineage 2: Descendants and Relatives of Tadea

### *Silimihi* (Silimi)

Almost all of the 53 people attributed to *Silimihi* in our data base were baptized at La Purísima; only four went to Santa Inés. Children born at the mission who had parents from *Silimihi* numbered 49 (Table 10.1). Seventeen children born at the mission had grandparents from *Silimihi*. The third generation removed consisted of only one person in our data base. However, our research regarding *Silimihi* Lineage 1 points to additional descendants beyond those we were able to identify using mission registers alone.

### Traceable Descendants from *Silimihi*

### *Silimihi* Lineage 1: Descendants of María Concepción

On August 5, 1815, a group of 73 islanders were baptized at Mission La Purísima. This was nearly the last major group of islanders to arrive at La Purísima; one other large group was baptized the following August. Among the 1815 contingent were a twelve-year-old girl, Úrsula, and her 40- year-old mother, María Concepción (Figure 10.22). María Concepción was said to be the cousin of a man previously baptized from *'Onomyo* (Gaviota). She was single at the time she came to the mission, but during her period of catechization was engaged to Franco Ualamuya, a bachelor from *Niaqla* who had been baptized ten years earlier. Because *Silimihi* and *Niaqla* were neighboring towns on the north shore of Santa Rosa Island, María Concepción and Franco Ualamuya undoubtedly knew each other before both came to the mission. They were married on the same day that María Concepción was baptized.

Two years later María Concepción's daughter Úrsula was married to Salvador Chanumaitset, who had been born at *Tuqan* on San Miguel Island. This couple had six children between 1819 and 1837, but only two daughters reached adulthood. The elder, Antonia de Padua, married José Francisco *Kuliwit* (Cuuliuit), a widower from *Nimkilkil*, in 1841. Ten years later her sister, Rosa, married to Hugolino Namanaita, a man from *Muwu* raised at Mission San Buenaventura.

Úrsula's husband, Salvador Chanumaitset, died during the smallpox epidemic that ravaged La Purísima's Indian community in 1844. His widow and her married daughters settled near the ruins of the first Purísima Mission where the town of Lompoc now stands. At least five families that each had at least one member who was of Santa Rosa Island descent were living there adjacent to one another, as tabulated in the 1852 census. [José] Francisco, his wife, "María Antonia" [de Padua], and two young sons [with different names than in later records] are listed just ahead of Hugolino and Rosa in the census.

Two of J. P. Harrington's principal consultants, Fernando Librado and María Solares, had known these Indian families who lived at Lompoc (Harrington n.d.b). As a teenager, Librado moved from San Buenaventura to work on ranches in the Lompoc vicinity. He remembered that Úrsula possessed fine long hair that she combed with a comb made from abalone shell (Blackburn and Hudson 1985:349). Librado told Harrington:

> Another person who was living that abandoned mission was an Indian woman named Ursula. Her husband had paid a carpenter at the mission to put a roof on one of the

> houses of the mission. She was a Santa Rosa Islander, and I first saw her when she was living at Jalama Vieja. Once, when I went to see her at her fixed-up mission room, I found her crying and combing her hair. She was thinking of old friends of Santa Rosa Island [Hudson 1979:15].

Úrsula's daughter, Antonia de Padua, died in 1854. Antonia's husband, José Francisco *Kuliwit*, and their two sons, Ramón Lorenzo and Julián, were listed in the 1856 combined *padrón* of La Purísima and Santa Inés as living among about six Indian families at Lompoc. Úrsula was also listed among this group. Another nearby family was that of "Avelino" [Hugolino] and Rosa, but Rosa died the following year without having had any children. Úrsula passed away in 1864, having outlived all her children.

Úrsula's only surviving descendants were her grandsons, Ramón and Julián *Kuliwit*. Their father, José Francisco *Kuliwit*, was the old islander who related to Librado the tragic story about canoes being lost at sea when the last San Miguel Island Indians were removed to the mainland (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:148-150).

With their father elderly and having lost their mother when they were young, the *Kuliwit* boys developed into rough characters. In the days they were growing up, there were saloons located near the ruins of Mission La Purísima. Both worked as vaqueros and would frequent the bars when they were off work. According to María Solares, Ramón *Kuliwit* became a highwayman and robbed people who passed through that section of the county (Harrington n.d.b).

Before he reached the age of twenty, Ramón *Kuliwit* robbed and killed the American *mayordomo* of a ranch near Lompoc and then bragged about it in the saloon. He was arrested a few days later in the Cuyama Valley on his way to drive cattle to Nevada. Ramón *Kuliwit* was brought back to Santa Barbara where he was tried and found guilty, but he avoided being hanged because of his young age. Instead he was sentenced to San Quentin on December 23, 1864, for second degree murder.

San Quentin's prison register reveals that Ramón *Kuliwit* was discharged on June 30, 1875, after serving ten and a half years of his sentence. He went to work on a ranch in Northern California where he eventually became *mayordomo*. One of his former companions at San Quentin also worked on the ranch and later killed him during an ugly argument over the ownership of a calf (Harrington n.d.b).

Julián *Kuliwit* also had a bad reputation. He once shot another Purisimeño Indian in the thigh, and the man later died from the wound. María Solares said that he also once tried to murder her husband, Manuel Solares. These incidents occurred in the 1870s.

Julián went to the Tejon. He used to get women and do what he wanted to with them. One day he entered a house and began imposing on a woman but the woman's husband got around behind in some way and shot him. The Americans did nothing about this for it was well known that Julián was a bad man. He had made it a practice of stealing stock and taking them to Nevada [Harrington n.d.b].

Although no marriage records exist for either of the *Kuliwit* brothers, it appears probable that at least Julián left a son. When Harrington conducted his fieldwork at the Tejon Ranch in 1916-1917, he was told that the grandfather of one of the families living there was a man named Julián from La Purísima. Julián

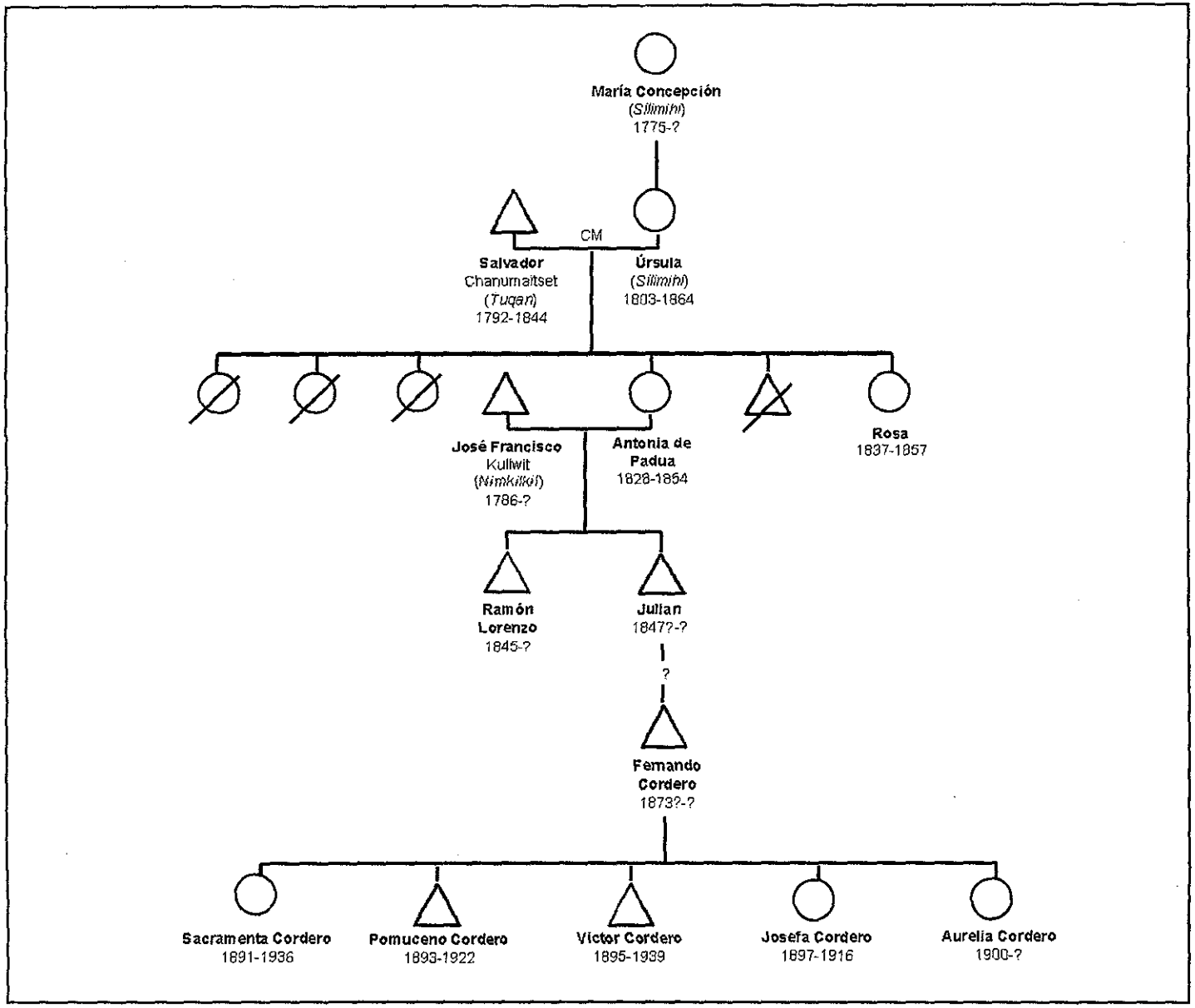


**Figure 10.22** *Silimihi* Lineage 1: Descendants of Maria Concepción

had fathered a son, Fernando, by Andrea, a *Kitanemuk* woman living in the Tejon Indian community. This information seems to fit with the 1880 U.S. Census, which lists Andrea with a six-year-old son, whose name is written unclearly, but could be "Fernando."

The child we believe could be Julián *Kuliwit*'s son was known as Fernando Cordero on the Tejon Ranch. If Julián *Kuliwit* assumed the surname Cordero, he may haven adopted this appellation from one of the Cordero brothers who owned ranches in the Lompoc vicinity. These were Pedro Cordero, the recipient of the Rancho Cañada de Salsipuedes near Lompoc in 1844, and his brother Miguel Cordero, who was grantee of Rancho Las Cruces and married to María Antonia Jiménez, a half-Chumash woman. Miguel Cordero was *mayordomo* for a time of Mission Santa Inés (Bancroft 1886, v. 2:766). Perhaps Pedro Cordero or Miguel Cordero had been Julián *Kuliwit*'s godfather (although no entry has been identified for Julián in either the Santa Inés or La Purísima baptismal registers).

Fernando Cordero worked as a vaquero on the Tejon Ranch and married Josefa, a Yokuts woman who had once been the wife of Juan Rafael Lozada, chief of the Tejon Indians. Between 1891 and 1900 Fernando and Josefa Cordero had five children born, whose names listed in the 1910 U.S. Census are the same as those known from later records. Fernando Cordero died sometime between 1905 and 1910, the exact date and circumstances unknown at present (Johnson n.d.b).

So far the identification of Fernando Cordero as Julián *Kuliwit*'s son has seemed straightforward; however, the Indian Schedule for the Tejon community in the 1900 U.S. Census presents some problems. In the schedule are listed a man named Fernando married to a woman named Josepha with three children, but two of these have names that do not match those known from later records. Also Fernando's age is given as 40, which, if true, would make him too old to have been Julián *Kuliwit*'s son. His children are also too old compared to later records. If we accept that errors exist in the census schedule, then our interpretation of Fernando Cordero's parentage would still hold up.

The commingling and intermarriage of California Indians from different tribal and linguistic backgrounds is well illustrated by the Cordero family of Tejon. If we have correctly identified him, Fernando Cordero was of full Santa Rosa Island Chumash ancestry on his father's side and Kitanemuk on his mother's side. His wife, Josefa Cordero, was the child of an Emigdiano Chumash father and Tulamni Yokuts mother. Three of their four children who reached adulthood married spouses within the Tejon Indian community (Johnson n.d.b).

Sacramenta Cordero married José María Montes, the son of a Yokuts father and Kitanemuk/Fernandeño mother. Pomuceno Cordero married Francisca Gámez, the eldest daughter of Mariano and Isabel Gámez, who were of Yokuts/Kawaiisu and Kitanemuk/Tubatulabal ancestry respectively. Victor Cordero married Margaret Yuca, whose mother was of San Fernando Mission Indian ancestry. Only Aurelia Cordero, the youngest daughter of Fernando and Josefa Cordero, married someone who was not of California Indian ancestry.

Pomuceno Cordero, the elder son of Fernando and Josefa Cordero, worked as a vaquero on the Tejon Ranch, as did most of the young men in the Indian community at Tejon Canyon. His life ended

tragically, when he was shot by his wife's cousin while attending a dance in the Tejon Indian community in October 1822. His wife died a few years later and their five children were raised by Refugia Durán, their mother's sister.

Most of the known descendants of Fernando Cordero have been traced through his daughter, Sacramenta. Sacramenta Cordero Montes had eight children before her death in 1936. One of her daughters lives in Bakersfield, and a son lives in Montana. She has a large number of grandchildren and great grandchildren. The possibility also exists that there may be descendants of Victor Cordero and Aurelia Cordero Rodríguez, both of whom moved from Tejon to Bakersfield after they each were married.

### *Niaqla* (Niacla)

Only ten individuals were baptized from *Niaqla*: two at Santa Bárbara, seven at La Purísima, and one at Santa Inés. The children of people known to have been born at *Niaqla* numbered thirteen: seven at the missions and six at other island communities. Three children born at the missions who had grandparents from *Niaqla*. No *Niaqla* descendants are known to have survived beyond the mid-nineteenth century.

### *Nimkilkil* (Nimquelquel)

Although most people from *Nimkilkil* were baptized at Mission La Purísima (39), both Santa Inés (8) and Santa Bárbara (4) also received converts who had been born at this island town. There were 45 children born at the mission who had parents from *Nimkilkil* and ten grandchildren of *Nimkilkil* natives (Table 10.1). Besides the two lineages described in this section, see also *Silimihi* Lineage 1 and *Hichimin* Lineages 1 and 2 for other relatives of persons from *Nimkilkil* (Figures 10.20, 10.21, and 10.22).

### Traceable Descendants from *Nimkilkil*

#### *Nimkilkil* Lineage 1: Descendants of Liberata

One of the families from Santa Rosa Island baptized at La Purísima in August 1815 consisted of a 60-year-old woman, her 30-year-old daughter, and her two grandchildren from *Nimkilkil*. The grandmother was named Liberata. Her daughter was a single mother named María Esperanza, whose two sons were Julián Uilelemahuit and Cecilio Exnujalamaichet (Figure 10.23). Within six years, only the younger son, Cecilio, survived.

Cecilio Exnujalamaichet was married twice. His first wife was Mónica, whom he wed in 1838. He had no children from this marriage. After Mónica died during the smallpox epidemic in 1844, Cecilio married a Purisimeño Chumash woman named Estefana in 1849. The baptismal registers of La Purísima and Santa Inés list six children for this couple born over the next ten years. All but the youngest, Andrés, died within their first year of life. Estefana died when her youngest boy was less than a year old. No further record of Andrés has been found, so it is unknown whether this lineage may have survived.

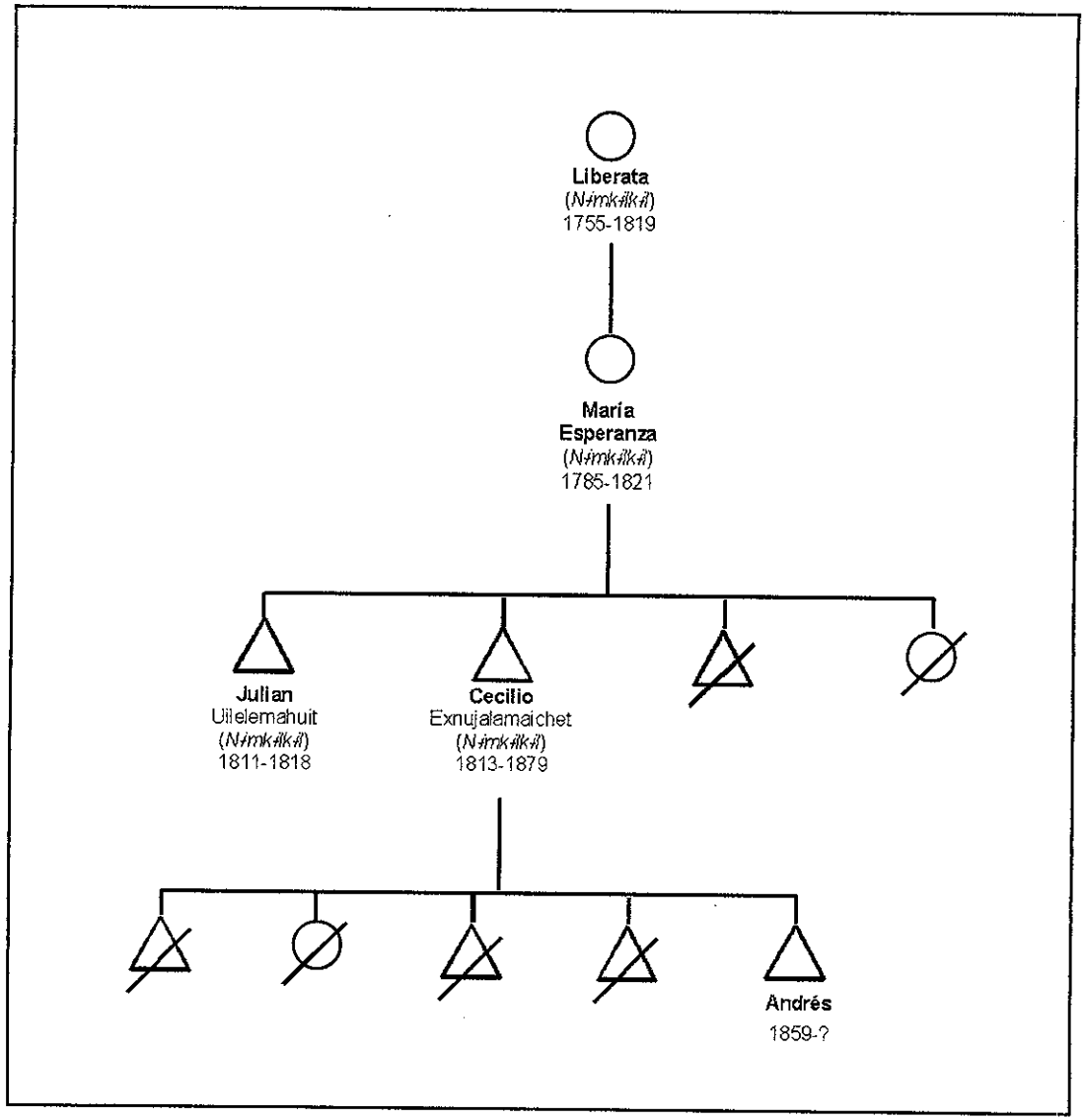


**Figure 10.23** *Nimkilkil* Lineage 1: Descendants of Liberata

In the 1852 California State Census, Cecilio Exnujalamaichet, his wife Estefana, and her mother were listed in the household immediately preceding that of José Francisco *Kuliwit* and his family [see *Silimihi* Lineage 1]. Cecilio's occupation was listed as "vaquero." The 1856 combined *padrón* of La Purísima and Santa Inés also lists Cecilio's family adjacent to that of the *Kuliwit*s. They were among several families mostly of Island Chumash descent who settled at Mission La Purísima Vieja on the Lompoc Rancho (Johnson 1991).

Fernando Librado knew Cecilio (*Shasha*) and told Harrington a story he had heard about the death of Cecilio's neighbor Albino. Albino had befriended some wild coyotes, and when he died, one of these barked suddenly three times and then left at once without being driven away. Albino was buried near the old mission church in Lompoc (September 3, 1856). His grave was later disturbed by the coyotes, so Cecilio sprinkled holy water on it, and they did not return (Hudson 1979:75-76).

María Solares also knew Cecilio and described him as "*Chumash* by descent," meaning that he was aware of his island ancestry. She noted that he had been a *cantor* (singer) in the mission church (Harrington n.d.b). Cecilio later lived and worked at the Zaca Rancho. He served as a linguistic consultant to Alphonse Pinart in 1878 and provided a rare vocabulary in the Purísimeño language (Heizer 1952). Unfortunately Pinart did not seem to realize that Cecilio could have also provided him with a vocabulary in the Santa Rosa Island dialect of the Cruzeño Chumash language as well. Cecilio Exnujalamaichet died on August 2, 1879, on the Rancho Zaca and was buried at Mission Santa Inés the following day.

### *Nimkilkil* Lineage 2: Descendants of Rosalía

Rosalía and her three daughters from *Nimkilkil* were baptized at Mission La Purísima at the end of October 1813 (Figure 10.24). José Vicente Gilinunaitset, Rosalía's husband and father of her children, had been baptized "in danger of death" earlier in the month on Santa Rosa Island by Castor Uastiol, the mission interpreter. José Vicente Gilinunaitset survived to come to the mission with his family, but succumbed within two years.

Rosalía remarried Martín Joséph Mujulacutaiset, a widower from *'Onomyo* (Gaviota) on October 2, 1815. She had two children by him. After her second husband's death in 1820, she remarried for the third and last time to Cristóbal Mascál, the former chief of *Tuqan* on San Miguel Island [see *Tuqan* Lineage 1]. Rosalía died in 1826.

Three of Rosalía's children grew up and married. Her eldest daughter, María Margarita, married a fellow islander, Pedro Juan Namaxuit from *Qshiwqshiw*, but their only child died as an infant. María Margarita died as a young woman at the early age of twenty. Her sister, Baldomera, lived to be thirty, but died childless. Only Januario, Rosalía's son from her second marriage, survived beyond the middle of the century.

Januario was married in 1842 to Conrada, the youngest daughter of Pastor *Shoyama* and Beatriz. According to Fernando Librado, Pastor *Shoyama* was once one of the alcaldes of the Purisimeño Indian community. Along with Elceario, one of his sons-in-law, Pastor *Shoyama* was the recipient of the Huerta de La Purísima land grant in 1845 (Johnson 1993a:158).

The 1852 California State Census listed Januario, Conrada, and their daughter Flora living at one of the ranches in the Santa Ynez vicinity, where Januario worked as a vaquero. He later worked as a laborer at several Montecito ranches. Januario ran afoul of the law in December 1854 when charges were brought against him in District Court for having stolen about one hundred dollars worth of goods from Rafael Gonzales of Montecito. The theft included three boxes of soap, ten gallons of *aguardiente* (brandy), one ream of paper, twenty pounds of tobacco, fifty bounds of sugar, candles, razors, a coat, cassimere pants, a pair of spurs, and some silver coins.

Januario confessed to the crime at the time he was arrested. The arrest took place at the residence of Demesio Domínguez in Montecito where he was then employed. On the basis of the testimony of Gonzales, Domínguez, and the sheriff, Januario was convicted and sentenced to two years at the state prison, yet no record has been found in the San Quentin Prison Register to indicate that he served. Unfortunately, the private journal of Charles Huse, who served as district attorney, does not mention Januario's case (Huse 1977). Whatever his fate, Januario seems to have departed from the local area and not returned.

During Januario's trial, he was queried about his wife and family, but unfortunately the district attorney, Charles Huse, objected to these questions as irrelevant and was sustained by the Judge. Januario's wife Conrada and daughter Flora are not mentioned in Santa Bárbara or Santa Inés records after this period, but Flora's marriage has been found, providing a clue to their later whereabouts. [María] Flora wed Francisco López on December 2, 1869, at the Plaza Church in Los Angeles. Her surname was reported as "Esquer," and her parents were listed as "Damaso y Conrada, Indios de Santa Barbara." This entry suggests that Januario was deceased, and Conrada had remarried an Indian named Damaso, who thereby became Flora's stepfather. Further research in the Plaza Church records seems warranted to probe for other information regarding Conrada's and Flora's lives and possible descendants.

### *Nawani* (Nahuani)

As mentioned in Chapter 5, only two boys were ever baptized at the missions from the town of *Nawani*. This may be attributed to abandonment of the town during mission times, an epidemic that took the lives of most people who lived at this community, or the omission of island town names in the records of Mission Santa Inés. Neither of these two *Nawani* boys survived to be married.

### *Nilal'uy* (Nilalui)

Each of the four missions in the central part of Chumash territory had within their neophyte communities people who came from *Nilal'uy*. A total of 48 people were listed from this town in our data base.

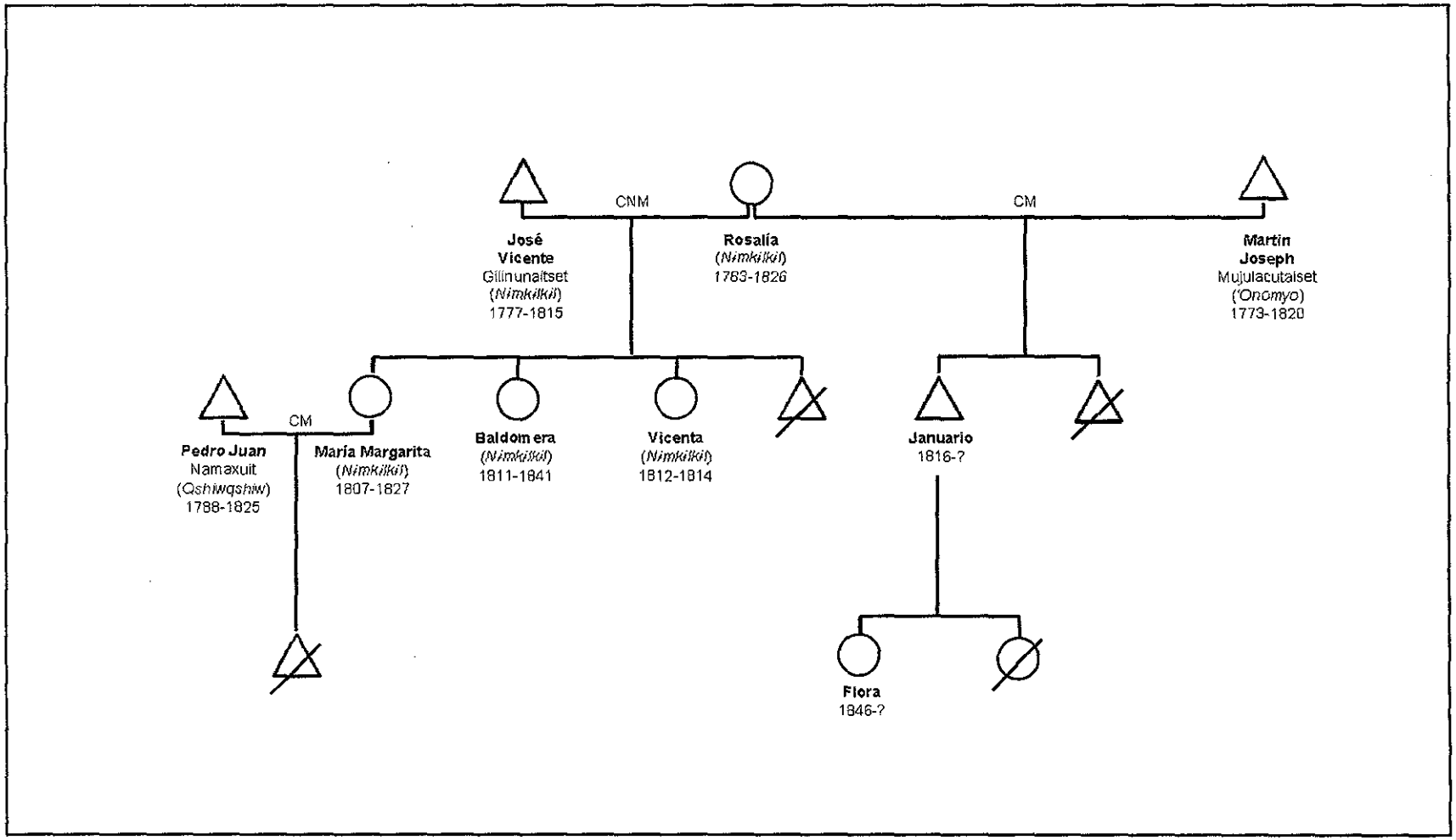


**Figure 10.24** *Nimkilkil* Lineage 2: Descendants of Rosaliá

There were 41 children of *Nilal'uy* parents, 35 born at the mission and 6 from other island towns. Only 7 children were found who had grandparents from *Nilal'uy*. No surviving lineages from *Nilal'uy* were traceable beyond the mid-nineteenth century.

### *Helewashkuy* (Elehuascui)

All but one of the people baptized from *Helewashkuy* went to Santa Bárbara and Santa Inés, the sole exception going to La Purísima. A total of 19 people born at the missions had at least one parent from *Helewashkuy*. Seventeen people born at the missions had a grandparent from *Helewashkuy*. Only two children were tentatively identified in the third generation removed from *Helewashkuy*. Their lineage has been previously described in the discussion of *L'akayamu* Lineage 1 (Figure 10.3). These children were both born out of wedlock to a woman named Bárbara, who may possibly be the same Bárbara whose grandmother Jovita came from *Helewashkuy*.

Two individuals from *Helewashkuy* were known to the Chumash people who Harrington interviewed. These were Teodoro *Nawakmait* (Noacmaitset) and Anacleto ("Aniceto") *Pahililaitset*, who provided linguistic information to Henshaw and Gould (Beeler and Klar n.d.; Heizer 1955; Hudson 1979). Unfortunately, neither left descendants so far as can be ascertained.

## SAN MIGUEL ISLAND DESCENDANTS

### *Tuqan* (Toan)

Five individuals from *Tuqan*, the principal settlement on San Miguel Island, were baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara. The remaining 29 went to La Purísima. A total of seven people from other Chumash towns had a parent from *Tuqan*. Three of these had been born at *Silimihi* on Santa Rosa Island and the remaining four were from mainland coastal towns (two from *Shisholop* (Cojo near Pt. Conception), one from *'Onomyo* (Gaviota), and one from Heliyɨk (near the inlet to the Goleta estuary). A total of 23 children were born at the mission to people who had come from *Tuqan* (Table 10.1). The second generation removed from a *Tuqan* grandparent numbered 17. The third generation listed in the data base totaled 13.

### Traceable Descendants from *Tuqan*

### *Tuqan* Lineage 1: Descendants of Cristóval Mascál, Chief of *Tuqan*

Cristóval Mascál, the chief of *Tuqan*, his brother, Jacobo Silnunaymehuit, and another man from San Miguel Island were baptized on January 9, 1813, at Mission La Purísima (Figure 10.25). Tranquila, Cristóval's wife from *Silimihi* on Santa Rosa Island, was not baptized until a year later.

Cristóval was married four times at Mission La Purísima. After Tranquila died in 1814, he married Rosalía, a widow from *Nimkilkil* (see *Nimkilkil* Lineage 2). Rosalía died in 1826, and Cristóval married

Mamerta, a young widow from *Silimihi*, who at age nineteen was thirty years younger than he. Mamerta died in 1831, and Cristóval then married for the fourth and last time to Quitería, a widow who was about Mamerta's age. Cristóval Mascál died in 1841 and was buried at Mission La Purísima.

The only child of Cristóval Mascál to survive him was María Encarnación, born in 1839. She married Miguel Francisco, another Purisimeño Indian, when she was just thirteen years old. Miguel Francisco and María Encarnación were listed in the 1856 *padrón* with other Indian families of Island ancestry at La Purísima Vieja in Lompoc.

Nine children were born to Miguel Francisco and María Encarnación between 1853 and 1871. Five daughters reached adulthood and had families of their own. Two more children were born to María Encarnación after her husband's death in 1873, but their fate is unknown. The baptismal entries of María's and Miguel's children indicate that the family lived at several localities in the Jalama and Lompoc vicinities. María Solares told Harrington that this Purisimeño family lived for many years at the vineyard a little below Salsipuedes (east of Lompoc). María said that Miguel Francisco was called "Miguel de la Viña," because he lived at the vineyard. Other records indicate that the family used the surname Bernal.

Miguel's and María's second daughter, Julia, married a Barbareño Indian named Juan de Jesús Guzmán in 1870, but no further record of this couple was found. Another daughter, María Ramona, married Féliz Carrillo, an Ineseño man who lived at Zanja de Cota. This couple had five children between 1875 and 1884. Four children died before reaching maturity, and no record of the fifth was found beyond her baptismal entry. María Ramona Carrillo died in 1889. Féliz Carrillo served briefly as a consultant to J. P. Harrington in 1916 (Harrington n.d.b).

A fourth daughter of Miguel and María was Rosa, who married José Dolores Solares at Mission Santa Inés in 1872. A single daughter born in 1873 was the only child recorded for this couple. Rosa died in 1898. The fate of any children is unknown; however, a comment in a 1903 Bureau of Indian Affairs census indicates that two children of José Dolores were then in an orphanage. José Dolores was elected *capitán* of the Santa Ynez Indians in the 1890s and lived at the reservation until his death in 1913.

The last two daughters of Miguel and María, Delfina and Elena, moved to Santa Barbara from Santa Ynez. There Elena married Charles Green and after his death married Juan Justo, a Barbareño Indian who later served as one of J. P. Harrington's consultants (Plate XVIII). At least three children were born to Elena prior to her second marriage. One of these offspring, known as Emma Green, married Frank Gutiérrez and was listed in the 1928 California Indian Roll. The eldest child, Santiago Green, was known to Lucrecia García, one of Harrington's Barbareño consultants, and was apparently living in the Santa Barbara area about 1930. Elena's sister, Delfina Valdez, had at least three children born at Santa Ynez. When she moved to Santa Barbara, Delfina lived near the intersection of Montecito and Laguna Streets, according to Lucrecia García. Neither of the two sisters, Elena or Delfina, was still living at the time Harrington interviewed Lucrecia García in the late 1920s or early 1930s.

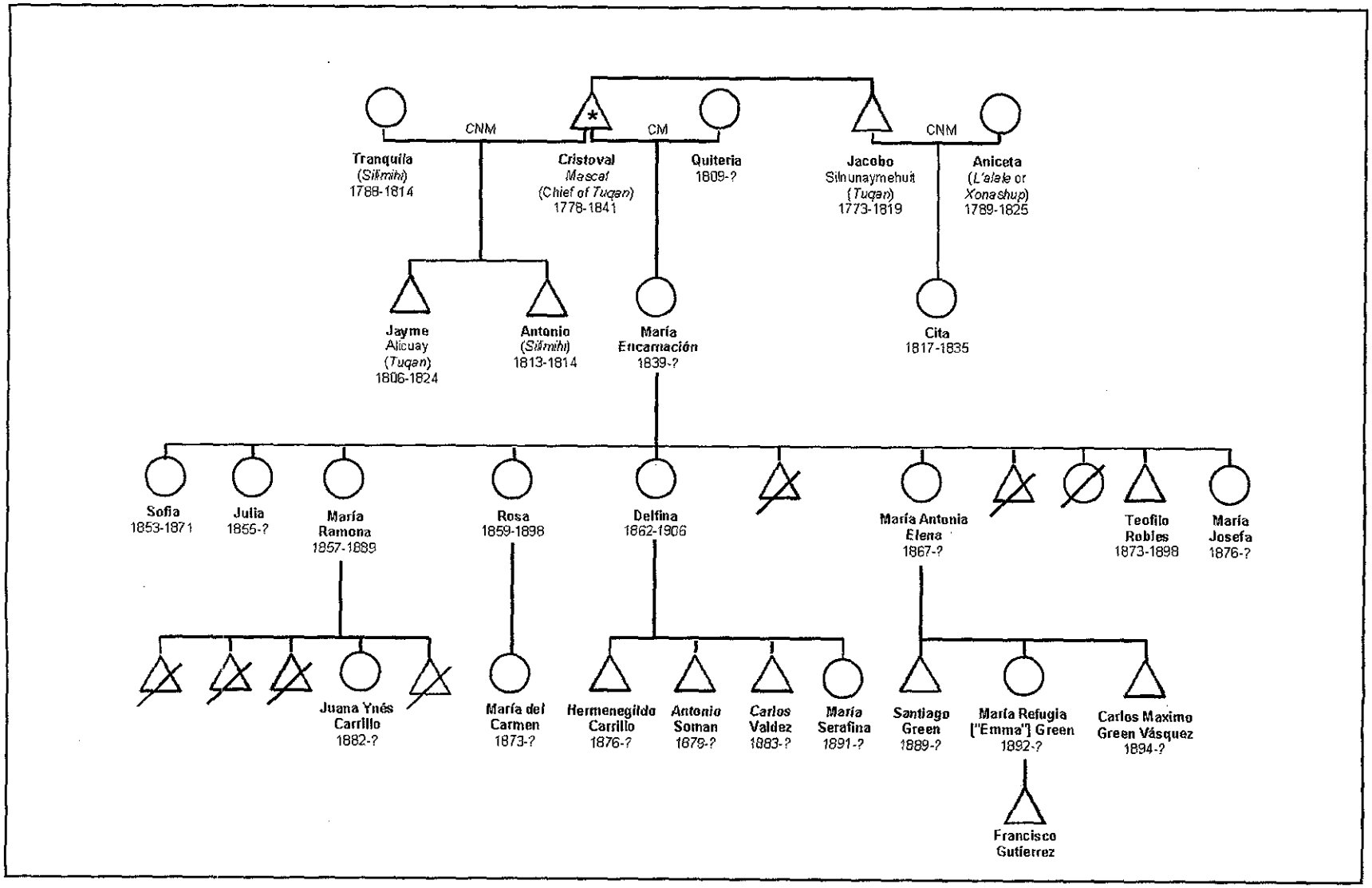


**Figure 10.25** *Tuqan* Lineage 1: Descendants of Cristóval Mascál, Chief of *Tuqan*

### *Niwoyomi* (Niuoiomi)

As was mentioned in Chapter 5, *Niwoyomi* was represented by only a single household in mission records. The two daughters in this household both grew up and married, and each had children. Two of these died in childhood, and no further record has been found for the third.

## DISCUSSION

Of 1,270 people baptized from the Northern Channel Islands (Table 5.1), twenty-six lineages were found that may be traced beyond the mid-nineteenth century. Taken together, these family histories are representative of the social processes that shaped Indian communities associated with the four missions in Central Chumash territory. At each of these missions, some islanders lived separately in their own settlements, while others intermarried with people from mainland towns. During the Post-Mission Period, island descendants merged with other Chumash communities.

Ten of the lineages traced in this chapter have been linked to people alive today. Although further research effort may eventually identify living descendants of some of the other lineages as well, those families who moved away from the local area and/or no longer are active in Chumash affairs are largely the ones whose histories are incomplete.

It is instructive to examine where living descendants of native towns on the Northern Channel Islands may now be found. Although still represented by families in the Santa Barbara region, two out of the ten traceable island lineages are now fairly distantly removed from their Chumash ancestors because of intermarriage with non-Indians. Two other lineages do not seem to be represented in the local area, and one of these is culturally affiliated with the intertribal Tejon Indian community. Two island lineages survive in families who are members of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation. Four island lineages include families who have resided continuously in Ventura County over several generations and remained at the core of the existing Chumash community in that area.

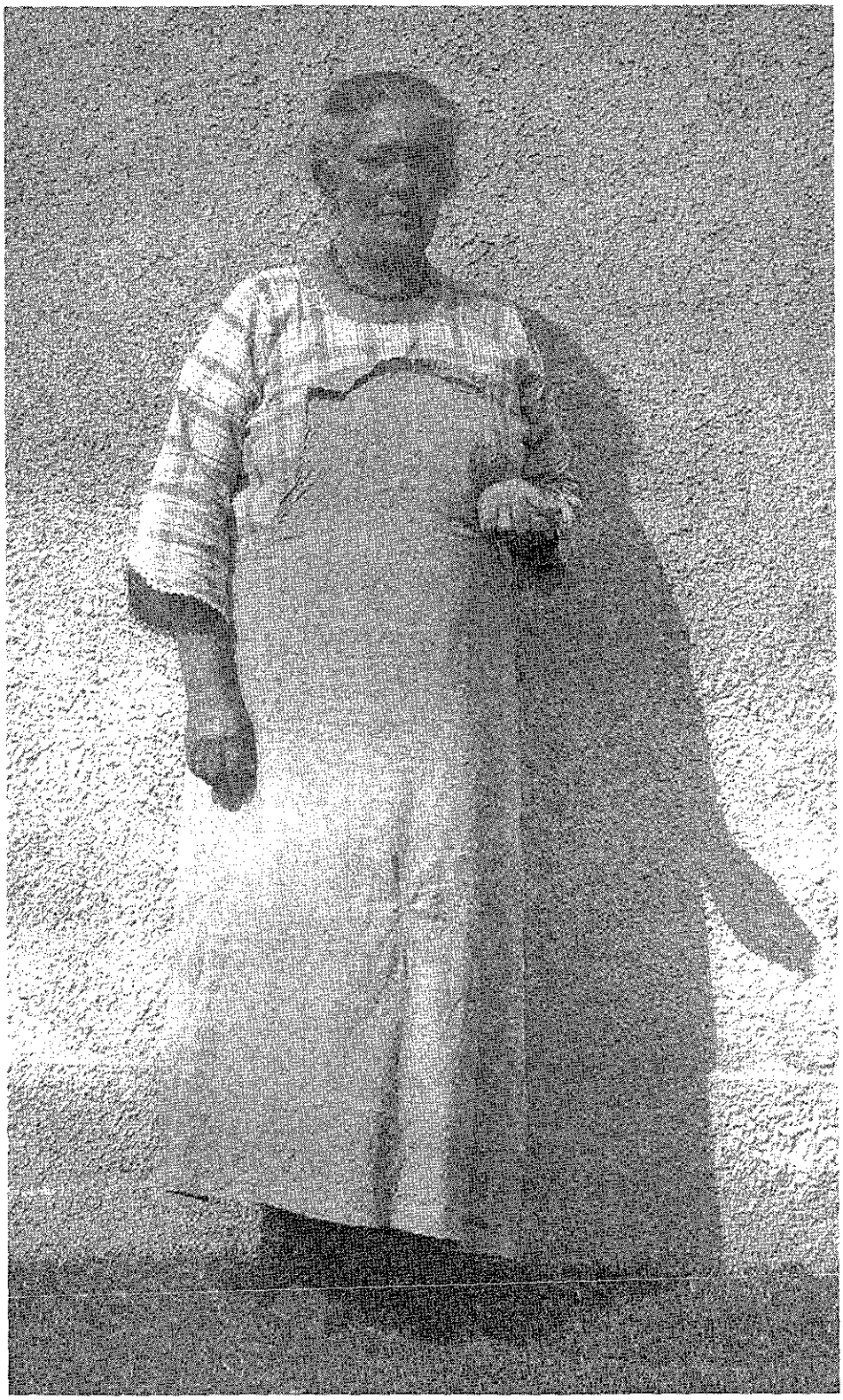

**Plate XLII.** María Ana Hall, great-granddaughter of Mariano *Wataitset'*, chief of Muwu, 1923.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31309.*

# CHAPTER 11

## LINEAL DESCENDANTS FROM THE SANTA MONICA MOUNTAINS

John R. Johnson

Five towns possessing Chumash names existed along the Santa Monica Mountains coastline between Mugu Lagoon and Malibu. Another four towns were situated inland within or immediately adjacent to the northern boundary of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area. Although these nine towns were the initial focus of the descendancy study, three others were added based on the research presented in Chapter 6: Yegeu, *Topa'nga*, and Jucjaubit/Huam or El Escorpión. It is possible that Yegeu, represented by just two individuals, may have been situated on Medea Creek just north of the park's authorized boundary. There were Chumash fathers for three of the five individuals baptized from *Topa'nga*. Also, a fair number of people from El Escorpión have been determined to be Chumash, based on personal names and close relatives from other towns within our focus group.

El Escorpión apparently possessed a mixed population of Chumash and Fernandeño. The name, Jucjaubit (meaning a 'person from *Hukxa'oynga*'), appears more often in mission records than El Escorpión's Chumash name, *Huwam*, but some descendants of this community are known to have been speakers of Ventureño Chumash. Although currently well outside the National Park Service boundaries, El Escorpión was situated adjacent to what is now the Amundson Ranch property that has been considered for acquisition by the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area.

In addition to *Topa'nga* and El Escorpión, King presented some evidence in Chapter 6 that some Chumash individuals may have married into other towns that were known only by Gabrielino/Tongva names and situated just outside National Park Service authorized boundaries at the eastern end of the Recreation Area. These all lie within the territory traditionally assigned to Gabrielino/Tongva-speaking peoples and as such were beyond the scope of the present study.

In discussing the people who came from each of the Santa Monica Mountains towns and their descendants, the approach used in Chapter 10 will be modified. The primary difference between the two chapters is that data on prominent individuals have not been presented separately from the discussion of descendant lineages. Each town is considered in turn, beginning with the coastal settlements west to east and then the inland communities in like order.

As with Chapter 10, we have presented information only pertaining to lineages that can be traced beyond the mid-nineteenth century. Information about each town's descendants was gathered from mission registers, census records, ethnographic notes, interviews with Chumash descendants, and other

sources. Genealogical diagrams were drawn up to synthesize this information in as concise a manner as possible. Extracts from the mission records that document all people who entered the missions from each town and their traceable descendants appear in Appendices IX and X.

## COASTAL TOWNS

### *Muwu* (Mugu)

More Chumash were baptized from *Muwu* than for any other Chumash town within the Santa Monica Mountains: 188 are listed at San Buenaventura, 2 at Santa Bárbara, and 1 at San Fernando. In addition, *Muwu* natives had 8 children listed from other towns (*Kayiwish* 2, *Lisiqishi* 2, *S'apwi* 1, *Sumuawawa* 1, *Kanaputeqnon* 1, *Shisholop* 1). There were 158 children born at the missions whose parents came from *Muwu* (see Table 11.1). Seventy-eight children had grandparents who came from *Muwu*. The third generation removed from people who came from *Muwu* consisted of 37 individuals. Consistent with its relatively large size, more lineages from *Muwu* may be traced to people alive today than from any other town in the Santa Monica Mountains.

#### Traceable Descendants from *Muwu*

#### *Muwu* Lineage 1: Descendants of Mariano *Wataitset'* (Guatahichet)

Mariano *Wataitset'* (Guatahichet), the chief of *Muwu*, came to Mission San Buenaventura in May 1802. His wife, María Leovigilda Guashtalyehue, and their five children (Figure 11.1) soon followed, and were baptized over the course of the next fourteen months. All five of the couple's children had been born at *Muwu* between 1785 and 1801. Mariano and María Leovigilda were not destined to live long within the mission community; they both died within five years. Four of their children grew up and married at the mission, but only their eldest son, Ciriaco José Alachuit, had children of his own. According to Fernando Librado, Ciriaco José also held the status of chief among the San Buenaventura Indians (Hudson 1979:130).

Ciriaco José's first marriage was to María Beatriz, whose parents had come from *Shisholop* near the mission (MBv Mar. 522). They had three children born between 1810 and 1816. Only one of these, María Josefa, survived childhood and married. She wed Anselmo Antonio Manyalahichet of *Liyam* in 1832 (MBv Mar. 1090). Three children were born to this couple between 1834 and 1840, but then all records cease for this family, which has not been traced further (see also Chapter 10, "Traceable Descendants from *Liyam*"). Ciriaco José's second marriage was to Gregoria María, the daughter of Jorge Juan Guehiachet from *Liyam* and Luisa Albertonia from *Muwu* (MBv Mar. 936). Ciriaco José and Gregoria María had six children between 1821 and 1834. After Gregoria's death, Ciriaco José married Menandra, a widow from *Nanawani* on Santa Cruz Island (MBv Mar. 1129). He died in 1838, the year after his last marriage (MBv Bur. 2:647).

**TABLE 11.1**

**Descendants from Towns within or adjacent to the Santa Monica Mountains Recreation Area**

| | | 1ST GENERATION DESCENDANTS | | 2ND GENERATION DESCENDANTS | | 3RD GENERATION DESCENDANTS | 4TH GENERATION DESCENDANTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | CONVERTS | FROM OTHER TOWNS | BORN AT MISSION | FROM OTHER TOWNS | BORN AT MISSION | BORN AT MISSION | BORN AT MISSION | **TOTAL** |
| **COASTAL** | | | | | | | | |
| *Muwu* | 191 | 8 | 158 | 1 | 77 | 37 | 11 | 483 |
| *Lisiqishi* | 60 | 12 | 50 | 3 | 31 | 3 | — | 159 |
| *Loxostox'ni* | 37 | 6 | 39 | 3 | 24 | 31 | 4 | 144 |
| *Sumo* | 38 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 21 | 10 | 1 | 93 |
| *Humaliwo* | 118 | 13 | 127 | 1 | 76 | 38 | 23 | 396 |
| **INLAND** | | | | | | | | |
| *Sumuawawa* | 55 | 5 | 52 | — | 21 | 1 | — | 134 |
| *S'apwi* | 62 | 14 | 58 | 5 | 41 | 25 | 4 | 209 |
| *Hipuk* | 37 | 6 | 51 | — | 33 | 7 | 3 | 137 |
| *Ta'lopop* | 29 | 2 | 33 | — | 17 | 1 | — | 82 |
| Yegeu | 2 | — | 3 | — | — | — | — | 5 |
| *Topa'nga* | 5 | 1 | 6 | — | 2 | — | — | 14 |
| El Escorpión | 75 | 11 | 95 | — | 54 | 9 | 2 | 246 |

Only two of Ciriaco José's six children from his second marriage survived childhood and were married themselves: the first born, Mateo de Jesús, and the last, Dorotea. Mateo de Jesús, who worked as a vaquero, was married three times. His first marriage was to Petronila whom he wed in 1844. They had two children, a daughter born in 1849 and a son, Prisciliano, born at Mission Santa Inés in 1852. Fernando Librado reported that a christening ceremony was later held at a big ramada built by Mateo de Jesús near Mission San Buenaventura after the birth of his son (Hudson 1979:130). Mateo's daughter died before she was two years old. His wife Petronila died in the 1850s, but no record of her burial has been identified.

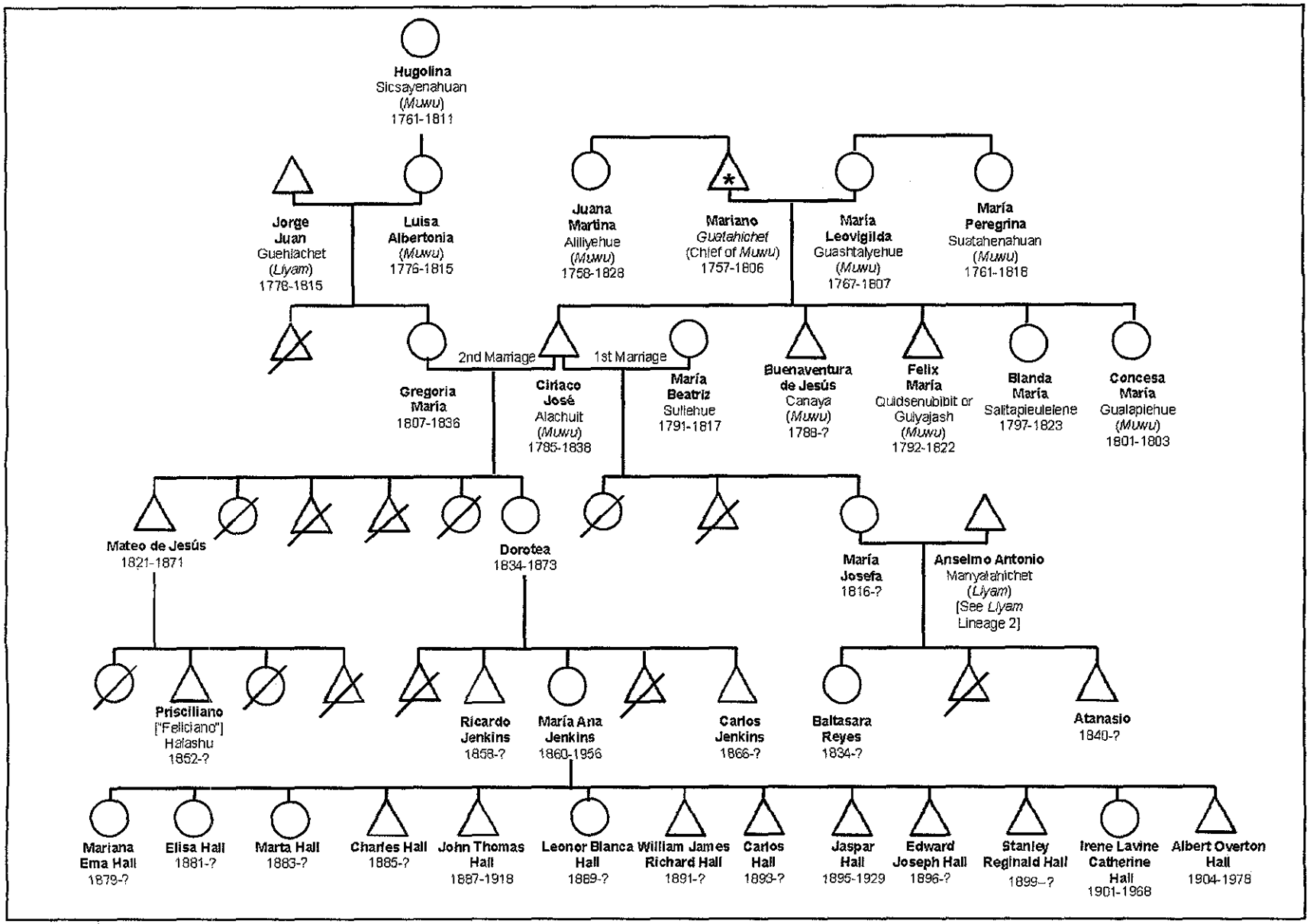


**Figure 11.1** *Muwu* Lineage 1: Descendants of Mariano Guatahichet and Related Families

Simplicio Pico, who was interviewed by Harrington (n.d.b), knew Mateo's son Prisciliano by the name "Feliciano." Significantly, Pico reported that Mateo's son was given the Chumash name "*Halashu*," a name undoubtedly inherited from the ancestral chief of *Muwu*, who may have been Prisciliano's great great grandfather (see King's discussion of *Muwu* in Chapter 6 and Hudson et al. 1977).

The confusion between "Prisciliano" and "Feliciano," as the Spanish names for Mateo's son, highlights a typical example of name confusion encountered in the mission registers. Either the missionary recorded the name incorrectly in the baptismal record or it was mispronounced by Ventureño speakers. Because no [f] and [r] phonemes existed in the Chumash languages, these sounds were converted in Spanish names to [p] and [l], making the name "Prisciliano" almost identical in pronunciation to "Feliciano" (see Johnson 1988b for similar examples of name confusion).

Mateo de Jesús was listed in the 1852 California State Census with two other Indian vaqueros working for Teodoro Arellanes, who owned the Matilija and Rincon ranchos. One of the Ventureño Chumash families who lived along the Ventura River just south of Rancho Matilija was that of Ivón and Melchora (Johnson 1989b). Their daughter, Teodora, had two children by Mateo de Jesús, who were born in 1858 and 1860 but both died as infants. Teodora became gravely ill after her last child was born and married Mateo de Jesús just before she succumbed in May, 1860 (MBv Mar. 1275; MBv Bur. 2:1172).

According to Librado, Mateo de Jesús was known by the same Indian name as his grandfather *Wataitset'*. In view of his chiefly lineage from *Muwu*, Mateo de Jesús *Wataitset'* was asked to ascend to the traditional chieftainship of the Chumash community at Saticoy after the death of Luís Francisco in 1864. He declined because he said he could not afford the expenses required of a chief. He nominated Pomposa in his stead (see *Muwu* Lineage 2) but expressed the wish that his son [Prisciliano *Halashu*] would someday assume the office (Hudson 1979:130; Hudson et al. 1977:31).

Mateo's last marriage took place at Mission Santa Bárbara in October, 1866 (SB Pres. Mar. 611). He wed María Celedonia, a recent widow, who lived at the Barbareño Chumash community of Cieneguita. She was the sister-in-law of Justo, who Librado described as being chief at Cieneguita. Mateo de Jesús *Wataitset'* and María Celedonia continued to live at Cieneguita for the remainder of their lives. Mateo de Jesús died in 1871 as a widower (SB Pres. Bur. 2119).

As was mentioned above, Mateo's son, "Feliciano" *Halashu*, was known to Simplicio Pico. Pico reported that Feliciano never married and "liked to wander around to various towns." Pico suggested that Mateo's son might have been living and working in Baja California at the time Pico was interviewed by Harrington (n.d.b). It is through Mateo's younger sister, Dorotea, that the lineage of the Chief of *Muwu* is known to survive to the present day. Dorotea was orphaned when she was about four years old. She does not appear in the 1852 California State Census among Indians living at San Buenaventura, so she may have been raised in a non-Indian household as was frequently the case with orphaned children. In the 1860 federal census, Dorotea's name appears in the household of Ventura Pico, where she was working as a "servant."

Dorotea had one child with an Englishman named William Hewitt (called "Guillermo Quiubit" in the baptismal record) born out of wedlock in 1856 in Santa Barbara (SB OLS Bap. 859). This child died early in 1859, and a few months later Dorotea married another Englishman, Richard ("Dick") Jenkins. According to his daughter's reminiscences, Jenkins once served as a seaman on a vessel in the China war (Harrington 1986: Rl. 174, Fr. 690). In Santa Barbara, he made his living as a fisherman. He is listed in the 1860 census with Dorotea's and his young son, Ricardo, just a few dwellings away from the Pico residence where his wife was tabulated as a servant.

Four children were born to Richard and Dorotea Jenkins between 1858 and 1866. The family lived in a cottage on Chapala Street near the Santa Barbara waterfront. Only one of these children is known to have died in childhood. Simplicio Pico told Harrington that Ricardo Jenkins (Jr.) was well known for winning swimming competitions in Santa Barbara (Harrington n.d.b). Otherwise the subsequent fate of the two Jenkins boys, Ricardo and Carlos, is unknown. At some point in their marriage, Dick and Dorotea Jenkins underwent divorce proceedings according to Santa Barbara District Court records. Dorotea died in 1873 at Santa Barbara.

The only daughter of Dick and Dorotea was María Ana Jenkins, born in 1860 and baptized on New Years Day, 1861. María Ana Jenkins married Charles ("Carlos") Hall in 1879. Thirteen children were born to this couple between 1879 and 1904. The Hall family lived at 117 Bath Street in Santa Barbara, and María Ana remained there until about 1954 (Plate XLII). She sold poppies on the corner of State and Cota Streets for 35 years and was well known to local residents as "Mother" Hall. Several of María Ana Hall's sons served in World War I. One of these, John Thomas Hall, a bugler, was killed in France in September 1918, and the local Veterans post was later named in his honor. María Ana Hall marched in each Memorial Day parade in Santa Barbara until she was past 80 years of age (Obituary, *Santa Barbara News-Press*, Jan. 14, 1956).

María Ana Hall was consulted by J. P. Harrington between 1923 and 1925 (Harrington 1986: Rl. 174, Fr. 690- 709). She once entertained George Heye and his party when they visited Harrington's excavations at the Burton Mound, which Heye had funded. Mrs. Hall was interviewed for the Santa Barbara News Press in 1953 on the occasion of her 92nd birthday. She died in 1956. At that time she had 20 grandchildren and 30 great-grandchildren. The names of 32 of her descendants were listed on the California Judgement Roll in 1975. Her children, Jasper Hall, Irene Lavine Catherine Hall-Domínguez, and Albert Overton Hall, Sr. all have descendants living in Santa Barbara County today (see also Chapter 10, "Descendants of Jorge Juan Guehiachet").

### *Muwu* Lineage 2: Descendants of Julita Antonia Alisatapiyegue

Another prominent lineage from Muwu was that of Julita Antonia Alisatapiyegue (Figure 11.2), who was baptized in 1801 when she was about 45 years old (MSB Bap. 1369). She later married Yreneo Apijohuit, a widower from *Shisholop* (MSB Mar. 431). Julita Antonia's two children, Aquilino Coayahichu and María Gabina Suluyegue, were also from *Muwu*. Each married and raised families at Mission San Buenaventura, but only María Gabina had descendants who survived the Mission Period. Both of María

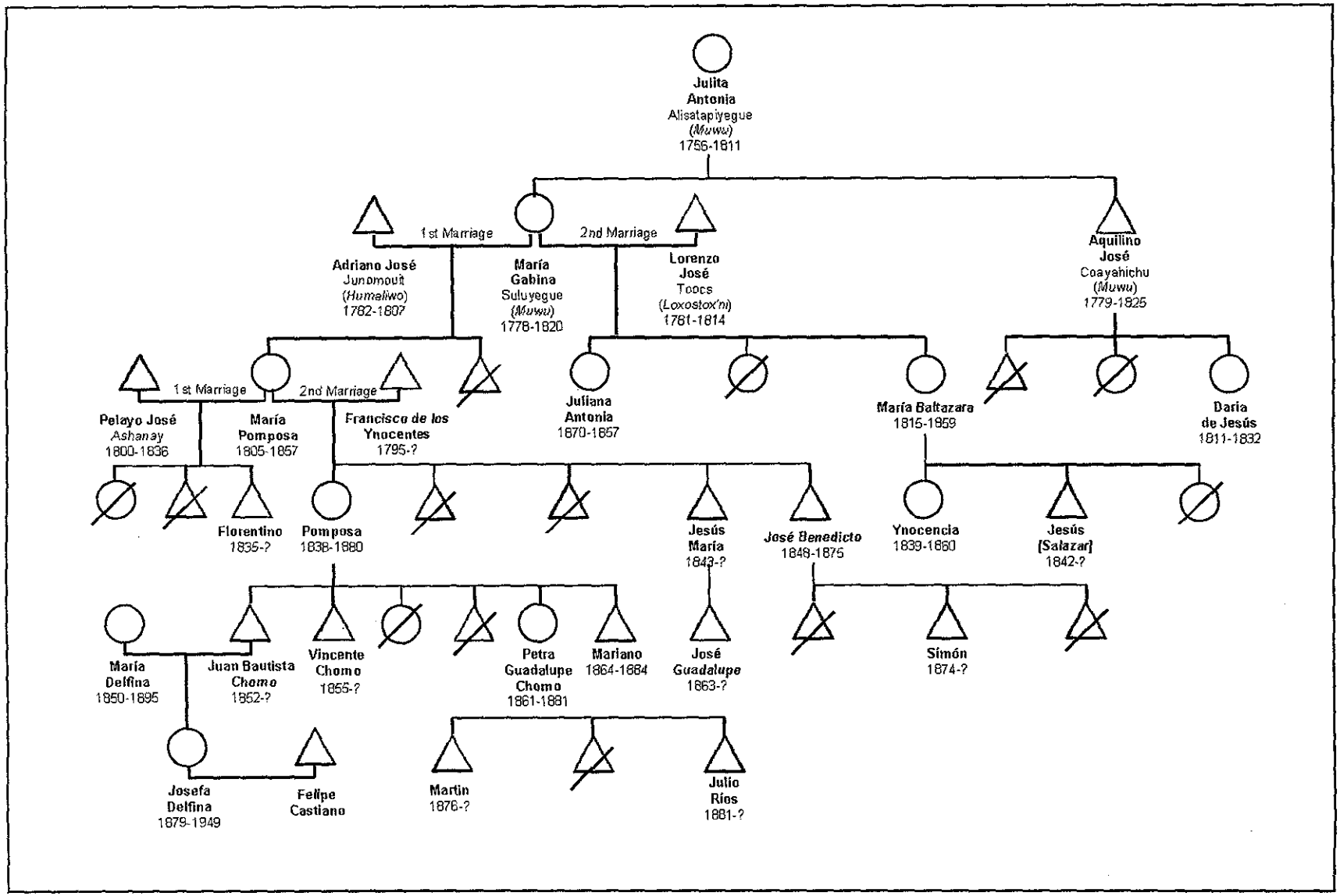


**Figure 11.2** *Muwu* Lineage 2: Descendants of Julita Antonia Alisatapiyegue

Gabina's marriages were to men who had come from coastal towns in the Santa Monica Mountains area. Her first husband was Adriano Junomouit from *Humaliwo*, whom she married in 1801 (MBv Mar. 287). Her second husband was Lorenzo José Toocs from *Loxostox'ni*, whom she married in 1808 (MBv Mar. 607).

Although three of María Gabina's five children grew up and married, only two of them had children of their own: María Pomposa (1805-1857), the daughter of Adriano Junomouit, and María Baltazara (1815-1859), the daughter of Lorenzo José Toocs. Both daughters were married several times. María Gabina's youngest daughter, María Baltazara, was first wed in 1831 to Manuel María, whose parents were also from *Muwu* (MBv Mar. 1084 and see below, "Descendants of Donato Ciaachet and María Visitación Alchayegue"). María Baltazara and Manuel María had three children between 1839 and 1846. After Manuel María died, María Baltazara was married in 1853 to Roberto "Villanor" Salazar, an Indian from the vicinity of Guadalajara, Mexico (MBv Mar. 1229). She died in 1859 (MBv Bur. 2:1145).

The elder daughter of María Baltazara was Ynocencia, who wed José Flores of Sonora, Mexico in 1853 (MBv Mar. 1233). Apparently no children resulted from this marriage before Ynocencia's early death in 1860. María Baltazara's younger daughter had died in 1848, so her only child who may have survived beyond 1860 was her son, Jesús, who had been born in 1842. If Jesús adopted his stepfather's surname, then he may be tentatively identified as a vaquero named Jesús Salazar whom Fernando Librado knew, but unfortunately nothing further of his subsequent history has been found (Hudson 1979:58, 167).

María Pomposa, María Gabina's eldest daughter, was married three times and had eight children between 1826 and 1848. Her first marriage was to Pelayo José of *Mupu*, whom she wed in 1819 (MBv Mar. 914). María Pomposa's second marriage was to Francisco de los Ynocentes Chamayte (*Samai*), interpreter for the missionaries at San Buenaventura. They were wed in 1837 (MBv Mar. 1132). María Pomposa's last husband was Santiago, whom she married in 1851 (MBv Mar. 1205).

In the 1852 California State Census, María Pomposa was listed with her last husband, Santiago, and two of her children by Francisco de los Ynocentes: Pomposa, who was born in 1838, and José Benedicto, who was born in 1848. These last two individuals are well-documented in mission records and in Harrington's notes. In 1852, the family appears to have been living in the Camulos vicinity because they are listed with a number of Chumash people who came from towns in the interior, some of whom are known to have lived at Camulos. Santiago had been born and raised in the Camulos vicinity to parents baptized at Mission San Fernando (MBv Bap. 2:1137).

In addition to Pomposa and José Benedicto, there is the possibility that a third child of María Pomposa may have been overlooked by the census-taker in 1852. Jesús María, born in 1843, may be tentatively identified with an Indian by that name who was living at Saticoy according to the 1860 census. An illegitimate son of that Jesús María was José Guadalupe, the first child of Candelaria, who later became well known as a basketmaker at Ventura (see El Escorpión Lineage 3). José Guadalupe apparently died young, although no burial record has been located for him.

Pomposa, the daughter of María Pomposa and Francisco de los Ynocentes, was married in 1851 to Odorico Chomo, an Indian from Mission Santa Bárbara (MBv 1204). This couple settled in Saticoy and are listed among the Saticoy Indians in the 1852 and 1860 censuses. They had six children between 1852 and 1864. Also living at Saticoy was José Benedicto, Pomposa's brother. He married María Delfina, who was partially of Santa Rosa Island descent. They had three sons between 1870 and 1875, before José Benedicto's premature death at age 27.

When Luís Francisco, the chief of the Saticoy community, died in 1864, Pomposa was elected to take his place. In 1869 she hosted a major Chumash ceremonial gathering at the Saticoy ranchería that included leaders from the Mission Indian communities at Santa Inés, Santa Bárbara, and San Fernando (Hudson et al. 1977). Odorico died during the following decade, and Pomposa was the last person to live at Saticoy, according to Simplicio Pico (Harrington n.d.b). She then came to Ventura and lived there with Saturnino Pacífico until her death in January, 1880. Saturnino then married María Delfina, Pomposa's sister-in-law.

Two of Pomposa's children, Juan Bautista Chomo and Petra Guadalupe Chomo, are known to have had offspring. According to the 1880 census, Petra Guadalupe was a laundry worker in Ventura and boarded at the home of Petra Pico, where Candelaria also lived (Johnson 1994). She bore three children out of wedlock, two of them to Candelaria's brother- in-law, Silvestre Ríos (see *Muwu* Lineage 3), before her death at the age of 20 in 1881. None of these children are known to have survived.

Juan Bautista Chomo disappears from the historical record by the time the 1880 census was compiled, and it is not known what became of him. His last mention is in the baptismal record of his daughter, Josefa Delfina, who was born to María Delfina, widow of his uncle, José Benedicto. By June 1880, María Delfina and Saturnino Pacífico, whom she later married, were living together as boarders in the house of two elderly Chumash women, Mónica and Martina (Johnson 1994:49-50).

The daughter of Juan Bautista Chomo, Josefa Delfina, was raised as Saturnino Pacífico's stepdaughter. Before the turn of the century she married Felipe Castiano of Mexico City and had ten children between 1899 and 1920. Castiano worked as a custodian for the Hill School in Ventura for many years. Most of the Castiano children seem to have died young, but one daughter had a large family, and another is still a resident of Ventura County today. Theresa Helen Castiano married Eduardo Romero, whose mother's genealogy was previously discussed in Chapter 11 in the section on "Traceable Descendants from *Xaxas*." Two of their daughters (who are of documented 3/4 Chumash ancestry) were raised by their grandmother, Josefa Delfina, and later were sent to Sherman Indian School. They and their children continue to maintain an active role in Chumash heritage concerns in Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties.

### *Muwu* Lineage 3: Descendants of Sebastián Francisco Meguinahichet and Tarsila María Chapcushtimehue

This *Muwu* lineage, like the preceding two lineages, may be traced to modern descendants. Sebastián Francisco Meguinahichet and Tarsila María Chapcushtimehue were both natives of *Muwu* (Figure 11.3).

Their ages when baptized indicate that they were born at *Muwu* in 1752 and 1762, respectively. Four of their children born at *Muwu* were baptized at San Buenaventura, but only two of these lived to be married: (1) Antonia María Suatalmenahuan, who was married to Silvano María Tojachuit, also from *Muwu*, and (2) Francisco de las Llagas Ayaimeguit. Both of these individuals had large families, and it is interesting to note that one of Antonia María's sons married her brother's daughter, one of the few instances of cross-cousin marriage that has been documented in mission records.

The youngest son of Francisco de las Llagas Ayaimeguit was Pedro Celestino *Cha'ki*, who was born in 1821 and was known to Fernando Librado. His Chumash name, *Cha'ki*, was said to mean 'a person of great endurance' (Hudson 1979:69-70). Pedro Celestino was married twice: first to Paula, whose father was from *Muwu* (see Lisiqishi Lineage 3), and second to Juana (apparently Juana Paula, daughter of a Ventureño father and Ineseño mother). One child came from his first marriage, but it is unknown whether this child survived.

Pedro Celestino's second marriage, recorded at Mission San Miguel in 1852 (SM Mar. 370), proved ill-fated. While working as a cook for Anastacio Carrillo in Santa Barbara, Pedro Celestino killed his wife, Juana, in the heat of an argument. After being convicted of this crime, he was sent to San Quentin Prison in November 1857. In June 1859, Pedro Celestino participated in a mass jailbreak of fifty convicts employed in the prison brickyard (Lamott 1972:54- 56). Some of the prisoners who escaped were later hunted down in the vicinity of Mt. Tamalpais and shot. No record reveals whether Pedro Celestino survived this bloody aftermath of rebellion. His entry in the San Quentin register simply mentions that he escaped, with no further comment (McComb 1889).

Those descendants of *Muwu* Lineage 3 that may be traced to the present day come from Juan Marcos, the son of Silvano María and María Antonia. In 1847 Juan Marcos's daughter Petra Abdona married José Eusebio Ríos from Mexico. She had two sons by him, José Epifacio Ríos ("José Grande"), who later became the first husband of Candelaria [Valenzuela], and José Silvestre Ríos ("José Chiquito"), who married Juana de la Cruz Villaescuesa (Hudson 1979; Johnson 1994). José Eusebio Ríos and his family lived at Saticoy (Harrington 1986: Rl. 95, Fr. 139).

Petra Abdona later left José Eusebio Ríos and lived with Pedro Constancia, an Italian merchant in Ventura (Hudson 1979:36-37). She had three children by him, one of whom, Carlota, later married. Carlota Constancia's son, Fred García [a.k.a. Fred Constancia] was mentioned in an early interview by E. M. Sheridan with Luís Arellanes, who was married to a daughter of Pedro Constancia by his first wife (Arellanes 1982). No further information has been found pertaining to the descendants of Petra Abdona's children by Pedro Constancia.

Petra Abdona's son José Silvestre Ríos raised his daughter Juana María ("Jennie") Ríos, after the death of his wife, Juana de la Cruz Villaescuesa (Plate XLIII). He also raised his stepdaughter, María Basilisa Barrios, who married Cecilio Tumamait. Jennie Ríos was married twice and had children by both marriages. Her son, Phillip Rodríguez, married Edna McLean, who was also of Chumash ancestry. The continued intermarriage among families of Chumash ancestry at Ventura demonstrates the social persistence of San Buenaventura's native community in the twentieth century. One of Jennie Ríos's daughters

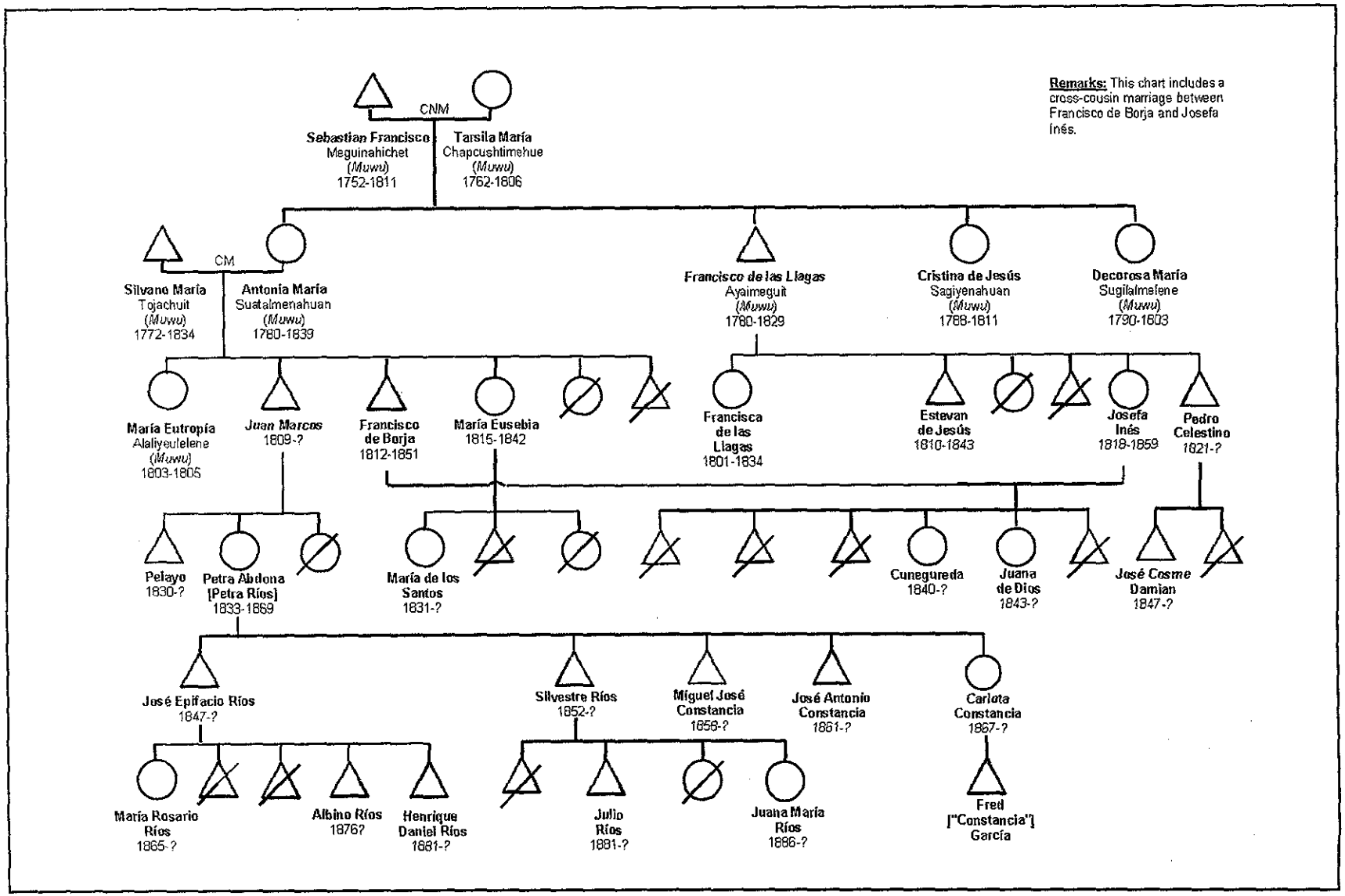


**Figure 11.3** *Muwu* Lineage 3: Descendants of Sebastián Francisco Meguinahichet and Tarsila Maria Chapcushtimehue

**Plate XLIII.** Juana María ("Jennie) Rodríguez (née Ríos), about 1910, *Muwu* Lineage 3 and *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2.
*Courtesy of Caroline Pulido*

and many of her grandchildren and great grandchildren still live in Ventura County and remain active in Chumash affairs today.

### *Muwu* Lineage 4: Descendants of Pacomio José Chinaeshmeetsh

Pacomio José Chinaeshmeetsh of *Muwu*, born about 1815 and baptized in 1807, has descendants appearing on more than one chart (see Figure 11.4, Figure 11.16, and Figure 11.10). A number of his descendants became prominent members of the San Buenaventura Chumash community in post-secularization times.

Pacomio José's eldest son was Nicolás Factor Cuichahuit, who had married María Peregrina Suluayehue of *Lisiqishi* before they both came to Mission San Buenaventura in 1808 (see Lisiqishi Lineage 3). Their son Justino José Pahuaylihuit served as one of the alcaldes of Mission San Buenaventura at the time of secularization, and Fernando Librado noted that he was a weaver at the mission looms (Hudson and Blackburn 1983:88). His daughter, Paula, was the first wife of Pedro Celestino *Cha'ki*, whose life has been previously described (see *Muwu* Lineage 3).

Arsenio Aliguatanunachu, a grandson of Pacomio José through his daughter María de la Luz Gilimayehue, was born at *Muwu* in 1801 (Figure 11.4). Fernando Librado referred to him as "Alsenio," a member of the Brotherhood of the Canoe guild who would accompany his performance of the Fox Dance with songs in the Cruzeño Chumash language (Hudson et al. 1977:69-72; Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:153, 169). Librado further commented that Arsenio lived in one of the largest *jacales* at the mission ranchería (Harrington n.d.b). He was listed in the 1852 California State Census as a servant.

Pacomio José's daughter Domitila María Pilipiyehue had four children who married and were living at San Buenaventura when Librado was born. Her two sons, José Bernardino and Pío José, are both listed with their families in the 1852 California State Census, immediately preceding the entry of a boy named "Bernardo de Jesús" (probably Fernando Librado, see Johnson 1982b). According to an entry in the marriage register, José Bernardino served as one of the alcaldes of the Indian community (MBV Mar. 1185). His brother, Pío José, worked as a servant according to the 1852 census.

Domitila María's eldest surviving daughter was Francisca Salesia, the mother of Juan Estevan Pico (see Plate I in Chapter 2). Her other daughter, María de los Dolores, was the mother of Ramona Norberta, who later became Librado's step-sister. The genealogies and known descendants of Ramona Norberta and her cousin, Juan Estevan Pico, have been previously discussed in Chapter 10 under the sections pertaining to *Xaxas* and *L'akayamu*. Despite their prominence within the San Buenaventura Mission Indian community in the mid- to late nineteenth century, no descendants of Pacomio José Chinaeshmeetsh are known to survive today.

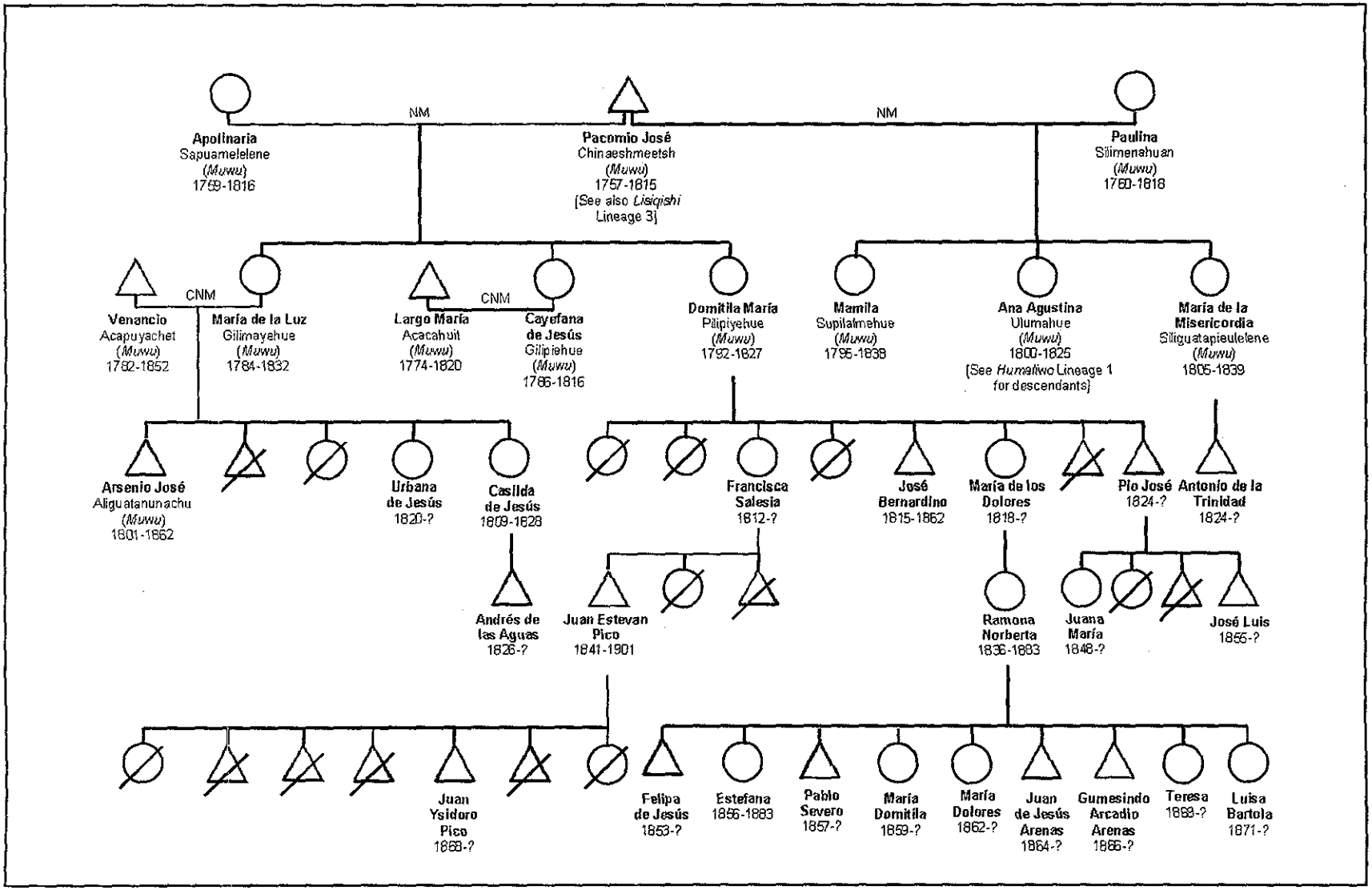


**Figure 11.4** *Muwu* Lineage 4: Descendants of Pacomio José Chinaeshimeetsh

### *Muwu* Lineage 5: Descendants of Norberto de Jesús Alulmicat and Norberta de Jesús Alapmenahuan

Norberto de Jesús Alulmicat and his wife, Norberta de Jesús Alapmenahuan, both from *Muwu*, were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1807 (Figure 11.5). Their daughter, Faustiniana Putalyequelelene, born about 1783, was also from *Muwu*. Her first husband, José Dionisio Yahichu, from *S'apwɨ*, died in 1823. Mariano de Jesús, the son of Dionisio and Faustiniana, survived past 1840, as indicated by his continued listing in the mission *padrón*. The Chumash name of Mariano de Jesús was *Ka'yaw*, according to Fernando Librado. During the 1840s Mariano lived in a *jacal* near that of his parents on the ranch of his brother-in-law, Juan de Jesús Tumamait (Harrington n.d.b).

Several Marianos were listed in the *padrón*, all bachelors. Unfortunately, subsequent mentions in the registers of Indians named "Mariano" do not distinguish which Mariano is meant. One of the Marianos was married at San Buenaventura on New Year's Eve 1842 to Carlota, a Ventureña neophyte and died in 1850 (MBV Bur. 2:948). Another Mariano was said to be the father of a boy born in 1843 whose mother, María, was an Indian neophyte from Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma (MBV Bap. 2:1406). No further record has been found of them. A [third?] Mariano from San Buenaventura was married at Mission San Miguel in 1852 (SM Mar. 369). Nothing further is known of possible descendants of these various Marianos, one of whom was probably Mariano de Jesús *Ka'yaw*.

After her first husband's death, Faustiniana married Sabino María *Pikɨ* of *Mat'ilha*. Two of their daughters grew up and married. One of these was María de los Remedios, the second wife of Juan de Jesús Tumamait. This latter couple lived in a *jacal* (tule house) on the Cañada del Diablo land grant that Juan de Jesús co-owned with José Gabriel (Harrington n.d.b). María de los Remedios had no children from her marriage to Juan de Jesús before her death in 1853.

The second daughter of Faustiniana and Sabino María was Tomasa de Aquino. Tomasa married José Calasanz ("José Salazar") in 1835 (see also *Liyam* Lineage 1 in Chapter 10). Their eldest daughter was Donaciana [Salazar], later to become well known as a Chumash basketmaker at San Buenaventura (Hudson 1979:142; Moser 1993:45; Johnson 1994:59-60). Donaciana's wedding in 1852 to Norberto was described by Fernando Librado. During the celebration, Donaciana's grandmother, Faustiniana (whose name was mistakenly remembered by Librado as "Agustina") threw bead money upon the male performer of the Chumash "Jealousy Dance" (Hudson 1979:30).

The only known descendants from *Muwu* Lineage 5 after the mid-nineteenth century are the children of Donaciana's younger sister, María Magdalena. Baptismal entries were found for two daughters and two sons born to María Magdalena between 1863 and 1874. Only the second child came from her marriage to Luís Valenzuela of Los Angeles, whom she wed in 1866. Her last two children were sons of Ramón Castillo. It is known that the first two of María Magdalena's children died young. Further research will be necessary to determine if her other offspring survived or if María Magdalena may have had other children not yet identified.

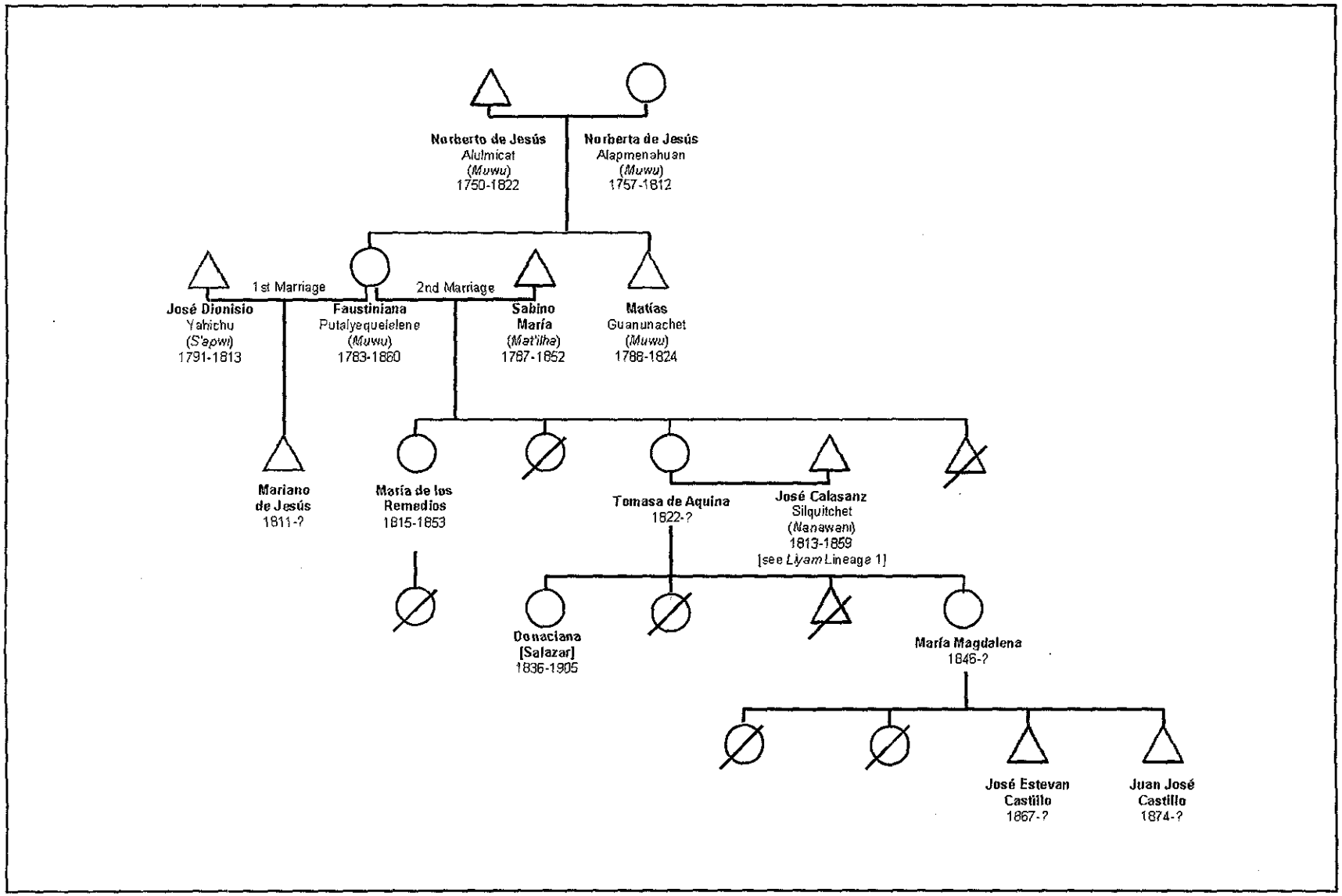


**Figure 11.5** *Muwu* Lineage 5: Descendants of Noberto de Jesús Alulmicat and Noberto de Jesús Alapmenahuan

### *Muwu* Lineage 6: Descendants of José Donato Ciaachet and María Visitación Alchayegue

José Donato Ciaachet and his wife, María Visitación Alchayegue, arrived at Mission San Buenaventura in 1807. They had two young daughters born at *Muwu* and later had three other children at the mission (Figure 11.6). Three of their children grew up to have children of their own, but only one of their grandchildren, Manuel María Inocente, is known to have had his own family. We have previously discussed two other grandchildren, Ynocencia and Jesús Salazar, under the lineage of their mother, María Baltazara (see *Muwu* Lineage 2).

José Donato Ciaachet's and María Visitación's eldest daughter, Felipa María Alicumelelene, married Francisco de los Ynocentes Chamayte (called "Inocente *Samai*" by Fernando Librado), who was a Chumash-Spanish interpreter for Mission San Buenaventura. This couple's son, Manuel María [Inocente], married Francisca Antonia in 1842 and they had two children who were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1844 and 1846.

Francisca Antonia had come to Mission San Buenaventura in 1835 when she was ten years old, along with her mother, María Gabriela Saicumu, and her older sister, María de Jesús Yahapunaju. They were from the Kern River region, and spoke Bankalachi as their native language, a dialect of Tubatulabal. María Gabriela Saicumu and both daughters married Chumash men at San Buenaventura. Francisca Antonio's nephew, Valerio de Jesús, was interviewed briefly by Alfred Kroeber at the Tule River Indian Reservation in the early twentieth century. Kroeber was the one who noted that Valerio's mother's language was Bankalachi (Kroeber 1903).

Manuel María and Francisca Antonia seem to have left Mission San Buenaventura by 1848, because the baptismal register does not include an entry for their third child, Manuel, who was born in that year. Manuel María had moved with his family to Watsonville, Monterey County where they were enumerated in the 1860 U.S. Census in the Pajaro Township (p. 93, No. 727). Manuel María first worked for William Brainard Post, who was married to Anselma Onésimo, a Rumsen (Costanoan/Ohlone) woman from Carmel. He later worked as head vaquero for John B. Cooper who owned Rancho El Sur. By 1868, Manuel María had earned enough to purchase a cabin and piece of land on Big Sur Creek that had been previously homesteaded by George Davis (Woolfenden 1985:3; Davis et al. 1990).

At some time following his listing in the 1860 census, Manuel María began using Inocente (written as "Innocenti" in most local histories) as the family surname. His sons worked as laborers for various neighbors who homesteaded or bought property in the Big Sur area. Francisca Antonia became known for her services as a midwife. A family cemetery was begun after the death of Manuelito, a son of Manuel María and Francisca Inocente. All of the other Inocente children, perhaps with the exception of the eldest daughter, were said to be buried there as well.

At the end of his life, Manuel María Inocente became mentally disturbed and was found one night wandering along the creek, hiding from imaginary pursuers. He was taken to Stockton State Hospital where he died on January 25, 1888 (Bisbee 1969; Woolfenden 1985:22). Mount Manuel, which may be seen from the location of his former cottage at Pfeiffer Big Sur State Park, is named for Manuel María

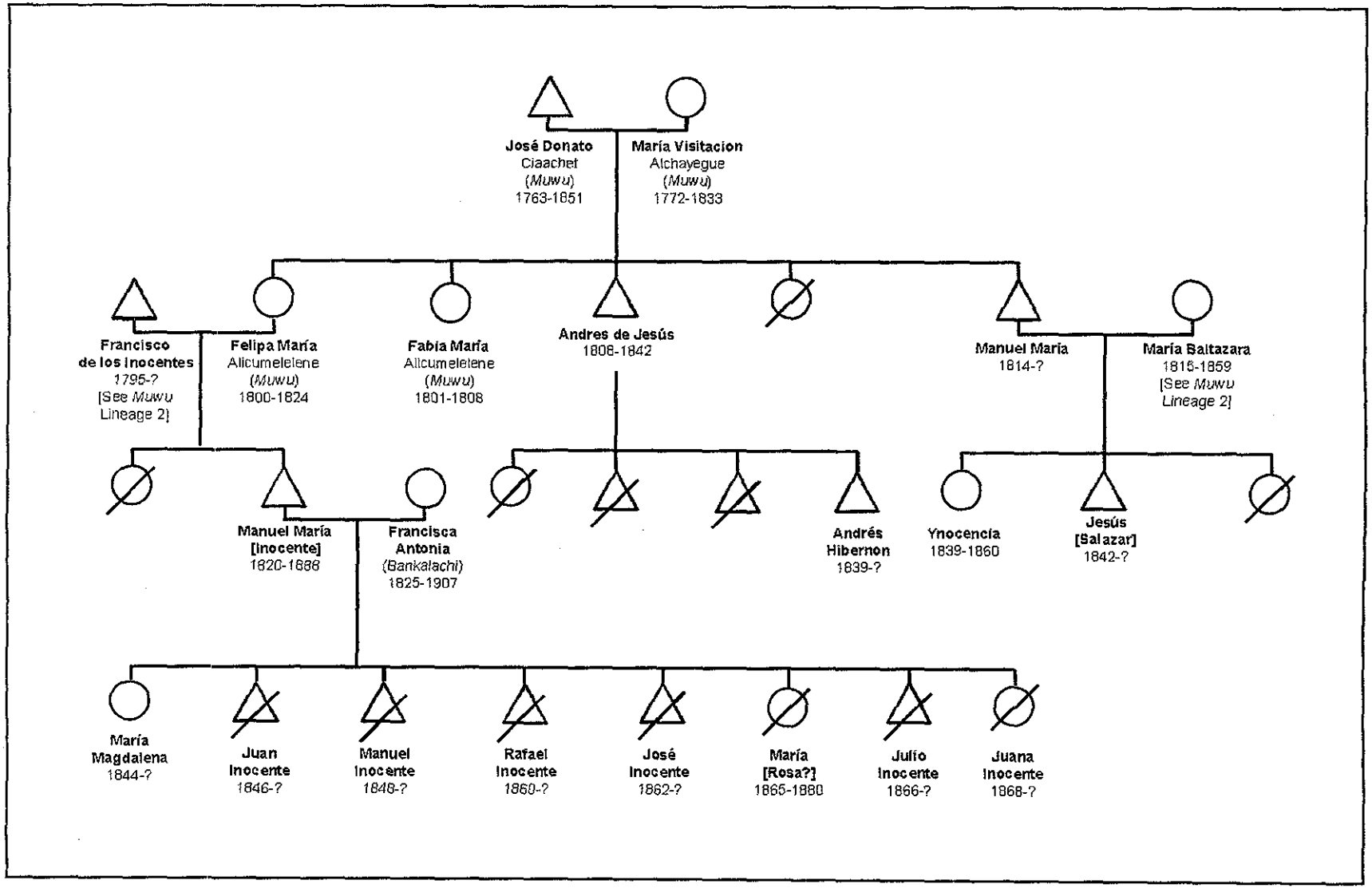


**Figure 11.6** *Muwu* Lineage 6: Descendants of José Donato Ciaachet and María Visitación Alchayegue

Inocente. Francisca Inocente lived alone at the end of her life and was cared for by the Post family until her death in 1907. She, too, is buried in the family cemetery (Harrington 1985: Rl. 80, Fr. 204; Woolfenden 1985:23).

The eldest Inocente daughter, María Magdalena, is not listed by name with other family members in census records after 1860. Simplicio Pico told Harrington that there were several Indian woman from San Buenaventura who married and lived in the Monterey area. It is possible that María Magdalena was one of these, but further research will be necessary to determine her subsequent history and whether she had children of her own.

### *Muwu* Lineage 7: Descendants of Coleta de Jesús Alulupienahuan

Coleta de Jesús Alulupienahuan was baptized in 1806. Her three children born at *Muwu* preceded her in baptism, their entries appearing in 1802 and 1803 (Figure 11.7). Coleta's only grandchildren were born to her eldest daughter, Juana Evangelista Casilgualayenle. Two of these grandchildren, Juana and Hermenegildo, grew up and married at San Buenaventura. Juana married Laureano Antonio Yayluauchet of *Lu'upsh* in 1832. Their only son listed in the baptismal register died in 1839.

Hermenegildo married Leonarda de Portugal in 1844, but it seems that this couple separated because children of other relationships have been identified for each of them in 1857 baptismal records. Hermenegildo was said to be the father of José Juan de Jesús, a child born to Policarpa, an unmarried woman descended from *Lisiqishi* ancestors through her father's lineage (see Figure 11.8).

There is some reason to believe that Hermenegildo may actually not have been the biological father of José Juan de Jesús, because the latter went by the name Juan Miller, and Simplicio Pico told Harrington that the latter's father was an American named Miller who had a farm south of Ventura. Further information about this family will be presented under the discussion of *Lisiqishi* Lineage 1 below.

### *Lisiqishi* (Lisichi)

The Chumash town of *Lisiqishi* provided 60 converts to mission communities. Most of these (56) were baptized at San Buenaventura, though four have been identified at San Fernando. We tabulated 12 children of *Lisiqishi* natives born at other towns: *Muwu* 6, *Sumuawawa* 2, *Sumo* 2, *Humaliwo* 1, and *Shisholop* 1. Fifty children born at the mission had parents who came from *Lisiqishi* (see Table 11.1). There were 34 children whose grandparents came from *Lisiqishi*. The third generation removed from people who came from *Lisiqishi* consisted of only three individuals identified in mission registers. In addition to the diagrams of descendants presented in this section (Figure 11.8-11.11), people from *Lisiqishi* also appear in Figures 11.16, 11.25, and 11.27.

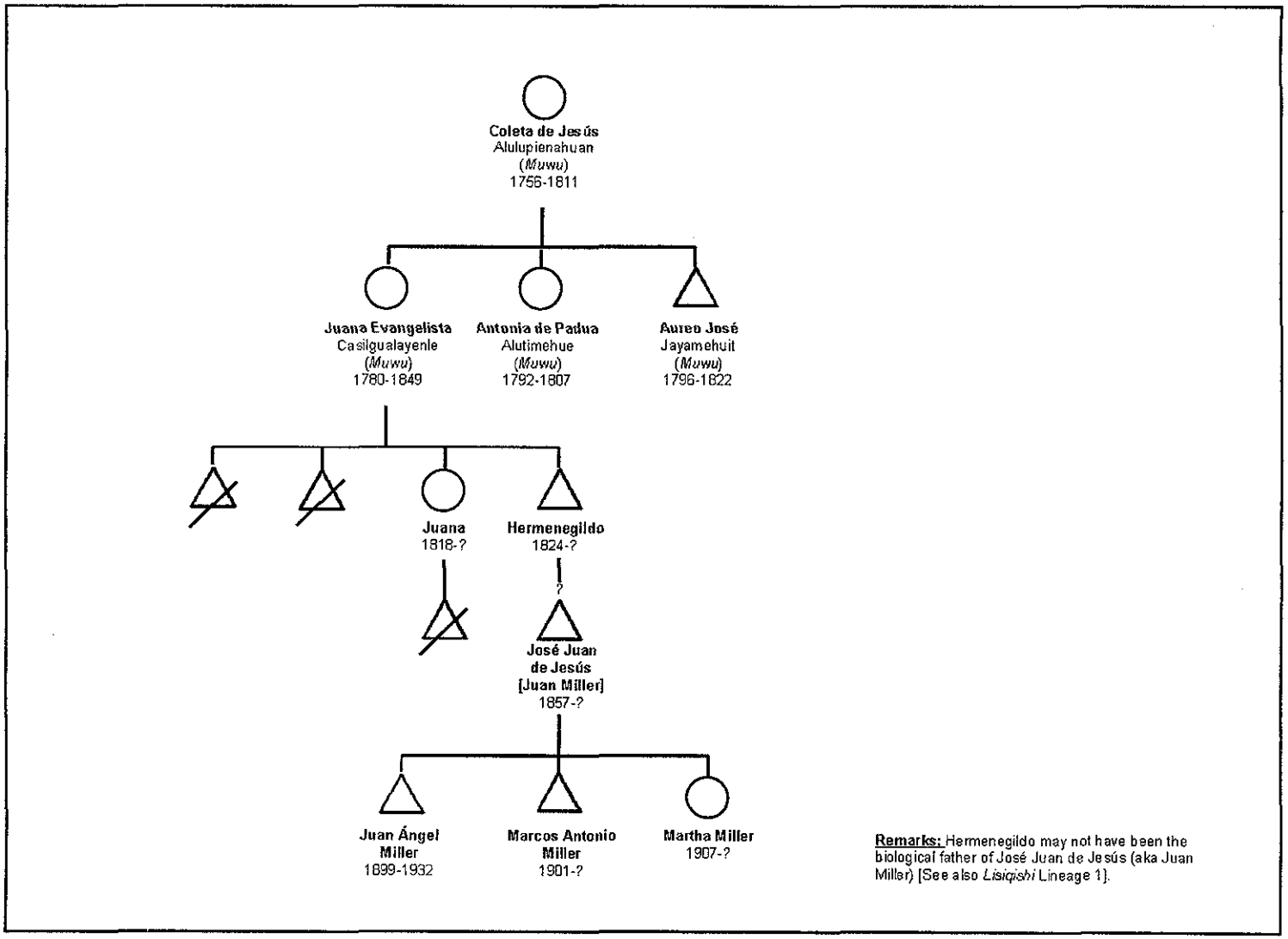


**Figure 11.7** *Muwu* Lineage 7: Descendants of Coleta de Jesús Alulupienahuan

## Traceable Descendants from *Lisiqishi*

### *Lisiqishi* Lineage 1: Descendants of María Agapita Supilimehue

María Agapita Supilimehue was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura on New Years Eve, 1809, when she was about 76 years of age (Figure 11.8). Her son, Manuel Juan Liguinahichu, also from *Lisiqishi*, was baptized the preceding day with his two wives. At the mission Manuel Juan was only permitted to marry one wife at a time. He first wed his younger wife, María Julia Sajutienahuan. Upon her death in 1824, Manuel Juan then renewed his marriage to his other wife, María Clemencia Putalmenahuan, with the Church's blessing.

Because only chiefs were typically married to more than one woman, Manuel Juan Liguinahichu's polygamy suggests that he may have been the headman of *Lisiqishi*, but this was not explicitly noted by the missionaries. His probable high political status may be inferred for an additional reason: Manuel Juan Liguinahichu was listed first among the 41 people from Santa Monica Mountains native towns who were baptized on the last two days of 1809. Being listed first in a group of converts baptized on a particular day was a position commonly reserved for chiefs or other men of importance.

Manuel Juan Liguinaihichu had three children for whom marriages were identified in the San Buenaventura mission records. His son, Valentín de Jesús Guilaliachet, had the largest family and was the only one who had grandchildren of his own. Valentín's daughter Policarpa had three children between 1852 and 1867. Only her second son, José Juan de Jesús, who was later known as Juan Miller, has been traced further. His baptismal record lists his father's name as Hermenegildo (see *Muwu* Lineage 7), but his actual father was apparently an American named Miller (Harrington n.d.b).

Juan Miller was raised at Saticoy after his father left Policarpa and moved out of the area (Harrington n.d.b). There is suggestion in Harrington's notes from Fernando Librado that Juan Miller's Indian name may have been *Liwinashu*, apparently inherited from his grandfather. He used to work with Simplicio Pico for William Wolfsohn unloading lumber from boats at Ventura. Juan Miller later married María Ayala and lived at El Rio. He had at least three children. His known descendants today are from his son, Juan Ángel Miller, who was born in 1899.

### *Lisiqishi* Lineage 2: Descendants of Quirina Maczalmeu

One lineage of *Lisiqishi* descendants that has been traced past the mid-nineteenth century has at its apex a woman named Quirina Maczalmeu who was baptized in 1807 at Mission San Fernando along with her son, Quirino Yauilauit (Figure 11.9). Her daughter, María Eutiquiana (also written "Eutychiana"), had been previously baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1803. This daughter transferred to San Fernando where she had nine children born from three marriages.

María Eutiquiana's last husband was Rafael María, whom she wed in 1820. Rafael María was the fifth person listed in the registers of San Fernando, one of a group of children baptized on the day the mission was founded, September 8, 1797. He is later mentioned as being one of the mission alcaldes in 1836 and is listed among the San Fernando Indians in the U.S. Census of 1850.

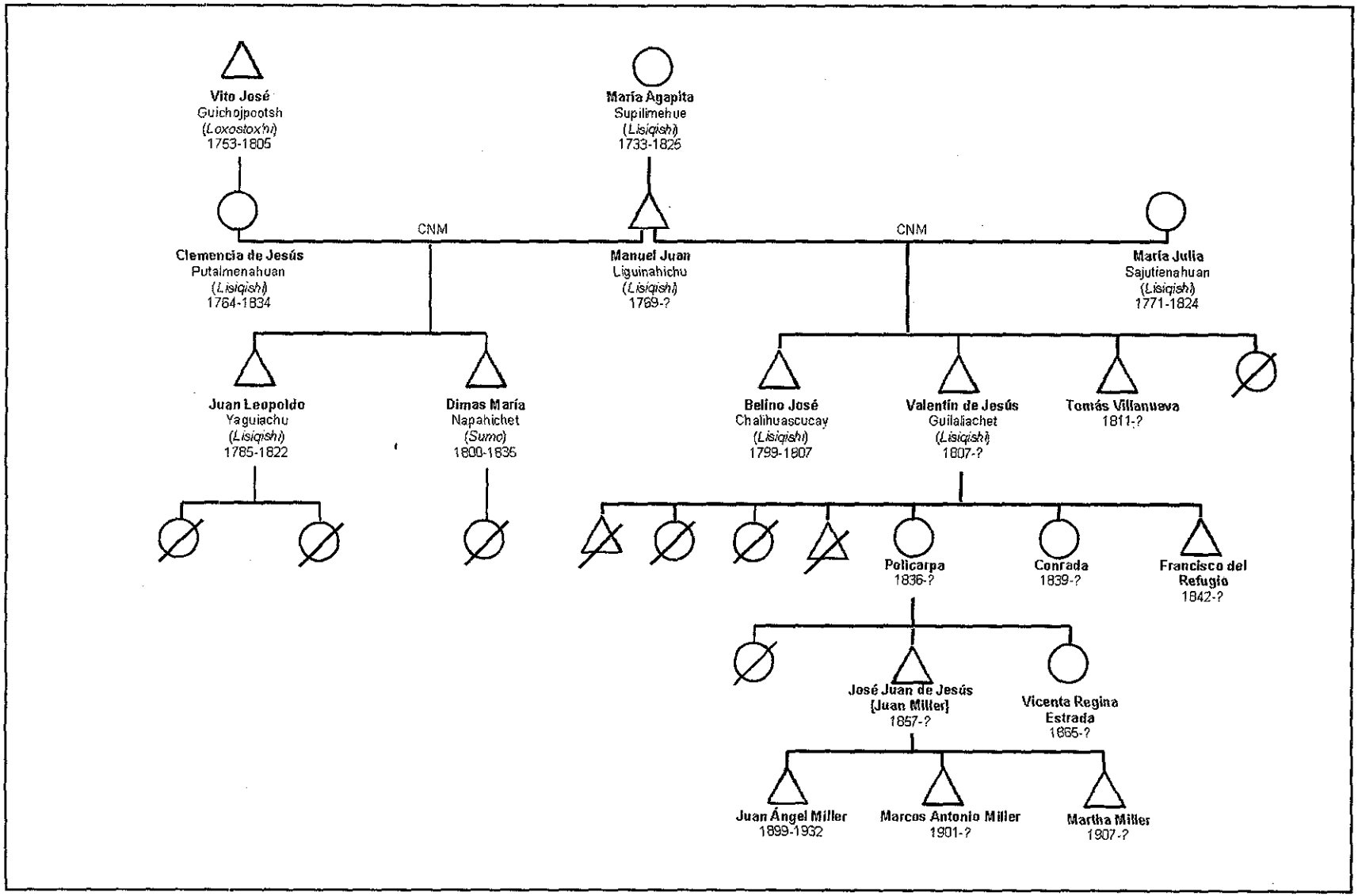


**Figure 11.8** *Lisiqishi* Lineage 1: Descendants of Maria Agapita Supilimehue

There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that Rafael María soon moved with several Indian families from San Fernando and various missions in Chumash territory to the Grapevine Canyon vicinity near Tejon Pass. In various documents pertaining to establishment of the Sebastian Reservation, an Indian named Rafael is listed as a chief of this band. The only person by this name known to have survived the Mission Period would have been Rafael María from Mission San Fernando. Rafael was said to be chief of the "*Castake*" tribe when he signed the 1851 Tejon treaty that led to the establishment of the Sebastian Reservation (Heizer 1972:39). His experience as an alcalde at Mission San Fernando and marriage to a Ventureño woman probably propelled him into the position of leadership among the predominantly Chumash families who settled along Grapevine Creek after secularization. Harrington's Emigdiano Chumash consultant, Juan Coluco, remembered Rafael as "captain" of the "Ventureño" Indians settled at the "Cañada de las Uvas" (Harrington 1985: Rl. 100, Fr. 1079). Rafael's eldest son, Juan de la Cruz, has been tentatively identified as a man by that name, whose daughter, María, was baptized at Tejon in 1858 by a visiting priest from Santa Inés.

In the 1860 census of the Tejon Township, Rafael's age was estimated at 80, although he was actually 68 or 69. He was living in a household with another elderly man named Antonio, whose estimated age was 91. The lack of mention of his wife and children suggests that they were deceased or had moved elsewhere. Many of the Indians the census names in the neighboring households are recognizable as Chumash and Yokuts people who had come from Missions San Fernando, San Buenaventura, Santa Bárbara, and Santa Inés (Johnson n.d.b). According to Juan Coluco, Rafael later moved from his home at the Cañada de las Uvas to the Tejon Indian community at Las Tunas where he died (Harrington 1985: Rl. 100, Fr. 1081).

Rafael's last mention in government documents came in 1862, when he was co-chief with "Chico" of the Surillo or Cartaka tribe of 52 men, 65 women, and 45 children. They owned 20 horses and had 40 acres of land under cultivation on the Tejon reservation (Wentworth 1863:325). "Surillo" and "Cartaka" are apparently mistranscriptions for the names of two interior Chumash settlements: *Shuxwiyuxush* ("Sujuiyojos" at San Fernando, "Chujguiyujush" at San Buenaventura) and *Kashtiq* (Castec).

Only one marriage record was found for any of Rafael María's and María Eutiquiana's children, which would not be unexpected if the family relocated to Tejon. In 1849 their daughter, Raimunda, married Lucio, a Ventureño man whose parents were from Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains (see *Sumucawawa* Lineage 1). Baptismal entries for three of Lucio's and Raimunda's children were recorded at Mission San Buenaventura between 1850 and 1856. Two of these children died as infants, but the last, Teresa, was mentioned by José Juan Olivas, who Harrington interviewed at Tejon. Olivas mentioned that Teresa's father, Lucio, had died in Bakersfield (Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 575).

It is tempting to identify Teresa as a woman by that same name who was photographed by J. P. Harrington in 1917. Harrington identified this photograph as a Ventureño woman, but left no explanation for why he captioned it thus (Harrington 1918:93, Figure 94). There was a Teresa living at the Santa Rosa Rancheria near Lemoore, whom Harrington knew, but his records pertaining to her genealogy do not reveal that she had any Chumash ancestry (Harrington 1989: Rl 2, Fr. 35).

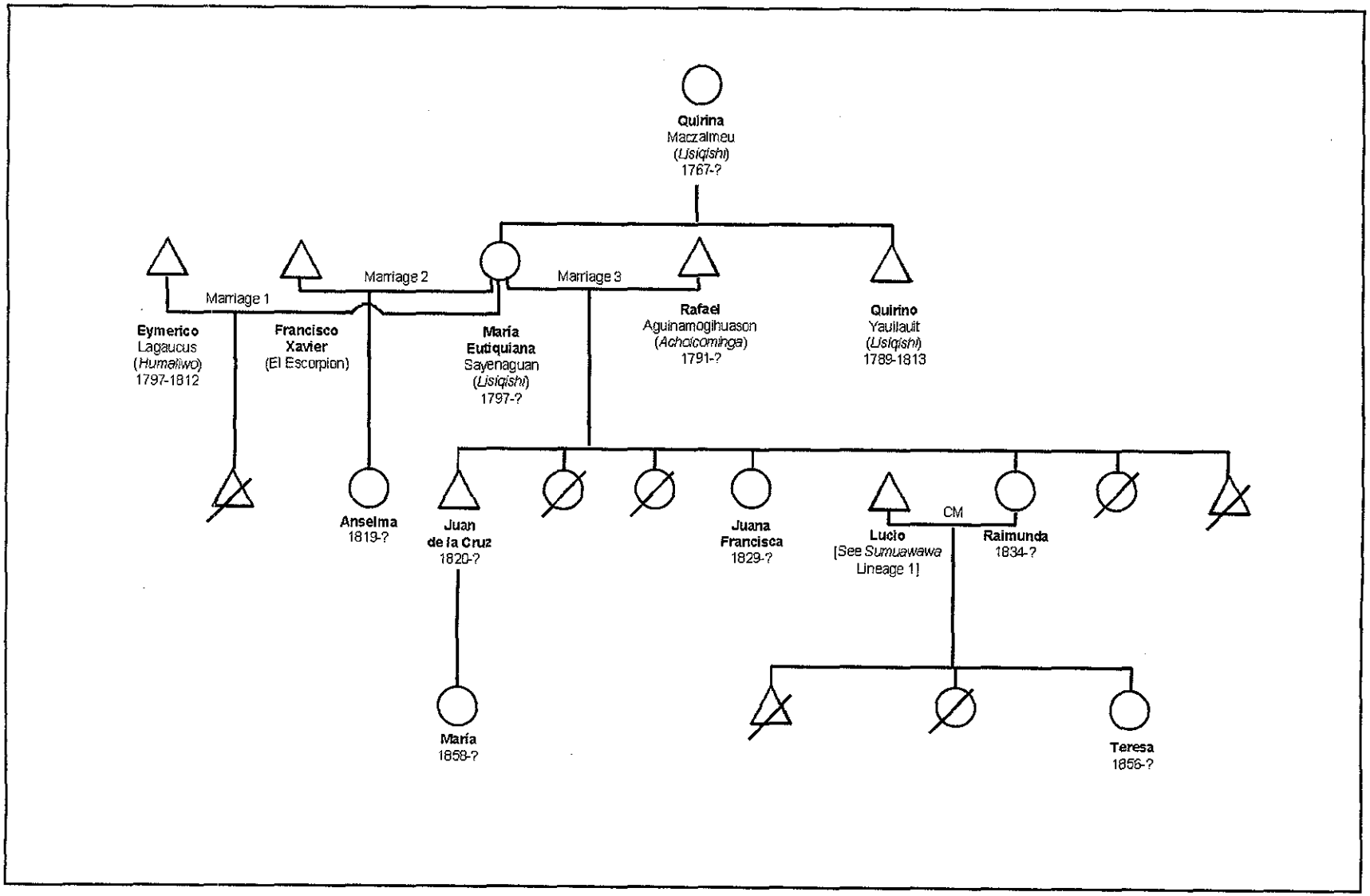


**Figure 11.9** *Lisiqishi* Lineage 2: Descendants of Quirina Maczalmeu

Without further research, there is insufficient evidence at present to do more than speculate whether Lucio's and Raimunda's child, Teresa, may have ended up marrying into a Yokuts community through her family's connection with the Indian reservation at Tejon.

### *Lisiqishi* Lineage 3: Descendants of Felipa Benicia Sienahuan

We have previously touched upon the known descendants of Felipa Benicia Sienahuan of *Lisiqishi* in the sections pertaining to *Muwu* Lineages 3 and 4. Figure 11.10 shows how these genealogical diagrams interconnect. Felipa Benicia's grandson, Justino José (sometimes called "Faustino"), was one of the elected alcaldes of the Indian community at San Buenaventura following mission secularization. His daughter Paula had one son, José Cosme Damian, born in 1947, through her marriage to Pedro Celestino *Cha'ki*. No further record exists for either Paula or her son in the San Buenaventura registers.

Fernando Librado, who knew Pedro Celestino and Paula, described to Harrington how Paula took *toloache* (Jimson Weed preparation) to assist her husband in regaining his health when he was ill (Hudson 1979:69-70). She was deceased by 1852, when her widowed husband remarried at Mission San Miguel.

### *Lisiqishi* Lineage 4: Descendants of Perseverancia Silielelene

Perseverancia Silielelene of *Lisiqishi* and her husband, Cosme Antonio Chahuguit of *Sumuawawa*, were baptized as adults in 1806. Three of their children born at Mission San Buenaventura had families of their own (Figure 11.11). The eldest daughter was Tomasa de Jesús, born in 1806, and she married Eustaquio Silieuse of *Sis'a*. This may be the same man that Fernando Librado described as reputedly the son of a bear shaman. Eustaquio was said to have found a supernatural bear suit on *Sis'a* Mountain and flown in the air with it (Hudson 1979:124-125).

The son of Eustaquio and Tomasa de María Alfea was Juan Cancio, who married Martina *Leqte* from Santa Cruz Island (see *Kaxas* section in Chapter 10). Although this couple was married in Santa Barbara where Martina had been raised, they eventually settled in Ventura. Juan Cancio died in 1869.

María de Porciúncula was the second daughter of Cosme Antonio Chahuguit and Perseverancia Silielelene. She married Nicasio Suyucucu of *Shisholop* and had one daughter, Juana de Mata, born in 1829. This daughter survived past 1840, according to the San Buenaventura *padrón* where she is listed, but her subsequent history is unknown.

María del Sacramento, the third daughter of Cosme Antonio and Perseverancia, married Mateo of *Kayiwish*. Their son Ladislao, popularly known as "Estanislao" was a vaquero and maker of fine braided reins at Ventura. He married Leonarda, who was also partly of Santa Monica Mountains Chumash ancestry (see Hipuk Lineage 3). In 1884 Estanislao was the victim of a mortal knife wound inflicted during a conflict that occurred after a night of drinking at the Parian Dance Hall located adjacent to San Buenaventura's Chumash neighborhood (Ellis 1994; Johnson 1994:55).

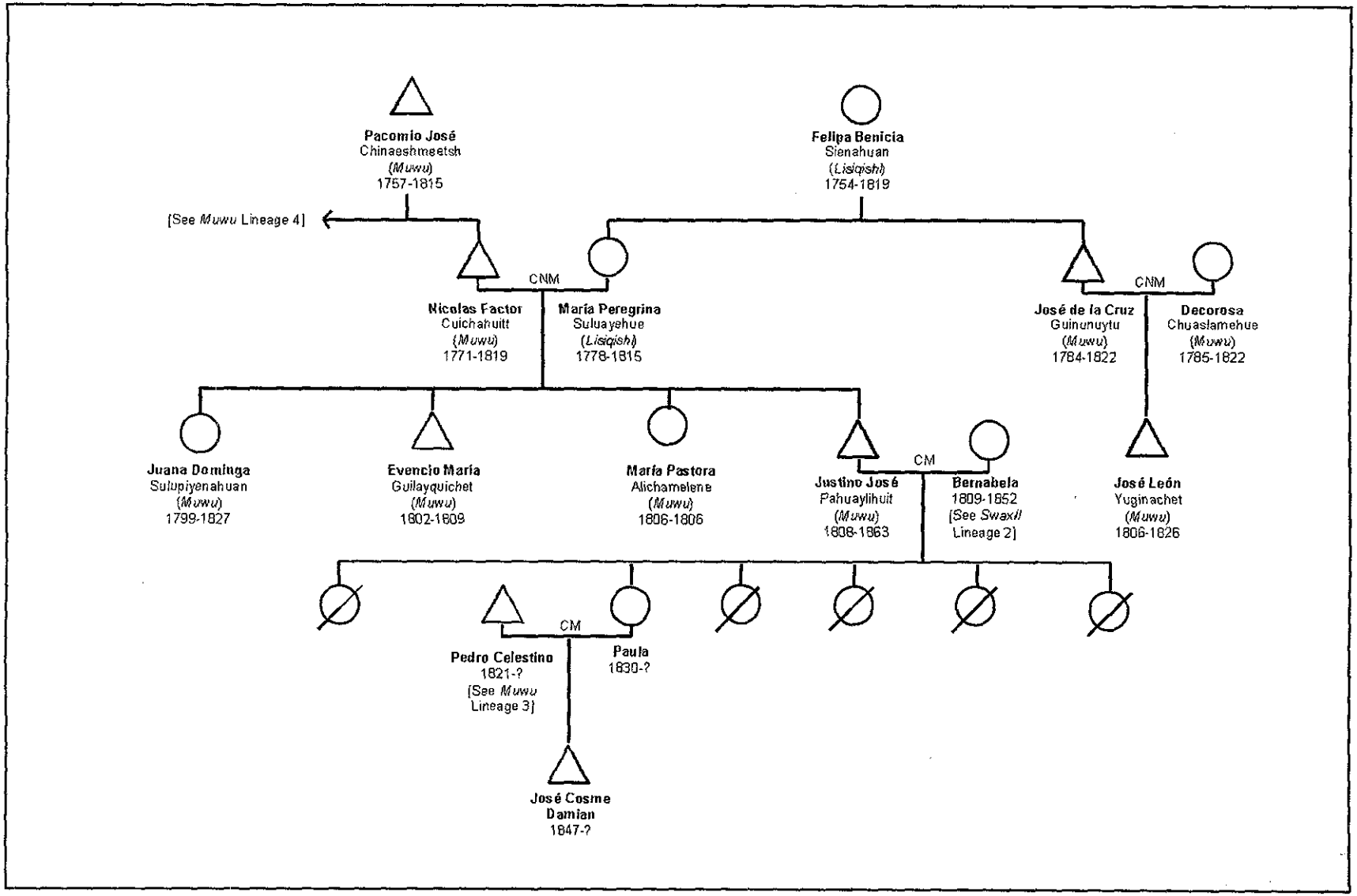


**Figure 11.10** *Lisiqishi* Lineage 3: Descendants of Felipa Benicia Sienahuan

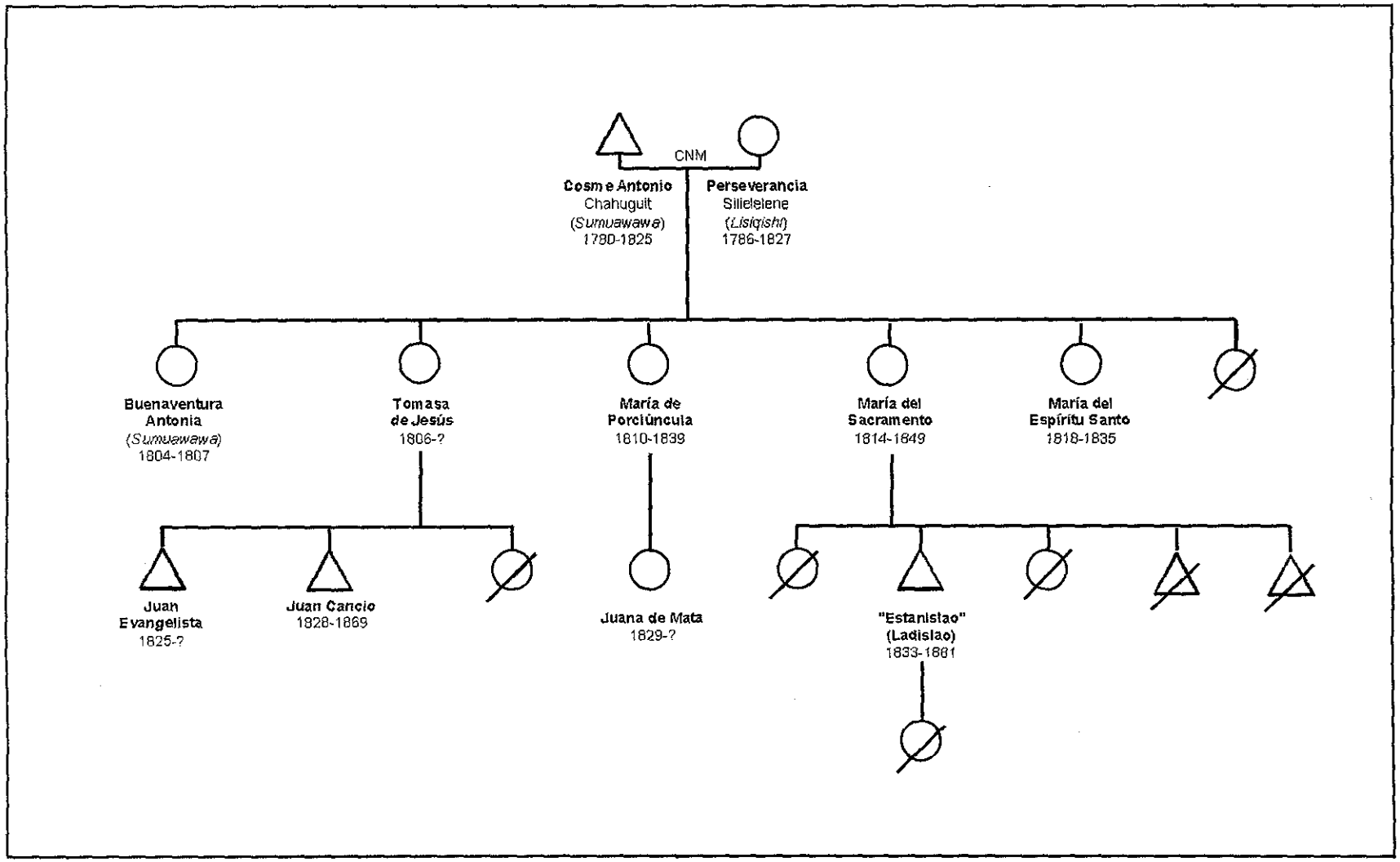


**Figure 11.11** *Lisiqishi* Lineage 4: Descendants of Perserverancia Silielelene

### *Loxostox'ni* (Lojostogni)

Most of the 39 people baptized at the missions from *Loxostox'ni* went to San Buenaventura (34) with the remainder entering San Fernando (3) and San Gabriel (2). A total of 6 children of *Loxostox'ni* parents were tabulated from other Chumash towns: *Humaliwo* 2, *Lisiqishi* 1, *Sumuawawa* 1, *Ta'lopop* 1, and *Apunga* (San Vicente?) 1. There were 39 children born at the mission who had parents from *Loxostox'ni* (Table 11.1).

Twenty seven children had grandparents from *Loxostox'ni*. In the third and fourth generations descended from *Loxostox'ni* ancestors, there were 31 and 4, respectively, identified in mission registers. In addition to the diagrams of descendants presented in this section (Figure 11.12-11.14), people from *Loxostox'ni* also appear in lineages shown in Figures 11.2, 11.8, and 11.15. "*Sumo* Lineage 1"(Figure 11.15) is of particular interest because there are probably living descendants from a *Loxostox'ni* ancestor who may be traced in that lineage.

### Traceable Descendants from *Loxostox'ni*

#### *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1: Descendants of Esperato Anaucha

Esperato Anaucha and his second wife, Eugenia, were baptized at Mission San Buenaventura on September 26, 1805. All of Esperato's children who had been born at *Loxostox'ni* had preceded him in their arrival at the mission and were baptized between December 1802 and March 1805. His eldest daughter, María Alfea Alashnimenahuan, came to the mission already married to a man from *Humaliwo*, Acursio José Cachejpetsh (Figure 11.12).

María Alfea and her sister Dositea de Jesús Casiulielelene were Esperato Anaucha's two daughters from a previous marriage. His first wife, Vicenta Pascuala Silimehue, finally came to Mission San Buenaventura from *Loxostox'ni* in April, 1806. All five of Esperato's children from his two marriages – even the youngest, José Fernando, who was born at the mission in 1809 -- grew up and were married themselves. Two of these children, José Gabriel Guilalahichet and Dositea de Jesús, are listed in the 1852 census. The last son, José Fernando, was still living in the late 1840s; his family is not listed in the 1852 census, however, suggesting that they may have moved out of the local area.

José Gabriel Guilalahichet is the only one of Esperato Anaucha's children from whom descendants may be traced beyond the mid-nineteenth century. He was co-grantee along with Juan de Jesús Tumamait of a grant located near the mouth of the Cañada del Diablo, received from Governor Pío Pico in 1845 (Johnson 1993a:159). José Gabriel built an adobe home there, where he lived with his extended family. A smaller adobe was built nearby for his son [in-law?], [José de los Ynocentes?] *Anakuwi'n*, and a sweatlodge was located nearby for the family's use. José Gabriel made his living as a shoemaker and saddle maker and was often mentioned as a singer for various Chumash dances and ceremonies held at San Buenaventura (Harrington n.d.b; Hudson 1979).

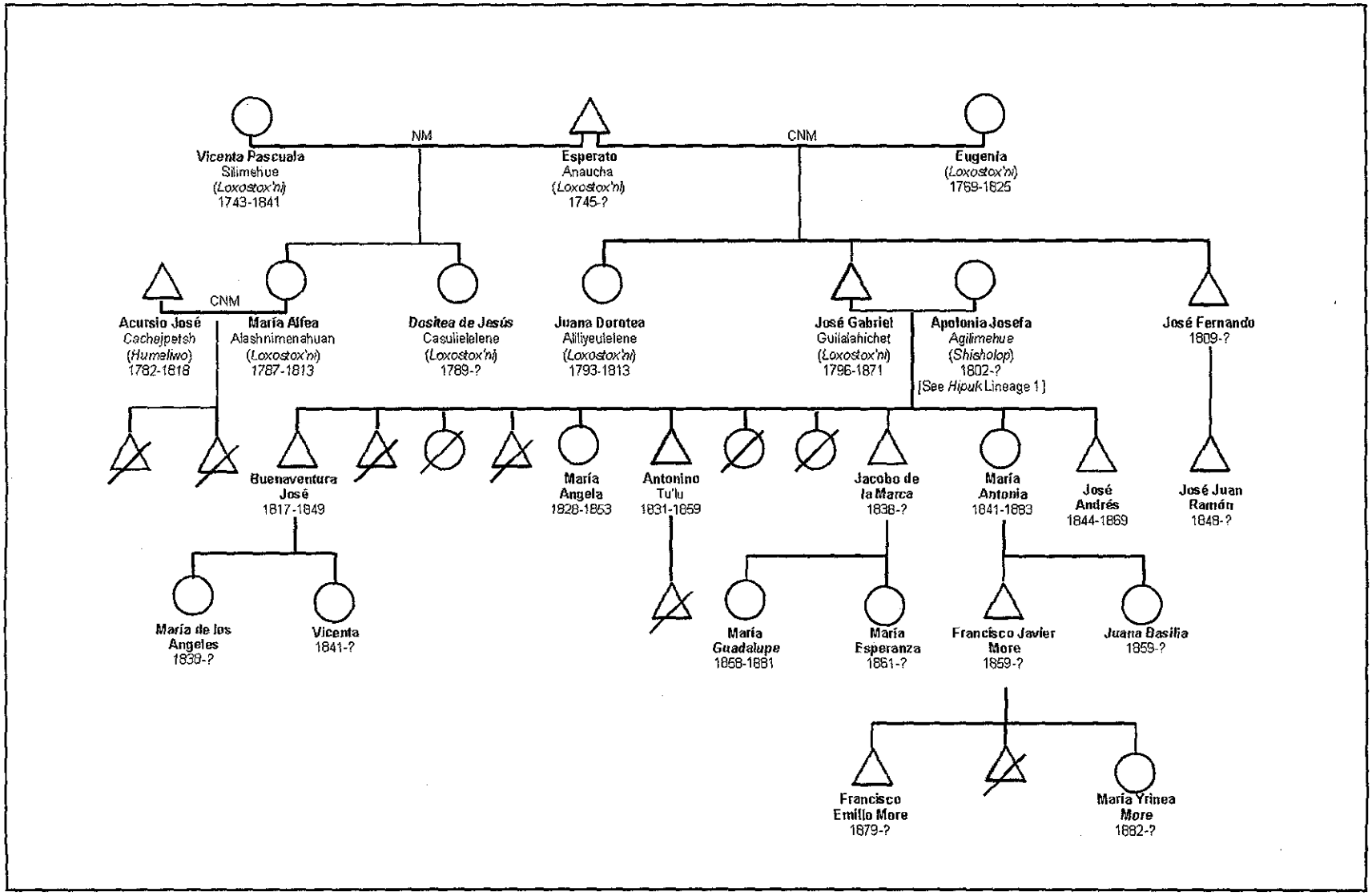


**Figure 11.12** *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1: Descendants of Esperato Anaucha

Six of José Gabriel's eleven children reached adulthood, and four of these had children of their own. All of his surviving children were listed in the 1852 census, all but one of them living with him. Only his married son, Antonino, was listed living elsewhere, with his wife's parents, just as José Gabriel's son-in-law appears to have been listed with him. For this family at least, matrilocal residence seems to have been favored in post-Mission times. It was also the predominant pattern in Chumash society at the time of contact (Johnson 1988a: Chap. 6).

Several of José Gabriel's grandchildren are known to have remained in the Ventura area. María Guadalupe, the daughter of his son Jacobo de la Marca, died as a young woman in Ventura in 1881. Two of José Gabriel's grandchildren through his daughter, María Antonia, were still living at the time Harrington began his research in the second decade of the twentieth century. One of these was Francisco More, born in 1859 as the illegitimate son of Sespe Ranchero Thomas Wallace More. The other daughter, Juana Basilia, was born to María Antonia through her marriage to Pantaleón, who was the son of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria, and the brother of Candelaria [Valenzuela]. Both Francisco More and Juana Basilia were raised at the Saticoy Chumash community.

In 1882 Francisco More married María Antonia Domec, the granddaughter of Odón Chijuya (see El Escorpión Lineage 1). He had several children born at Ventura, including one by Paula Flores, a woman of 1/4 Chumash ancestry. The subsequent history of Francisco More's children has not been traced beyond the 1880s. José Peregrino (*Winai*) Romero told Harrington that Juana Basilia, Francisco More's half sister, was living in Santa Paula (about 1915?) with Romero's son's family (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 263). It is unknown whether she ever married. Harrington eventually contacted Francisco More and took his photograph at Saticoy in August, 1933 (Plate XLIV).

### *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2: Descendants of Matea Alaputalmehue

Matea Alaputalmehue was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in January 1808, when she was about 60 years old. Three of her four children came to the mission already married to spouses from other Santa Monica Mountains towns (see Figure 11.13). Her only known descendants come through her son Floriano José Guasticucay, whose wife, María Olegaria Alulgualienahuan, was from *Humaliwo*.

The second son of this couple, José Antonio Aliguanunaze (also called *Xotoyo*), was married in 1837 to Juliana de Jesús, whose parents were from the Chumash town of *Mupu* (Santa Paula). José Antonio built an adobe house with a carrizo roof at a place called *Xmaniw* on the east side of the Ventura River south of Cañada del Diablo (Harrington n.d.b) and made his living through cultivating the surrounding fields. José Antonio was listed along with his large family in the 1852 California State Census, where his occupation was listed as "farmer." He died in 1860, and his widow then married Roberto Salazar, a Mexican Indian from Guadalajara. She later served as a linguistic consultant for Alphonse Pinart regarding the Santa Paula dialect of Ventureño Chumash (Heizer 1952; Johnson 1994:63-65).

Both José Antonio Aliguanunaze's daughter, Juliana, and his son, José Peregrino [Romero or Tapia], married and had families of their own. A third son, Miguel [Tapia], also married and raised two stepchil-

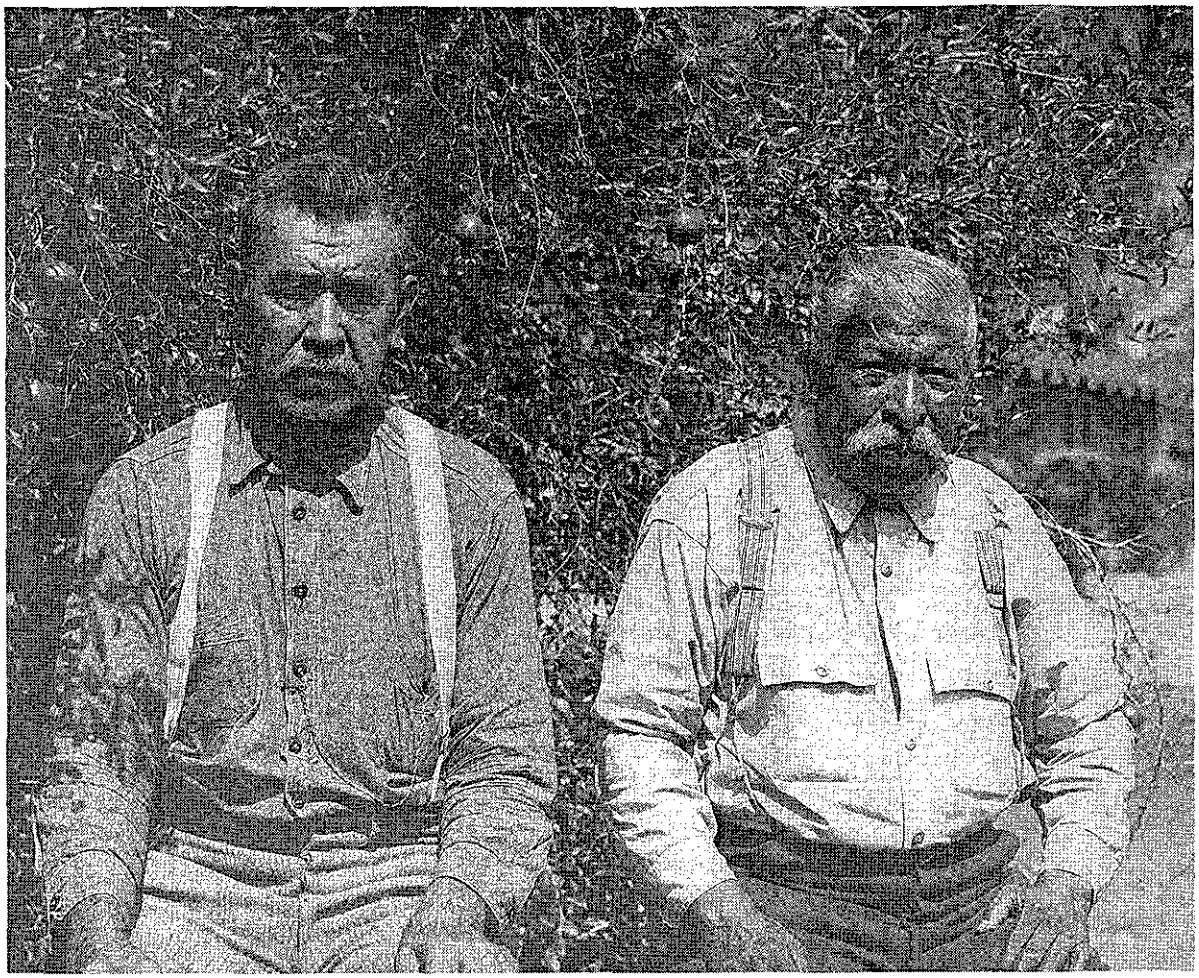

**Plate XLIV.** Francisco More (*Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1) and José Juan Olivas (*S'apwi* Lineage 3) at Saticoy, 1933.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31444.*

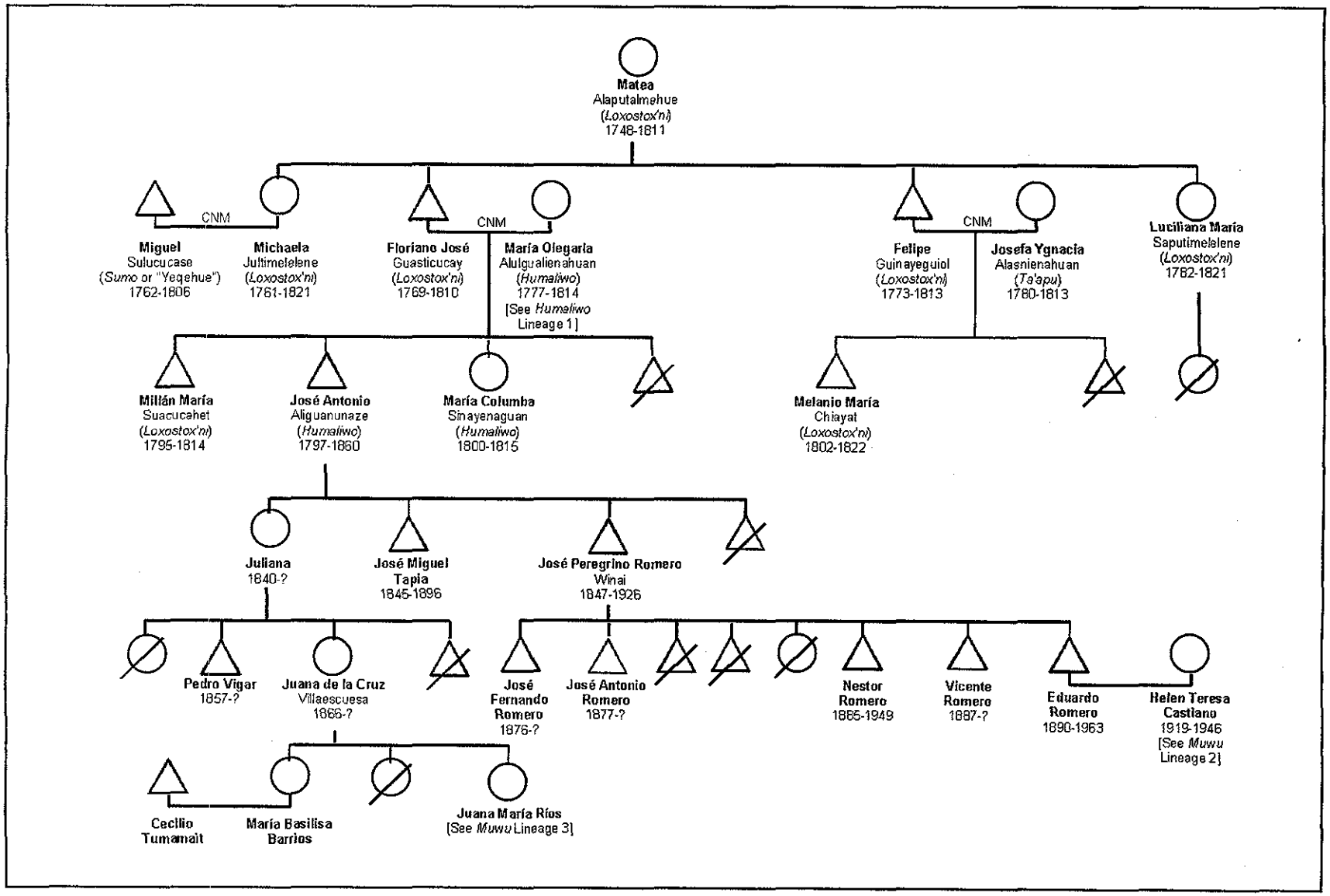


**Figure 11.13** *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2: Descendants of Matea Alaputalmehue

**Plate XLV.** José Peregrino (*Winai*) Romero, 1923 (*Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2).
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31304.*

dren. Juana de la Cruz Villaescuesa, Juliana's daughter by her second husband, in turn had two daughters, María Basilisa Barrios, who married Cecilio Tumamait (see Plate XXXIX), and Juana María Ríos (see *Muwu* Lineage 3, Plate XLIII). Many residents of Ventura County today may trace ancestry from *Loxostox'ni* through these two half sisters.

José Peregrino (*Winai*) Romero served as a Ventureño consultant to J. P. Harrington (Plate XLV). He married Susana, the daughter of Luisa Ygnacio, in 1875 (see Plate XXXIII). She had ancestors from Chumash towns on Santa Cruz Island through her father's line. Descendants of José Peregrino Romero have been discussed previously in Chapter 10 under the section on "Traceable descendants from *Xaxas*" and in the section on *Muwu* Lineage 2. As was mentioned in those discussions, many of his descendants are active participants in Chumash heritage projects today.

### *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 3: Descendants of Timotea de Jesús Alalimenahuan

The last lineage to be discussed under the section on traceable descendants from *Loxostox'ni* is that of Timotea de Jesús Alalimenahuan through her son Santiago *Kuhi'i* (Cugi), who was also from *Loxostox'ni* (Figure 11.14). Fernando Librado knew this man, who in his old age lived in a *jacal* at *Koxso* (see Figure 8.1). He received gifts from neighbors showing devotion and once performed a healing ritual witnessed by Librado (Hudson et al. 1977). He was listed in the California State Census with his second wife, Cecilia, and their daughter, "Cruz." Santiago's occupation was listed as "Mason."

In 1852 Santiago *Kuhi'i's* grandson Pacífico married Marta, who was probably the daughter of Higinio, a Castac Chumash man baptized at Mission San Fernando. The Indian ceremonies that accompanied this wedding, in which at the same time several other young couples were also married, were described by Fernando Librado (Hudson 1979:28-30). Pacífico lived with his young bride in a temporary enclosure the next summer at the Chumash settlement at *Quyuy* (San Miguel) on the east side of the Ventura River (Harrington n.d.b). Their marriage did not last long because of Pacífico's untimely death in 1859. His widow, Marta, seems to have moved to Rancho El Escorpión near San Fernando where she set up a household with Bernabé, the son of Odón Chijuya Santiago's youngest daughter has been identified very tentatively in the records of Santa Inés, where she was listed as "María Ventura de la Cruz," an unwed mother of a child born in 1864. It is tempting to identify this woman further as "María Ventura," who was wed to an Indian named Estanislao. This family lived at Tejon, but would stay with Juan Estevan Pico in Ventura in the 1880s (Harrington n.d.b). It perhaps adds strength to this suggested identification to note that Pico's family was listed immediately beneath that of Santiago *Kuhi'i* in the 1852 census, and that he and María [Ventura?] de la Cruz were the same age and would have grown up together as neighbors.

### *Sumo*

A total of 38 people from *Sumo* have been identified in the registers of the various missions. The largest number of these (eighteen) were listed from *Sumo* in the San Buenaventura baptismal register. An

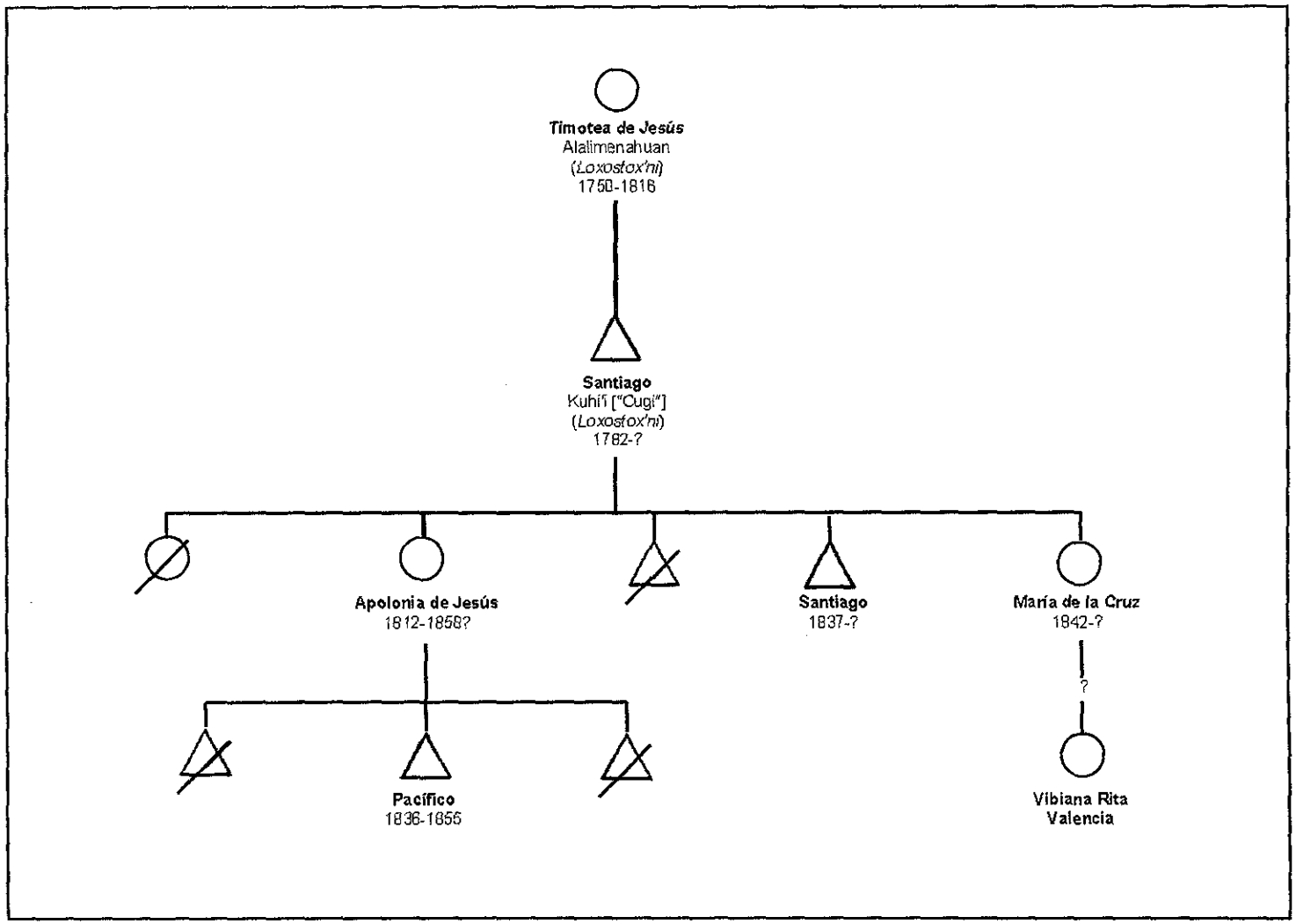


**Figure 11.14** *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 3: Descendants of Timotea de Jesús Alalimenahuan

additional individual from *Sumo*, Guillermo María, who was married at San Fernando, was said to be from San Buenaventura, and he has been included in the data base for completeness sake, despite the fact that he has not been identified in the baptismal register of either mission. At least sixteen people who were entered in the baptismal register at San Fernando have been traced with some confidence to *Sumo*. Two more went to Mission Santa Bárbara. One woman from *Sumo*, María Guadalupe Alsilmelelene, died at Mission San Buenaventura but was said to have been a neophyte at San Gabriel.

A total of ten children born to a parent or parents from *Sumo* were listed from other Chumash towns. Only one of these (a child from *Mishopshno*) was not from one of the towns selected for special study in this chapter. The other nine were distributed as follows: *Humaliwo* 1, *Loxostox'ni* 1, *Lisiqishi* 2, *S'apwi* 1, *Sumuawawa* 1, *Hipuk* 1, *Ta'lopop* 1, and El Escorpión 1. Eleven children born at the mission had parents from *Sumo* (Table 11.1). There were 23 children whose grandparents came from *Sumo*. Ten were identified in the third generation descended from *Sumo* ancestors and one in the fourth generation. In addition to the single diagram of descendants from a *Sumo* man presented in this section (Figure 11.15), people from *Sumo* also appear in a number of other charts: Figures 11.8, 11.13, 11.21, and 11.24-11.27. However, only in the case of *Sumo* Lineage 1 is there a strong likelihood that descendants from *Sumo* have survived to the present day.

## Traceable Descendants from *Sumo*

### *Sumo* Lineage 1: Descendants of Aniceto de Jesús Acslahuit

As was mentioned in the *Loxostox'ni* section, *Sumo* Lineage 1 (Figure 11.15) also contains descendants of a *Loxostox'ni* ancestor and might just as well have been considered with other lineages from that town. Aniceto de Jesús Acslahuit from *Sumo* and his former wife, Juana de Valois Alutimehue from *Loxostox'ni*, are at the apex of this lineage. They were baptized independently from one another at Mission San Buenaventura and had separated by the time they came there. Aniceto de Jesús Acslahuit was the half brother by a deceased father of José Bernardo Ytumuchu of *Hipuk* (see Figure 11.26). Aniceto de Jesús married Afra María Atsilieulelene of *Sumuawawa* after he went to Mission San Buenaventura (see Figure 11.25).

Ferrucio Munetsh or Saputiyaze, the son of Aniceto de Jesús Acslahuit and Juana de Valois Alutimehue, was listed as a native of *Ta'lopop* when he was baptized at Mission San Fernando in 1803. Shortly thereafter he transferred to San Buenaventura where he later married Romana Chuastipiehue of *S'omis*. In San Buenaventura's registers, Ferrucio's birthplace was listed as *Loxostox'ni*, his mother's town. He had five children born at the mission between 1811 and 1822. Only two of these are known to have married: Domingo de Jesús [Guzmán] and Evarista.

Simplicio Pico, who was extensively interviewed by J. P. Harrington, was the son of Ferrucio's daughter, Evarista. Simplicio Pico's baptismal record states that his father was Simplicio, Evarista's husband, but it was commonly believed that his biological father was Vicente Pico, who was father also of Juan Estevan Pico (Harrington n.d.b). Simplicio's *padrino* (godfather) was Domingo de Jesús, his maternal uncle.

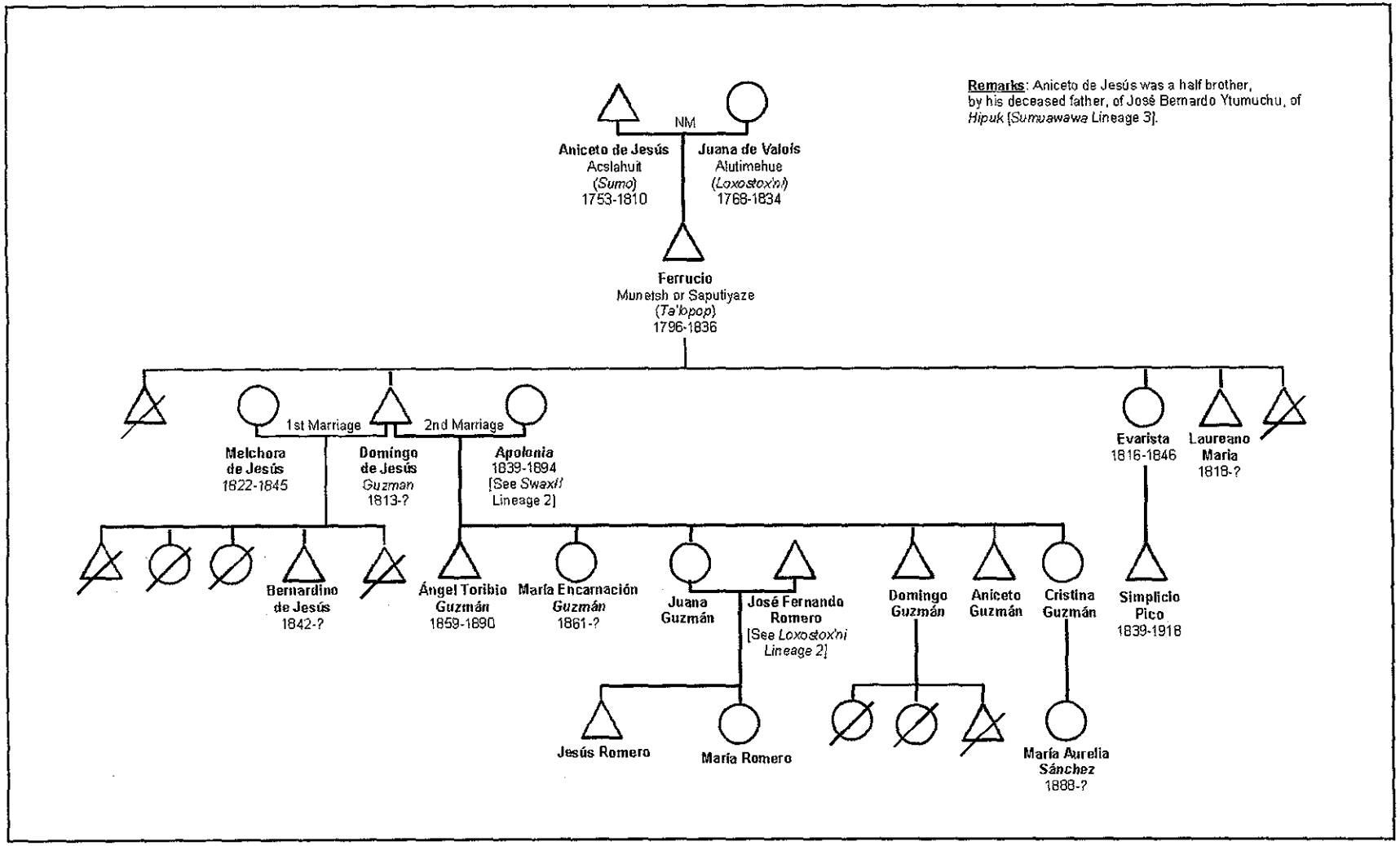


**Figure 11.15** *Sumo* Lineage 1: Descendants of Aniceto de Jesús Acslahuit

Evarista died in 1846. Simplicio told Harrington that he was raised by Dr. Manuel Poli, a Spanish physician, who purchased the Rancho Ex-Mission San Buenaventura from Arnaz (Harrington n.d.b; Drapeau 1965). He also mentioned that his grandmother cared for him during part of his childhood (Harrington n.d.b). This was apparently his paternal grandmother, María Carmela Alicsamenahuan from *Sumuawawa*, in whose household he was listed in the 1852 census.

Simplicio Pico spent a number of years working in Monterey County before returning to Ventura where he married Petra, a well known basketmaker, in 1875. After Petra's death in 1902, Simplicio lost possession of their home on Spruce Street. When Harrington was first making inquiries about possible Chumash consultants in 1913, he was told that Simplicio alternated his living quarters between a cigar store owned by a Mr. Figueroa on Main Street and the home of Antonio Ayala near El Rio. Pico died on February 12, 1918 (Blackburn 1975:20; Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 581; Johnson 1994:60-62).

Simplicio Pico's uncle, Domingo de Jesús Guzmán, was married twice. His second wife was Apolonia (see *Swaxil* Lineage 2 in Chapter 10). Baptismal records for some of their children have been located in both the registers of Mission San Buenaventura and the Plaza Church of Los Angeles. The family apparently moved around a lot, and records for several of their known children have not been found. According to Simplicio Pico, Domingo de Jesús Guzmán "died up north somewhere" (Harrington n.d.b).

At least three children of Domingo de Jesús and Apolonia Guzmán married and had families of their own. Their daughter Juana married José Fernando Romero, son of José Peregrino (*Winai*) and Susana Romero (see *Xaxas* Lineage 1 and *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2 in Chapter 10). José Fernando's and Juana's son, Jesús Romero, never married, and their daughter, María Romero, moved to the San Joaquin Valley. Her Romero cousins, who still reside in Ventura County, do not know of her subsequent history.

Domingo Guzmán (Jr.) married Carlota Aguayo. Only three of their children were identified in the baptismal register at San Buenaventura, and all died young. However, it seems more children were born to them, because Simplicio Pico told Harrington that Domingo was living at San Cayetano and had a large family there (Harrington n.d.b). Further research will be necessary to determine if descendants of this family may be located.

Cristina Guzmán married Francisco Sánchez. Simplicio Pico said he thought that they might be living in San Diego at the time he was interviewed by Harrington. At least one of their children was baptized at the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in Santa Barbara, and a daughter of this woman was living in Fresno in the early 1970s, according to correspondence in the Rosario Curletti Papers at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Efforts to contact this family during the course of this project were unsuccessful.

### Humaliwo (Humaliu)

*Humaliwo* is the only coastal Chumash town in the Santa Monica Mountains that had more people baptized at Mission San Fernando (86) than at San Buenaventura (28). Two men from *Humaliwo* were baptized at Santa Barbara and one at San Gabriel. Besides those people for whom baptismal numbers

were located, one woman from *Humaliwo*, Mariana, was married at San Fernando yet could not be identified in baptismal records. We have added her as an additional individual from *Humaliwo* in the data base.

Besides those people specifically recorded from "Humaliu," "Umalibo," and "Jumaliguo" in mission registers, there is some reason to suspect that a group of four adults listed from "Ongobepet" at Mission San Fernando may actually have been from *Humaliwo*. One of these, Eduardo Jutchu, transferred to San Buenaventura and was listed from *Humaliwo* in the registers of that mission (see *Humaliwo* Lineage 1). A married couple from Ongobepet, Lucio Tupinauyt and Lucía, were parents of a *Humaliwo* child. The remaining Ongobepet individual, Martina, also had a daughter from *Humaliwo*. All these close links between Ongobepet and *Humaliwo* appear to make this a straightforward case for four people being baptized under the Gabrielino/Tongva name for their Chumash town, but some uncertainty remains because of Ongobepet's similarity with another native placename.[26] Because the origin of these four individuals is subject to differing interpretations, we have left them under their Ongobepet designation in the data base, while bearing in mind that they may actually be from *Humaliwo*.

No less than thirteen children baptized from other native towns had parents who have been identified from *Humaliwo*. Two of these seem to have come from Gabrielino/Tongva towns: one child from Ajahata (a name that only occurs once in the San Fernando registers) and one baptized at San Gabriel from *Yangna* (Los Angeles). The remainder are from Chumash towns (or in the case of El Escorpión, partly Chumash), all but one from the Santa Monica Mountains: *Sumo* 3, *Loxostox'ni* 2, *S'apwɨ* 3, *Ta'lopop* 2, and El Escorpión 1.

There were 127 children born at the mission who had parents from *Humaliwo* (Table 11.1). If descendants born at the mission to Ongobepet parents are added, then the total would be increased by 3 to 130. Seventy-seven children had grandparents who came from *Humaliwo*. The third and fourth generations recorded in the mission records data base as descendants from *Humaliwo* ancestors numbered 38 and 23, respectively. However, as the discussion of individual lineages will demonstrate, a number of descendants were identified in records which were not incorporated into the data base, so these figures must be viewed with caution. In addition to the diagrams presented in Figures 11.16-11.20, people from *Humaliwo* also appear in Figures 11.2, 11.12, 11.13, 11.21, 11.25, and 11.31-11.33.

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[26] King (1993:35) has suggested instead that Ongobepet might refer to a Gabrielino/Tongva town at Redondo Beach, because J. P. Harrington recorded the name *Ongoovanga* for that location. Most likely the two places are different but have the same linguistic derivation, coming from *ongoova* 'salt' (McCawley 1996: 63).

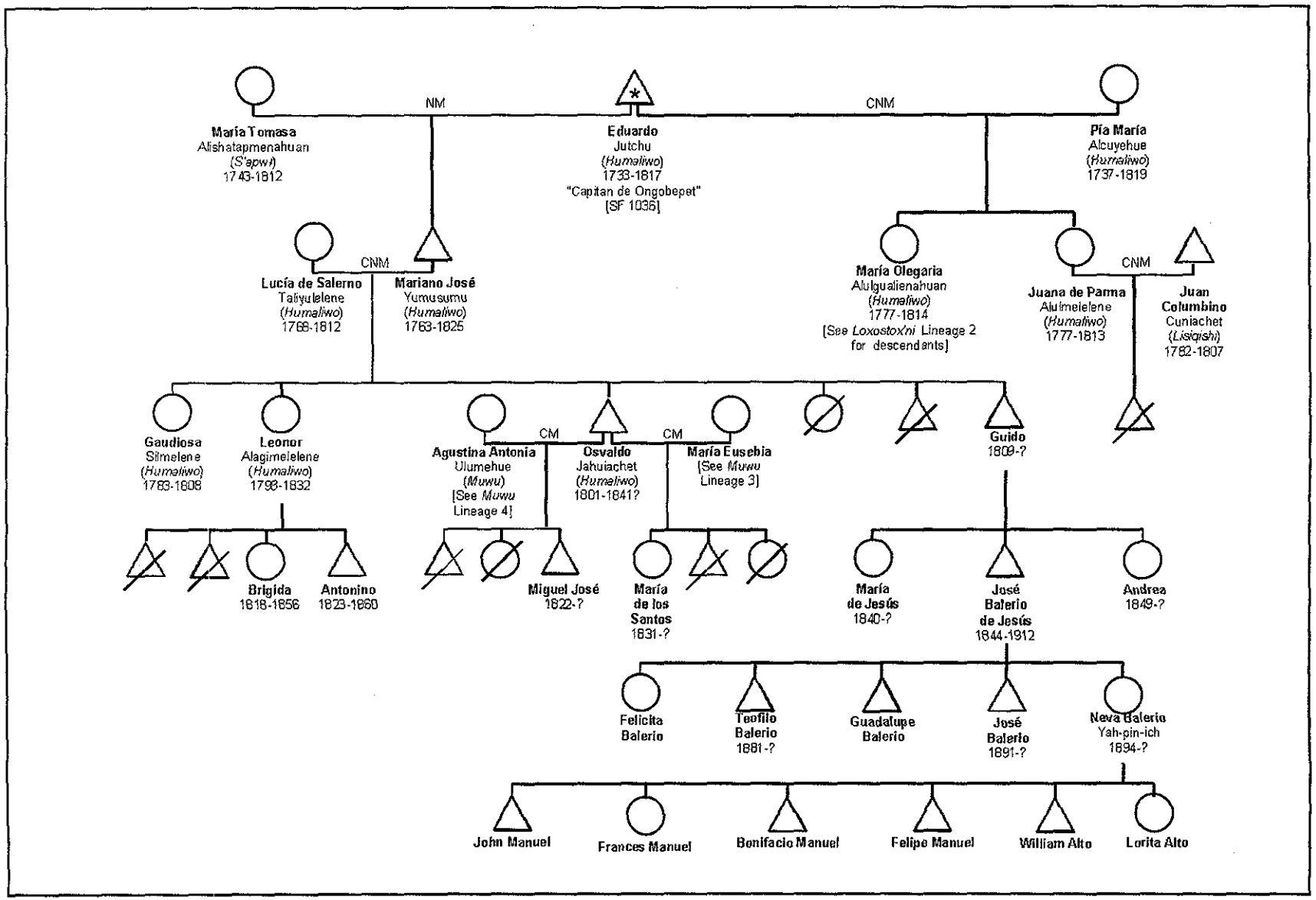



**Figure 11.16** *Humaliwo* Lineage 1: Descendants of Eduardo Jutchu (See also *S'apwi* Lineage 1)

## Traceable Descendants from *Humaliwo*

### *Humaliwo* Lineage 1: Descendants of Eduardo Jutchu

As was mentioned above, Eduardo Jutchu was baptized at Mission San Fernando as the capitán of Ongobepet, yet after he transferred to San Buenaventura, his origin was listed as *Humaliwo* (Figure 11.16). At one time or another, Eduardo Jutchu fathered children of three different women: (1) María Tomasa *Alishatapmenahuan* of *S'apwɨ*; (2) Geminiana Alistiyeulelene; and (3) Pía María Alcuyehue, whom he married at San Buenaventura. Because multiple wives are known to have been the prerogative of political leaders, Eduardo Jutchu would appear to be an example of this practice (cf., Edberg 1982:4-37). However, an examination of the birth dates of his various children reveals that he seems to have been married sequentially rather than concurrently to these different women.

Besides Figure 11.16 discussed here, Eduardo Jutchu's descendants appear on two other Santa Monica Mountains diagrams: Figures 11.13 (*Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2) and Figure 11.21 (*S'apwɨ* Lineage 1). His descendants through his daughter, María Olegaria Alulgualienahuan, have been previously described under the discussion of *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 2. They include the many descendants of Juana de la Cruz Villaescuesa and her uncle, José Peregrino Romero, who live in Ventura County today.

Our discussion here centers on Eduardo Jutchu's son, Mariano José Yumusumu, who was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in October 1803 (Figure 11.16). Two of his children from *Humaliwo*, Leonor Alagimelelene and Osvaldo Jahuiachet, had been baptized the preceding February at Mission San Fernando but then joined their parents at San Buenaventura. Leonor and Osvaldo each were married twice and had large families, but no known descendants have been traced from them.

Mariano José Yumusumu's youngest son, Guido, was born in 1809. He was married in 1836 to María de Jesús Yahapunaju, a young Bankalachi [Tubatulabal] woman recently baptized at San Buenaventura. María de Jesús was the sister of Francisca Antonia [Inocente] (see *Muwu* Lineage 6). It is interesting to note that the deceased father of María de Jesús Yahapunaju was an unbaptized Indian named Oguotono. This is almost certainly the same man, *Owotono*, said to be a Paleuyami Yokuts chief, whose name was to appear nearly a century later in a genealogy collected by Anna Gayton during her ethnological fieldwork among the Yokuts (Gayton 1948:46).

Guido and María de Jesús had three children born at Mission San Buenaventura between 1840 and 1849, but only one of these, "Wallerio" [José Balerio de Jesús] was identified in the 1852 census. Sometime thereafter Balerio moved to the Tejon reservation with his parents. He was married at Tejon to Teresa, apparently a cousin of Harrington's Kitanemuk consultant, Eugenia Méndez. Later he moved to Tule River Reservation and was briefly interviewed there by Alfred Kroeber in 1903 (Kroeber 1903). Balerio's youngest daughter, Neva, was married twice to Yokuts men. A number of her descendants are members of the Tule River Reservation today but are largely unaware that they are partly of Chumash ancestry.

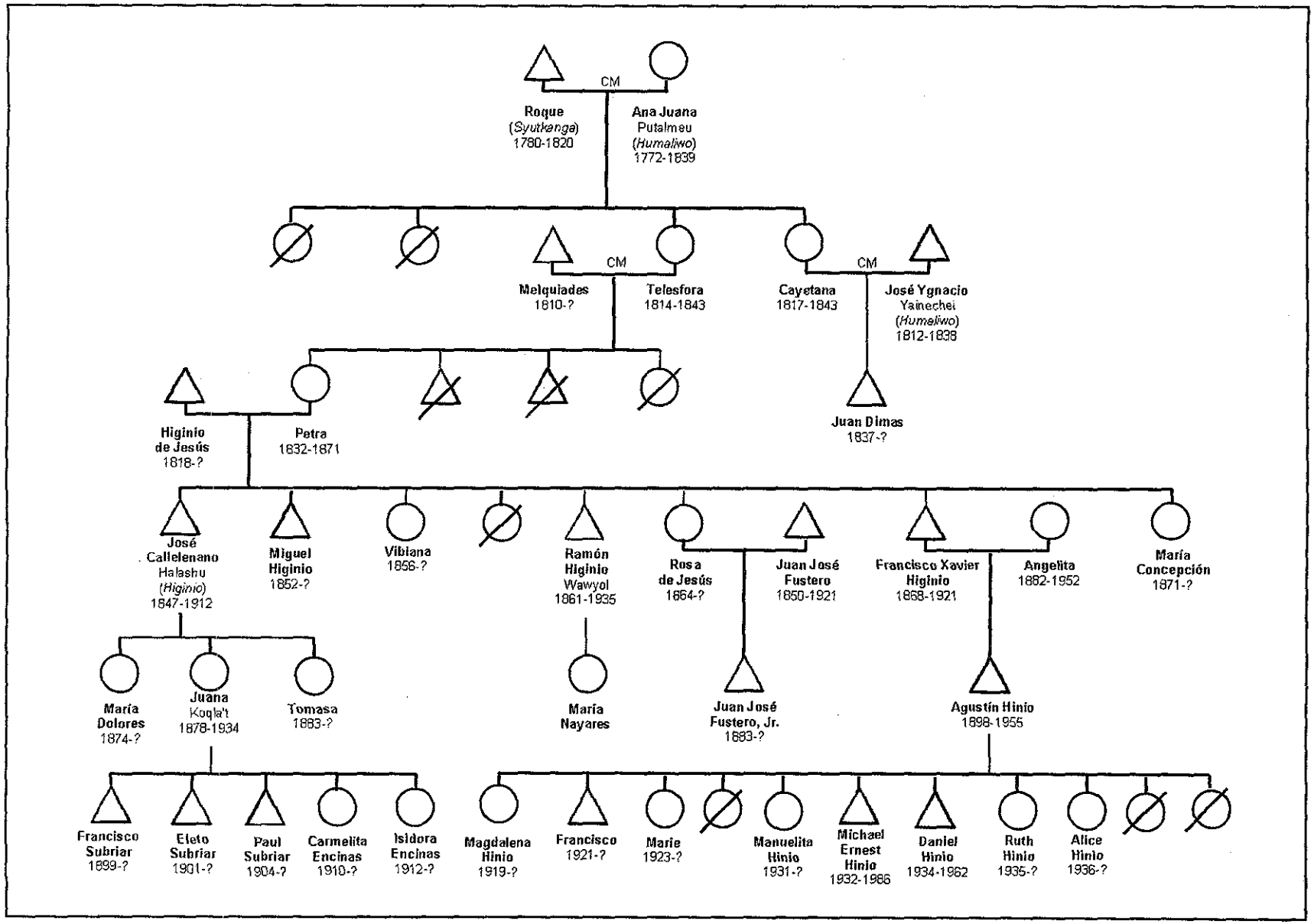



**Figure 11.17** *Humaliwo* Lineage 2: Descendants of Ana Juana Putalmeu

### *Humaliwo* Lineage 2: Descendants of Ana Juana Putalmeu

Ana Juana Putalmeu was baptized at Mission San Fernando in February 1805 (Figure 11.17). The following year she married Roque, a widower, from *Syutkanga* (Encino). She had four children from this marriage between 1808 and 1817. After Roque's death in 1820, Ana Juana Putalmeu married Lucio Tupinauyt from Ongobepet (see above for a discussion of the close connections and possible equivalence of Ongobepet and *Humaliwo*).

Two of Ana Juana's daughters married at San Fernando. Her youngest daughter,.Cayetana, married a man from *Humaliwo*, but there is no further record of what became of their young son, Juan Dimas, who was orphaned at age six. The older of the two daughters to be married was Telesfora, who wed in 1828. Her daughter, Petra, married Higinio de Jesús, a Chumash man whose parents came from *Shuxwiyuxush*. Higinio and Petra settled at the Rancho Camulos where they raised a large family. Three of their sons (the "Higinio" or "Hinio" brothers) later moved to the Tejon Indian community.

Rosa de Jesús married Juan José Fustero, a man of Kitanemuk and Tataviam ancestry who lived in Piru Canyon (Johnson and Earle 1990). Only one of her children, Juan José ("Juanito") Fustero, Jr., was found listed in the San Buenaventura baptismal register, but it is known that there were several others (Smith 1969). Juanito Fustero later moved to the Santa Ynez Valley where he was employed by the Buell family. He became a close friend of some of the Chumash families on the Santa Ynez Reservation. His two sisters also moved to the valley and lived in the Lompoc area. None of these Fusteros married or had families, so far as is known (Glenn Buell, personal communication). The three Higinio brothers who moved to Tejon Ranch where they worked as vaqueros were José, Ramón, and Francisco ("Frank"). Harrington recorded their Indian names as *Halashu*, *Wawyol*, and *Chumchu'ma't* respectively (Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 580). The latter two Higinios were known to J. P. Harrington when he conducted ethnographic and linguistic research at the Tejon Indian community. Harrington also interviewed José Higinio's daughter Juana Encinas, who was married to a vaquero at the Tejon Ranch (Plate XLVI). The mother of Juana Encinas was a Tubatulabal Indian woman, Ana. Ana was a sister of Estevan Miranda, who later served as an ethnographic and linguistic consultant to Harrington and the Voegelins (C. Voegelin 1935; E. Voegelin 1938). Ana and Estevan had both been raised by a Chumash stepfather at the Indian settlement at the bottom of Grapevine Canyon and later at Las Tunas on the Tejon reservation. Juana Encinas has a large number of descendants who today reside in the Bakersfield area (Johnson n.d.b).

Frank Higinio married Angelita Montes, the daughter of Magdalena Olivas, a Kitanemuk woman. Angelita's stepfather was José Juan Olivas, a Ventureño man who had been born at Saticoy (see *S'apwi* Lineage 3 and El Escorpión Lineage 3). Frank and Angelita Higinio had one son, Agustín (whose surname was shortened to Hinio), before they divorced. Angelita then married Ignacio Montes. Harrington published a photograph of the young Agustín Hinio in one of his reports on his California Indian fieldwork. He captioned the photograph as "Ventureño Man" (Harrington 1920:74, Figure 73).

Agustín Hinio was a lifelong resident of the Tejon Indian community. He worked as a vaquero on the ranch, as had his father and grandparents before him. He married several times. His first wife was

**Plate XLVI.** Juana (*Koqla't*) Encinas, 1916 *(Humailwo* Lineage 2).
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-33555*

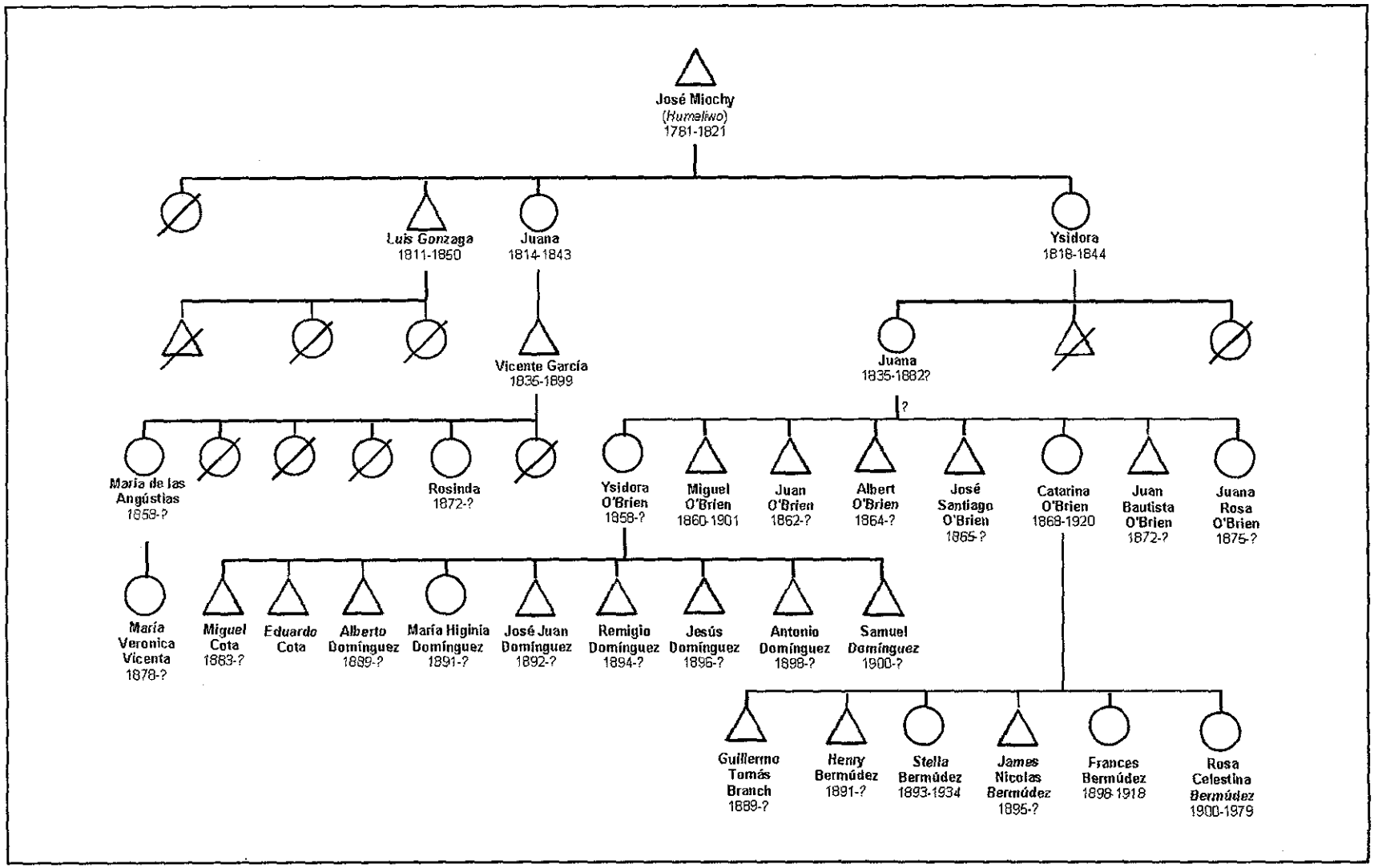



**Figure 11.18** *Humaliwo* Lineage 3: Descendants of José Miochy

Margaret ("Cuca") Yuca, who was of San Fernando Indian ancestry. He had one daughter named Magdalena from this marriage. Agustín Hinio next married Isabelita, his cousin through his mother's half-sister (Johnson n.d.b). A number of descendants of Agustín Hinio live in Kern and Los Angeles Counties today.

### *Humaliwo* Lineage 3: Descendants of José Miochy

One lineage of *Humaliwo* descendants to survive past the mid-nineteenth century was associated with the Barbareño Chumash community at La Cieneguita. These families were descended from José Miochy, who was baptized at Mission Santa Bárbara in July 1801 from "*Jumaliguo, del otro lado de San Buenaventura*" (Figure 11.18). It was stated in the register that he had already been given a provisional baptism in May 1800 by José Yujimuut, a Santa Bárbara Mission neophyte from *Syuxtun*. At the mission, José Miochy married María Celia from *Shalawa* (Montecito). He died in 1821.

José Miochy had three children who became part of the Chumash community at La Cieneguita: Luís Gonzaga, Juana, and Ysidora. The biography of Juana's son, Vicente García, is well known, both from Harrington's interviews with Chumash consultants and from historical records (Johnson 1994:55-59). He married María Tomasa, the daughter of María Ygnacia and the Indian alcalde Macario, and settled at La Cieneguita. Vicente García was the source of the first Barbareño Chumash vocabulary to be published (Gatschet 1879). In 1875 he was evicted by Thomas Hope, the Indian agent originally appointed to look after Indian affairs at Cieneguita. Hope eventually induced many of the Indian residents to sell their property to him (Schaaf 1981).

By 1880 Vicente García had moved to Ventura where he was tabulated as a boarder in the household of Juliana Salazar and her son, José Peregrino Romero and his family. García soon moved in with Donaciana (see *Muwu* Lineage 5). On the morning of September 19, 1881, Vicente García was arrested as the prime suspect in the murder of the Indian Estanislao (see *Lisiqishi* Lineage 4). He was tried and convicted for this crime, although evidence that later surfaced suggested that he was probably innocent. A number of appeals to the Governor to grant him a pardon were unsuccessful, and García died in San Quentin Prison in 1899 (Ellis 1994; Johnson 1994).

Although Vicente and Tomasa García had many children when they lived in Santa Barbara, only one of these, María de las Angustias, was known to reach adulthood. Juan Capistrano, another Chumash resident of La Cieneguita, and María de las Angustias García had a daughter born in 1878. Further research will be needed to determine the fate of mother and daughter. It is known that Juan Capistrano was later killed when he worked as a vaquero at Tejon (Harrington n.d.b).

Another lineage of José Miochy's descendants may possibly exist through his daughter Ysidora. No burial record was discovered for one of Ysidora's daughters, Juana, who was born in 1835. There is some intriguing circumstantial evidence to indicate that this Juana may be a woman by that name who had a large family through a common-law marriage with an Irishman named John ("Juan") O'Brien. The 1852 California State Census lists an Indian girl named Juana, apparently working as a servant in the household of Henry Carnes, the District Judge in Santa Barbara. A few households away was the family

**Plate XLVII.** Ysidora O'Brien Domínguez on right (*Humaliwo* Lineage 3?), with her husband, Manuel Domínguez, and daughter, María, about 1918.
*Courtesy of Diane Napoleone.*

of Albert Packard, an attorney. Packard later served as a godfather for one of the children born to a woman named Juana O'Brien..

Juana and John O'Brien's eldest daughter, born about 1858, was Ysidora (Plate XLVII). As children were often named for grandparents or other relatives, this name again provides some circumstantial evidence that Juana, the daughter of Ysidora, may have been the Indian woman who set up housekeeping with John O'Brien. Unfortunately this couple was never married by the Church, so direct documentary evidence regarding the names of Juana O'Brien's Indian parents is absent. Simplicio Pico told Harrington that the mother of the O'Brien children was a full-blooded Indian woman. Unfortunately Harrington did not record whether or not she was Chumash (Harrington n.d.b).

Several of Juana O'Brien's children and grandchildren had Chumash connections as well, which also hints at their suspected Chumash ancestry. Ysidora O'Brien married Manuel Domínguez, an Indian born at the Sanja Cota Chumash community, later to become the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation. Their second daughter, Catarina O'Brien, had a daughter by Urbano López from Santa Ynez, the son of a Purisimeño Chumash mother. Guillermo (William) Branch, a grandson of Juana O'Brien, married Ana Mandínez, the niece of Juan Justo, one of Harrington's Barbareño Chumash consultants. The descendants of William and Ana Branch still retain title to an Indian land allotment on Refugio Pass, given to Ana Branch's grandmother, Cecilia Justo.

Many descendants of Juana O'Brien may be traced through Catarina O'Brien's marriage to Francisco Bermúdez. Other descendants undoubtedly exist through Ysidora O'Brien's marriage with Manuel Domínguez, although they have not been identified during the course of this study. When Manuel Domínguez died in 1964 at 100 years of age, his obituary in the *Santa Barbara News-Press* stated that he was survived by one son and two granddaughters, one who lived in Tokyo and one in Manila.

### *Humaliwo* Lineage 4: Descendants of Pascual Jayyachet and Pascuala

Pascual Jayyachet and his wife, Pascuala, were baptized at Mission San Fernando in 1805 (Figure 11.19). Their only known son Norverto was born at the mission in 1807 and married Francisca, the half sister of Urbano Chari, a co-grantee of Rancho El Escorpión. Norverto and Francisca had a large family. Francisca and three of her children are listed in the 1850 census among Indians living at El Escorpión.

Norverto's and Francisca's son Carlos was listed in the both the 1850 and 1860 census records among Indian families at El Escorpión, along with his wife, Petra, who was of mixed and Kitanemuk/ Serrano ancestry. Three children are listed with Carlos and Petra in the 1860 census. Further research will be necessary in the Los Angeles Plaza Church registers and later census records to trace this family further.

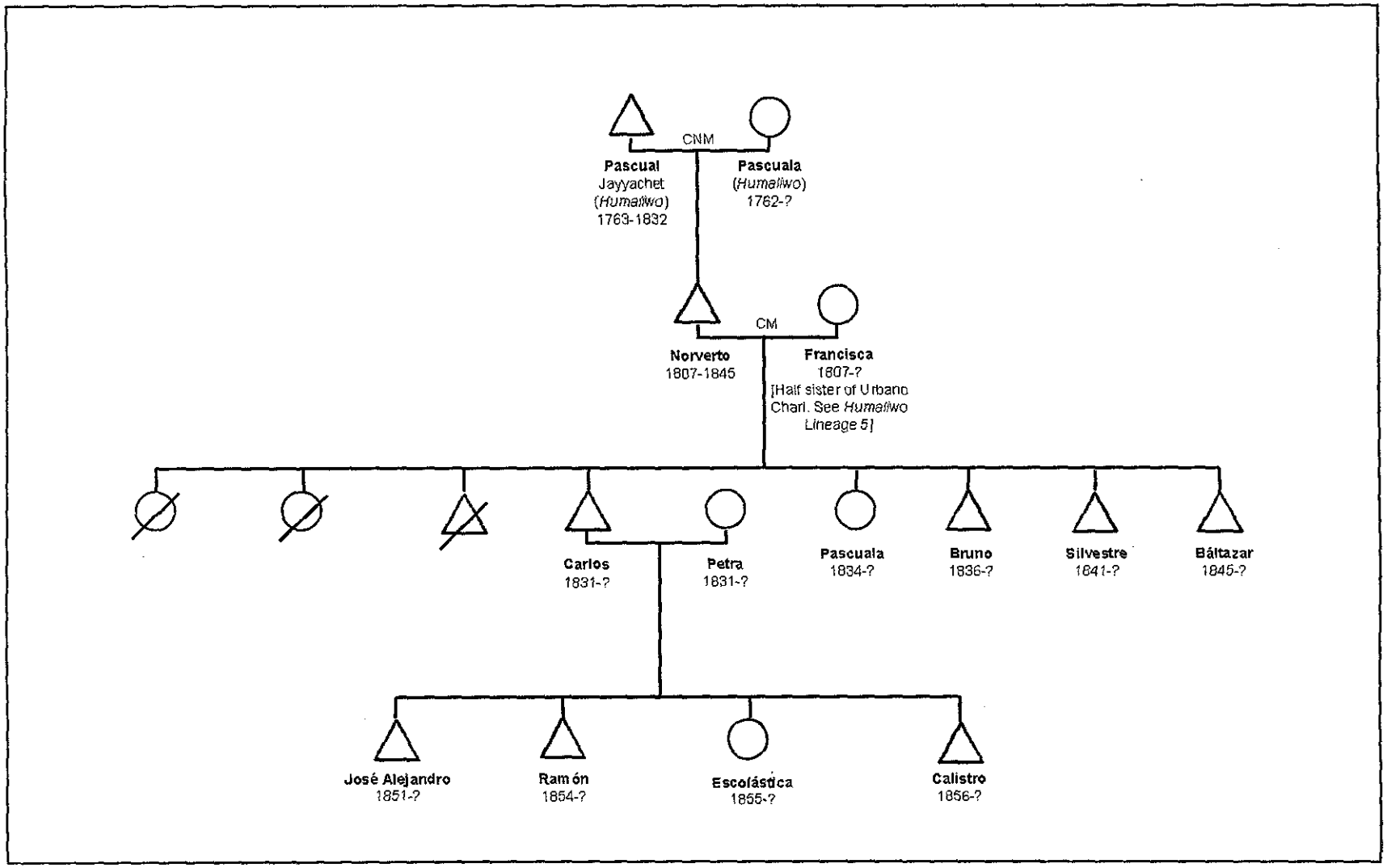



**Figure 11.19** *Humaliwo* Lineage 4: Descendants of Pascual Jayyachet and Pascuala

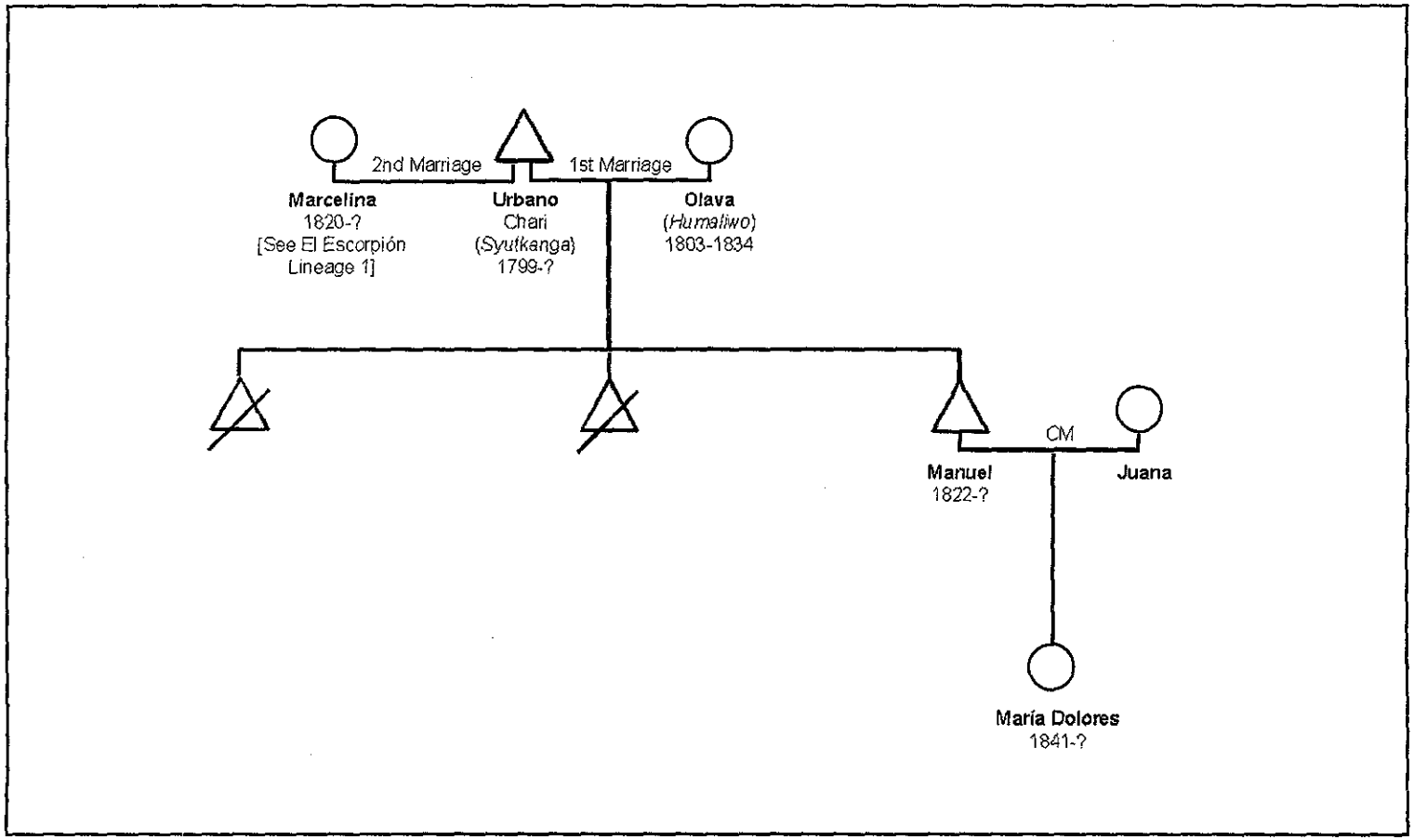



**Figure 11.20** *Humaliwo* Lineage 5: Descendants of Olava

### *Humaliwo* Lineage 5: Descendants of Olava

Olava, another woman from *Humaliwo,* was related to the family discussed in *Humaliwo* Lineage 4 through her marriage to Urbano Chari, who was co-grantee of El Escorpión (Figure 11.20). In fact, their son, Manuel, appears to have been a third co-grantee with his father and Odón Chijuya. Their title was received from Governor Pío Pico in 1845; however, a different, older, Manuel seems to be listed in the 1850 Census as living at El Escorpión. Manuel's wife was an Indian woman named Juana, whom he married in 1840. In 1841 this couple had a daughter born named María Dolores. It is tempting to identify her as a woman named "Lola" who later married Odón Chijuya's son, Bernabé, and after his death remarried Sétimo López (see El Escorpión Lineage 1). Further research will be necessary using the Los Angeles Plaza Church records to determine this family's subsequent history.

## INLAND TOWNS

### *S'apwɨ* (Sapue)

All of the 62 people baptized from *S'apwɨ* went to Mission San Buenaventura. Fourteen children of *S'apwɨ* parents were tabulated from other Chumash towns: *Humaliwo* 4, *Lisiqishi* 3, *Muwu* 1, *Sumuawawa* 4, *Hipuk* 1, and *S'eqpe* 1. There were 58 children born at the mission who had parents from *S'apwɨ* (Table 11.1). Forty six children had grandparents who came from *S'apwɨ*. The third, and fourth generations who descended from *S'apwɨ* ancestors numbered 25 and 4, respectively. In addition to the diagrams of descendants presented in this section (Figure 11.21-11.24), people from *S'apwɨ* also appear in Figures 11.5, 11.16, 11.25, and 11.26. Figure 11.16, discussed as "*Humaliwo* Lineage 1" is of particular interest because descendants probably exist today who may be traced in that lineage from a *S'apwɨ* ancestor.

### Traceable Descendants from *S'apwɨ*

### *S'apwɨ* Lineage 1: Descendants of María Andrea Sapuayelelene

María Andrea Sapuayelelene was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1806 when she was 65 years old (Figure 11.21). Four of her children and grandchildren had been born at native Chumash towns in the Santa Monica Mountains. Although this lineage did not leave descendants that have been traced to the twentieth century, it remains illustrative of the intertwining marriage patterns among native towns in the Santa Monica Mountains.

María Andrea Sapuayelelene's eldest daughter, María Susana Aluluyehue from *Humaliwo,* was married to Aurelio Catche of *Hipuk,* the son of Eduardo Jutchu (see *Humaliwo* Lineage 1). Before coming to the mission, this couple had two daughters, one born at *Humaliwo* and the other born at *S'apwɨ*. María Susana Aluluyehue survived the Mission Period. She was listed in the 1852 California State Census, living with another elderly woman from the Santa Monica Mountains, Dositea de Jesús of *Loxostox'ni,* the half-sister of José Gabriel (see *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1). They were probably residing with José Gabriel Guilalahichet's family on his small grant that he shared with Juan de Jesús Tumamait.

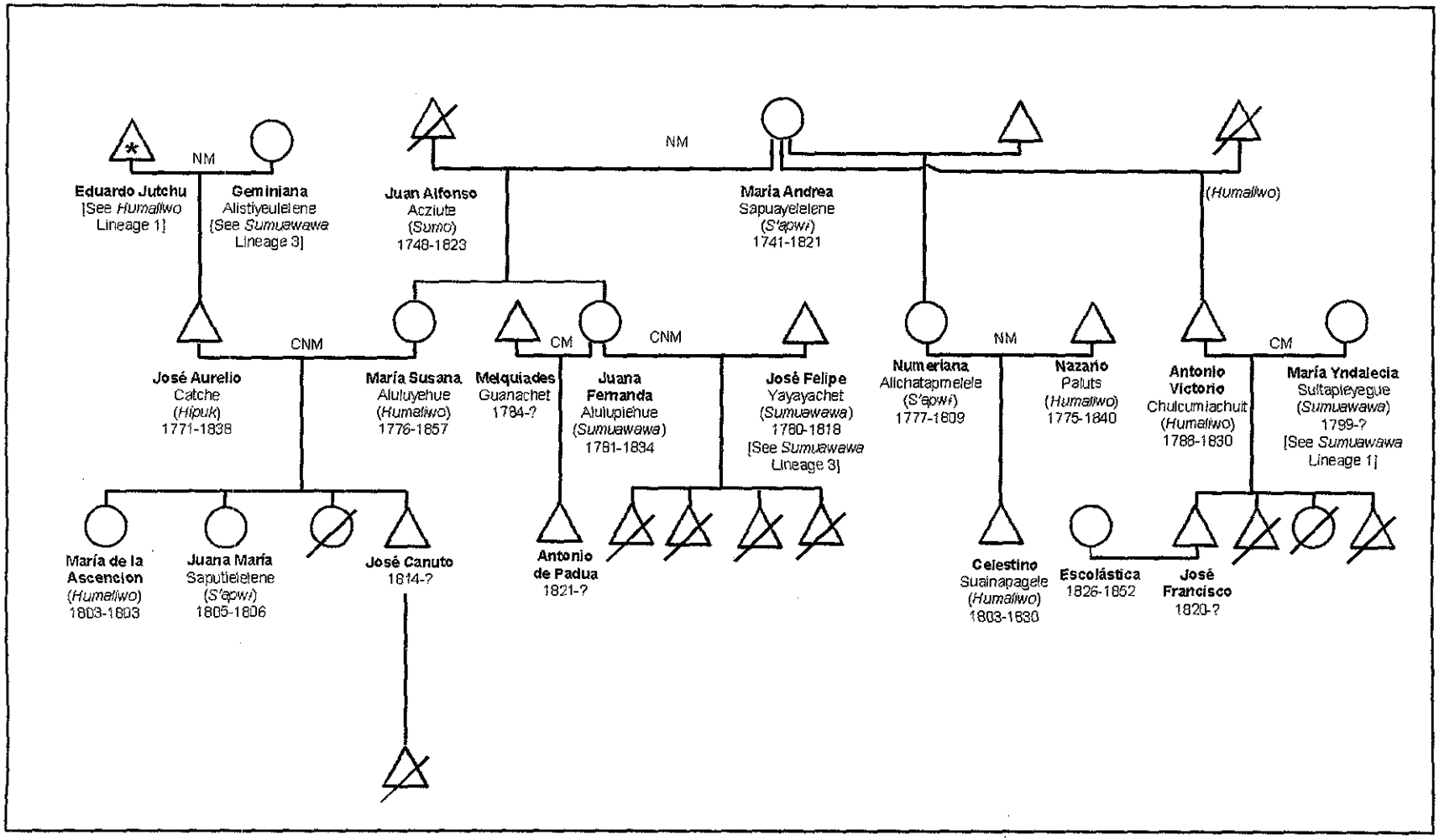



**Figure 11.21** *S'apwi* Lineage 1: Descendants of Maria Andrea Sapuayelelene

María Andrea's second daughter, Numeriana Alichatapmelele, came from a marriage with Juan Alfonso Acziute of *Sumo*. Numeriana herself had once been married at *Humaliwo* to Nazario Paluts. Their child Celestino Suainapagele never married.

María Andrea's third daughter, Juana Fernanda Alulupiehue, was said to be a native of *Sumuawawa* and was married to Felipe Yayayachet of that town (see *Sumuawawa* Lineage 3). Her son by her second marriage, Antonio de Padua, survived the Mission Period but was not identified in the 1852 California State Census.

María Andrea Sapuayelelene's youngest child was Antonio Victorio Chulcumiachuit of *Humaliwo*, who was 15 years old when he came to the mission in 1803. At that time he was married to his first wife, Gaudiosa Silmelene, who was the granddaughter of his mother's former husband, Eduardo Jutchu (see *Humaliwo* Lineage 1). Antonio Victorio Chulcumiachuit was married three times. All four of his children were from his third marriage to María Yndalecia Sultapieyegue of *Sumuawawa* (see *Sumuawawa* Lineage 1). One of their sons, José Francisco, was still living when his wife died in March 1852 but has not been identified among Indians listed in the California State Census taken later that year in the San Buenaventura Indian community.

Fernando Librado told Harrington that Candelaria Valenzuela had given one of her sons the Indian name *Shulkumyashwit* after "the old captain of *Humaliwo* of like name" (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 7, Fr. 58). "Chulcumiachuit" would have been the Spanish spelling for *Shulkumyashwit*, so Candelaria was apparently naming her son after Antonio Victorio, a man who had died before she was born. Antonio Victorio Chulcumiachuit was certainly too young to have been a chief at the time of his baptism at Mission San Buenaventura, but perhaps he was of a chiefly lineage of *Humaliwo*. His high rank may also be indicated in his early betrothal in native Chumash society to the granddaughter of the chief Eduardo Jutchu (*Humaliwo* Lineage 1).

### *S'apwɨ* Lineage 2: Descendants of Tarsila Taculuyeulelene

Tarsila Taculuyeulelene was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura in 1806 (Figure 11.22). Her daughter, Celerina María Atsiliyehue, had three children born at *S'apwɨ* between 1786 and 1798, whose father was a man named Ayahichet of *Humaliwo*. This man is further identified in the marriage record of his son José Dionisio Yahichu as Salvador, a deceased neophyte of Mission San Fernando. The Salvador referred to can only be Salvador Zalasuit, Chief of *Ta'apu*, who apparently once lived at *Humaliwo* because he had a daughter born there through another marriage (see Figure 11.33, El Escorpión Lineage 2).

José Dionisio Yahichu's son, Mariano de Jesús *Ka'yaw* became the brother-in-law of Juan de Jesús Tumamait through the latter's marriage to Mariano's half-sister. The problems in identifying Mariano *Ka'yaw's* subsequent history using mission register data have been discussed previously under *Muwu* Lineage 5.

Aureliano María Yaquinachuit, the youngest child of Celerina María Atsiliyehue, married Matrona Sactitayapehue of *Nanawani*. This couple lived at the Chumash settlement of *Kamexmey* just west of the

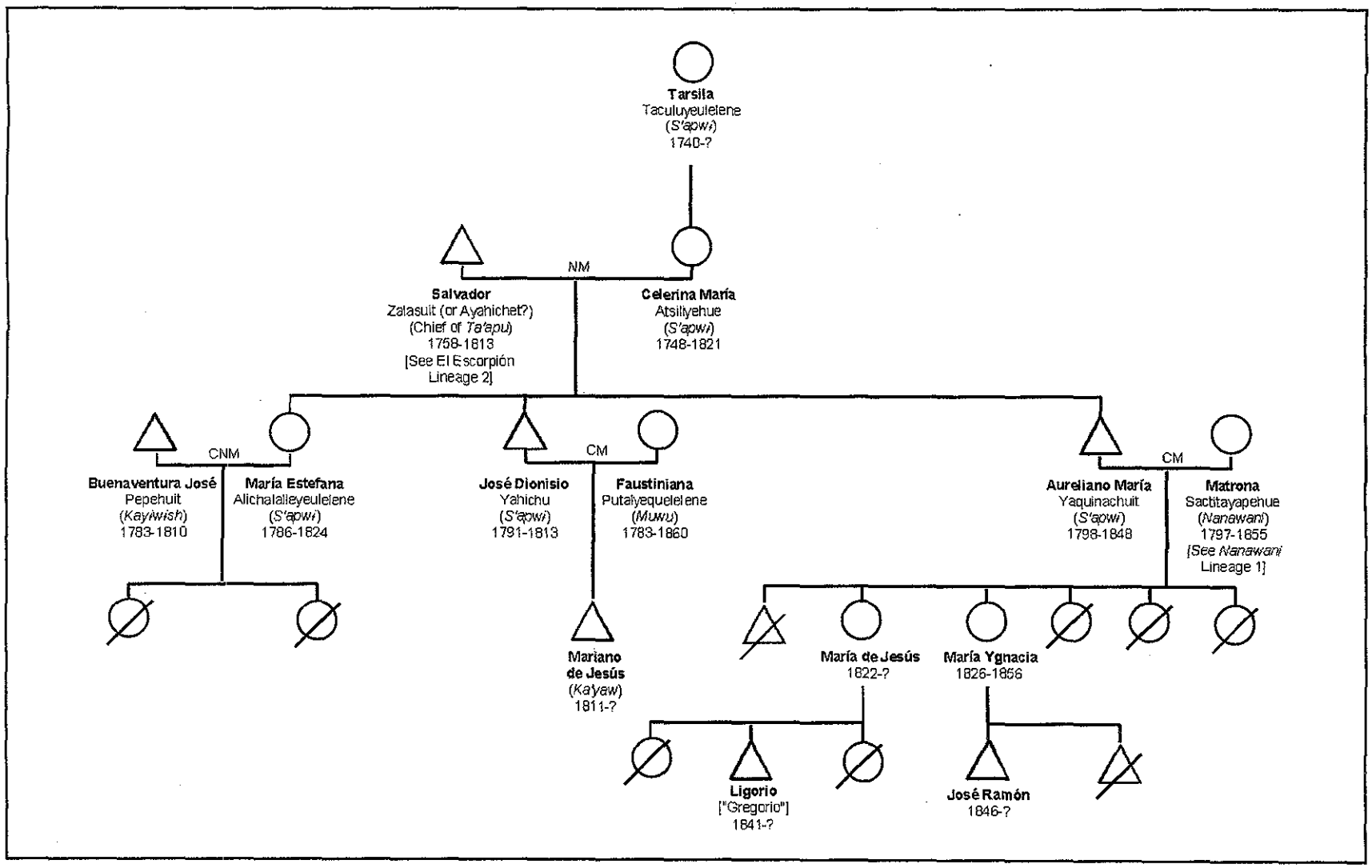



**Figure 11.22** *S'apwi* Lineage 2: Descendants of Tarsila Taculuyeulelene

Ventura River when Fernando Librado was a boy (Johnson 1991). Fernando Librado pronounced Aureliano's name as "Laberiano" and mentioned that he served as Fernando's padrino (godfather) at the time of his first confirmation (Harrington n.d.b). This fact has been verified through a check of the confirmation register at San Buenaventura.

Aureliano María Yaquinachuit may further be tentatively identified as the man called "Laberiano *Toponxele*," who worked as an adobe mason at the mission (Hudson 1979:8). He died in 1848. Both of his daughters who reached adulthood, María de Jesús and María Ygnacia, are listed in the 1852 California State Census. They have been previously discussed in Chapter 10 under the section on Traceable Descendants from *Nanawani*.

"Gregorio," the grandson of Aureliano María Yaquinachuit through his daughter María de Jesús, was originally baptized as "Ligorio" in 1839 (another example of name transformation). He grew up within the same cohort of Chumash children at San Buenaventura that included Fernando Librado, Juan Estevan Pico, and Simplicio Pico. He was listed with his mother in the 1852 census as "Gregorio." Librado reminisced that Gregorio used to sweep the plaza in front of the mission with him when they were boys (Hudson 1979:30). As the following story relates, Gregorio's subsequent history will have to be sought in records outside the Chumash region:

> There once was a boy named Gregorio who used to help the priest at Mission San Buenaventura with the mass. His Indian name was *'Amaymiwt*, which meant "one who drops out of sight from one day to another." One time he went out of mass and never returned home. About a year later, Juan de Jesús [Tumamait] saw Gregorio in Los Angeles, and Gregorio was talking English. He did not want to talk Indian anymore, although he was full-blood. Probably he is dead now [Hudson 1979:50].

### *S'apwi* Lineage 3: Descendants of Servando Quiquihichet and Related Families

"*S'apwi* Lineage 3" is actually something of a misnomer, because it consists of several related *S'apwi* lineages that were united through the marriage of Federico José Liguinahichet of *S'apwi* and Josefa Benedicta, whose grandfather was from *S'apwi* (Figure 11.23). Servando Quiquihichet was the father of Josefa Benedicta's grandfather, Alexandro Guegeli.

Alexandro Guegeli was baptized as in the early years of Mission San Buenaventura's existence when he was fourteen years old. He was married twice, first to María Gertrudis of *Kanaputeqnon* in 1791 and second to Gaudiosa of *Swaxil* in 1823. His eldest daughter, María Felícitas, married Jorge Guastapiyol of *S'omis* in 1811. Although several of Alexandro's other children reached adulthood, only María Felícitas had a large family of her own. Two of María Felícitas's daughters grew up and married: Juana Crisóstoma and Josefa Benedicta.

Juana Crisóstoma married twice and had five children. Her only child known to have survived beyond the Mission Period was Maximino. Fernando Librado knew him as a boy and remembered that Maximino once tried to talk him into being tattooed (Hudson and Blackburn 1985:327). No subsequent

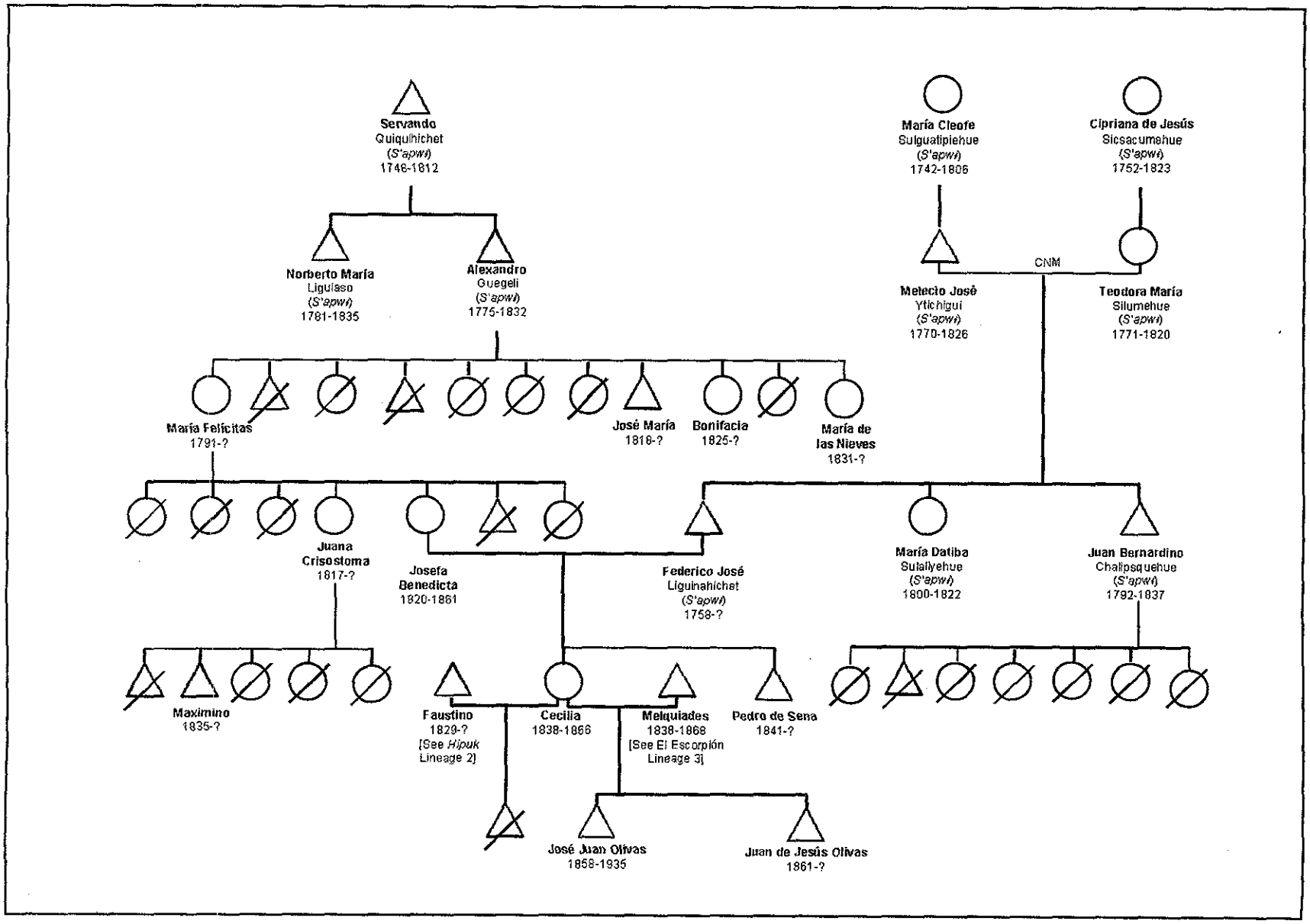



**Figure 11.23** *S'apwi* Lineage 3: Descendants of Servando Quiquihichet, María Cleofe Sulguatipiehue, and Cipriana de Jesús Sicsacumehue

records of María Felícitas, Juana Crisóstoma, or Maximino have been identified in mission register entries or in census records. This family may have moved out of the local area. María Felícitas's other surviving daughter, Josefa Benedicta, married Federico José Liguinahichet of *S'apwɨ* in 1836. They had two children, born in 1838 and 1841. Their daughter Cecilia married Faustino, an Indian from San Fernando, in 1851 (see *Hipuk* Lineage 2). That couple's only son died as an infant. Faustino and Cecilia settled in Saticoy but soon separated. Cecilia then lived with Melquiades [Olivas], the son of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria; Melquiades was the older brother of Candelaria [Valenzuela] (see Figure 11.34, El Escorpión Lineage 3).

Cecilia had two children born to Melquiades: José Juan Olivas, born in 1858, and Juan de Jesús Olivas, born in 1861. These two brothers were raised in the Saticoy Indian community. José Juan Olivas was taken to Tejon with his grandfather when he was fourteen years old and lived there virtually the rest of his life. He first lived at the small Castac Chumash settlement located at the mouth of Cañada de las Tunas. Little is known of his brother, Juan de Jesús Olivas, except that he was suffering from tuberculosis in the Ventura Hospital at the time Harrington was conducting ethnographic interviews among the Ventureño Chumash community about 1915.

José Juan Olivas eventually married Magdalena Cota, a Kitanemuk woman, and lived with her in the Tejon Canyon ranchería. There they were interviewed extensively by J. P. Harrington during his stay on the Tejon Ranch in 1916-1917. Harrington returned to gather additional ethnographic and historical information from José Juan Olivas in 1922 and 1933 (Plates XLIV and XLVIII). José Juan Olivas died January 13, 1936, and was buried in the Tejon Indian cemetery. Although he seems not to have been the biological grandparent of Magdalena's daughters' children, he was the only grandfather they knew, and at least two are living today who were partly raised by him.

### *S'apwɨ* Lineage 4: Descendants of Antonia de Jesús Alutalmenahuan

*S'apwɨ* Lineage 4 is combined in Figure 11.24 with *Sumuawawa* Lineage 1. It includes the descendants of Antonia de Jesús Alutalmenahuan of *S'apwɨ*, who was baptized in May 1809 when she was about 66 years old. Her daughter, Polirena María Aljutimehue, was the mother of two well- known Ventureño Chumash of the older generation who were remembered by Fernando Librado: José Sebastián *Naiyait* and Atenodora María Sulguatipiyehue.

José Sebastián *Naiyait* and his first wife, Fabiana María Alicsaliehue, were both listed from *Sumuawawa* when they were baptized in 1806. His entry in the baptismal register states he was a native of *S'apwɨ*, but the marginal notation and *padrón* lists *Sumuawawa* as his origin. He probably had been born in *S'apwɨ* but was residing matrilocally with his wife at *Sumuawawa*. José Sebastián's son, Domingo de Guzmán (also known as "Joaquín" in the mission records, leading to some confusion), was married in 1836 and had three infant daughters who did not survive.

José Sebastián's second wife, whom he married in 1828, was Juana Facunda Tanmehue of *Malapwan*, the maternal grandmother of Petra Abdona Ríos (see *Muwu* Lineage 3). Fernando Librado referred to

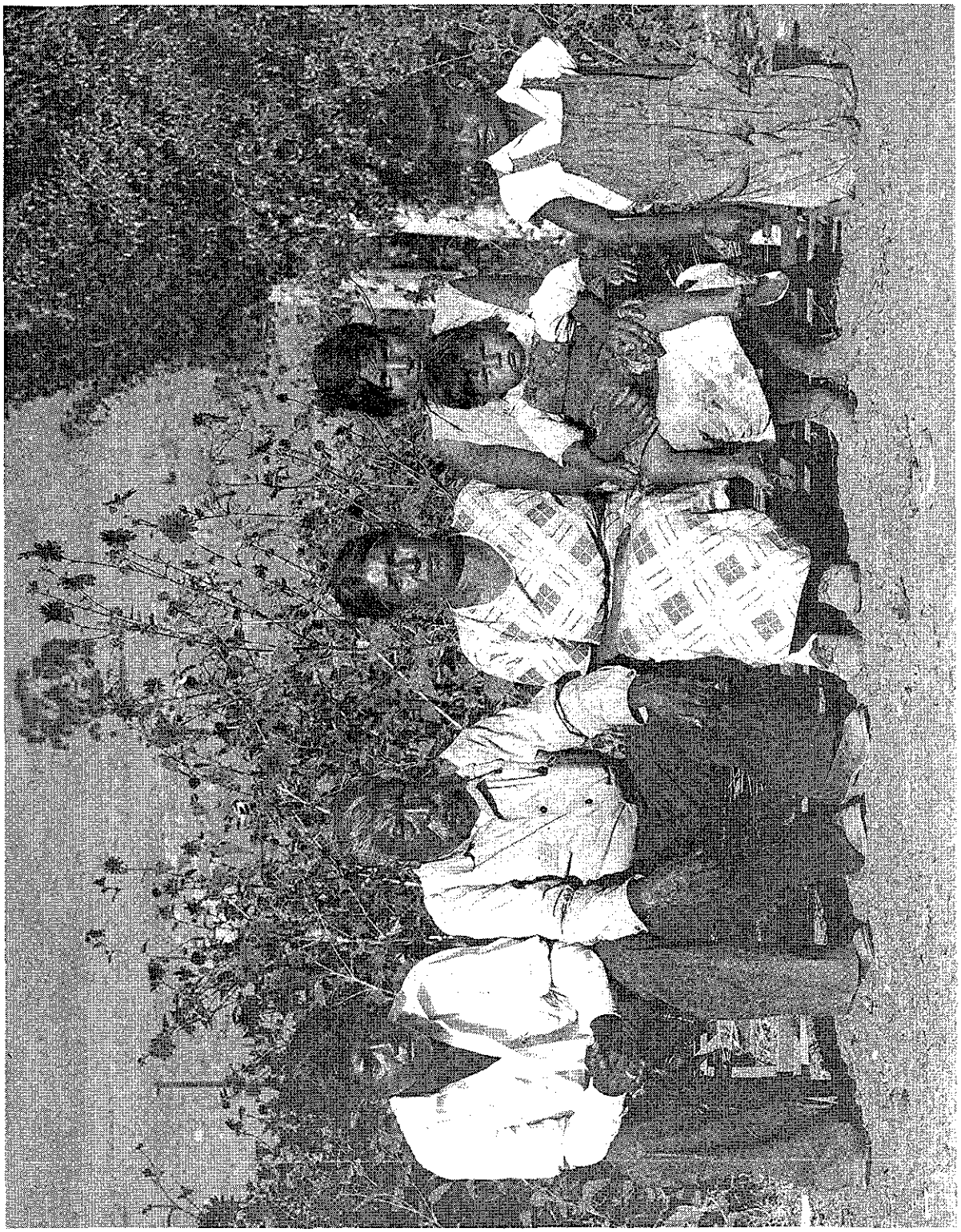


**Plate XLVIII.** José Juan Olivas (second from left) and members of his extended family at the Tejon Canyon ranchería, 1933.

*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-31448.*

José Sebastián *Naiyait* as Petra Ríos's "grandfather." José Sebastián lived in the Ríos household during his old age (Hudson 1979:37).

José Sebastián *Naiyait* was frequently mentioned in Harrington's interviews with Fernando Librado. He was a singer at various ceremonies and practiced traditional medicine (Hudson et. al 1977; Hudson 1979; Walker and Hudson 1993). Fernando Librado related a long speech that José Sebastián gave when Librado visited him in 1867 in Petra Ríos's home in Ventura. A few days later, Librado was called to José Sebastián *Naiyait*'s bedside to translate for the priest, Fr. Juan Comapla, when he administered the last sacraments. José Sebastián's last words were, "May all of you live in peace" (Hudson 1979:37-40).

José Sebastián *Naiyait*'s sister, twelve years younger than he, was Atenodora María Sulguatipiyehue. She was married to Luís Francisco Yonze (*Yinch'ɨ*) of Mupu, who was chief of the Saticoy Indians in post-Mission times. This couple had many children born at the mission, but none survived. At Saticoy they lived in an adobe house. Atenodora María had the reputation among the San Buenaventura Indians as being a sorceress. Fernando Librado related one story about how she was punished by the Indian alcaldes for a supernatural poisoning attributed to her (Hudson 1979:41-43). She died in May 1864, preceding her lifelong husband in death by only a few months. During their lifetime, this couple was one of the most influential families in Ventureño Chumash traditional political life.

### *Sumuawawa* (Sumuahuahua)

As was the case with *S'apwɨ*, all of the 55 people baptized from *Sumuawawa* went to Mission San Buenaventura. A total of five children of *Sumuawawa* parents were tabulated from other Chumash towns: *S'apwɨ* 4 and *Shumpashɨ* 1. There were 52 children born at the mission who had parents from *Sumuawawa* (Table 11.1). Twenty-one children had grandparents from *Sumuawawa*. Only one person has been identified in the third generation removed from *Sumuawawa*. In addition to the diagrams of descendants presented in this section (Figure 11.24-11.26), people from *Sumuawawa* also appear in Figures 11.11 and 11.21.

### Traceable Desceandants from *Sumuawawa*

#### *Sumuawawa* Lineage 1: Descendants of Juan Domingo Yuhu

We have already partially covered descendants of *Sumuawawa* Lineage 1 in our previous discussion of the family of José Sebastián *Naiyait*, who married Fabiana María Alicsaliehue, the daughter of Juan Domingo Yuhu (see *S'apwɨ* Lineage 4 and Figure 11.24). An additional lineage descended through another daughter of Juan Domingo Yuhu also bears mention.

Juan Domingo Yuhu was one of those men from Santa Monica Mountains towns who appears to have been polygamous, suggesting that he may have been a chief. When he arrived at Mission San Buenaventura in 1806, the wife to whom he was married was Lorenza de Jesús Salieulelene, the mother of his two eldest children. The preceding year, Dominga de Jesús Silihuayenahuan, the mother of an-

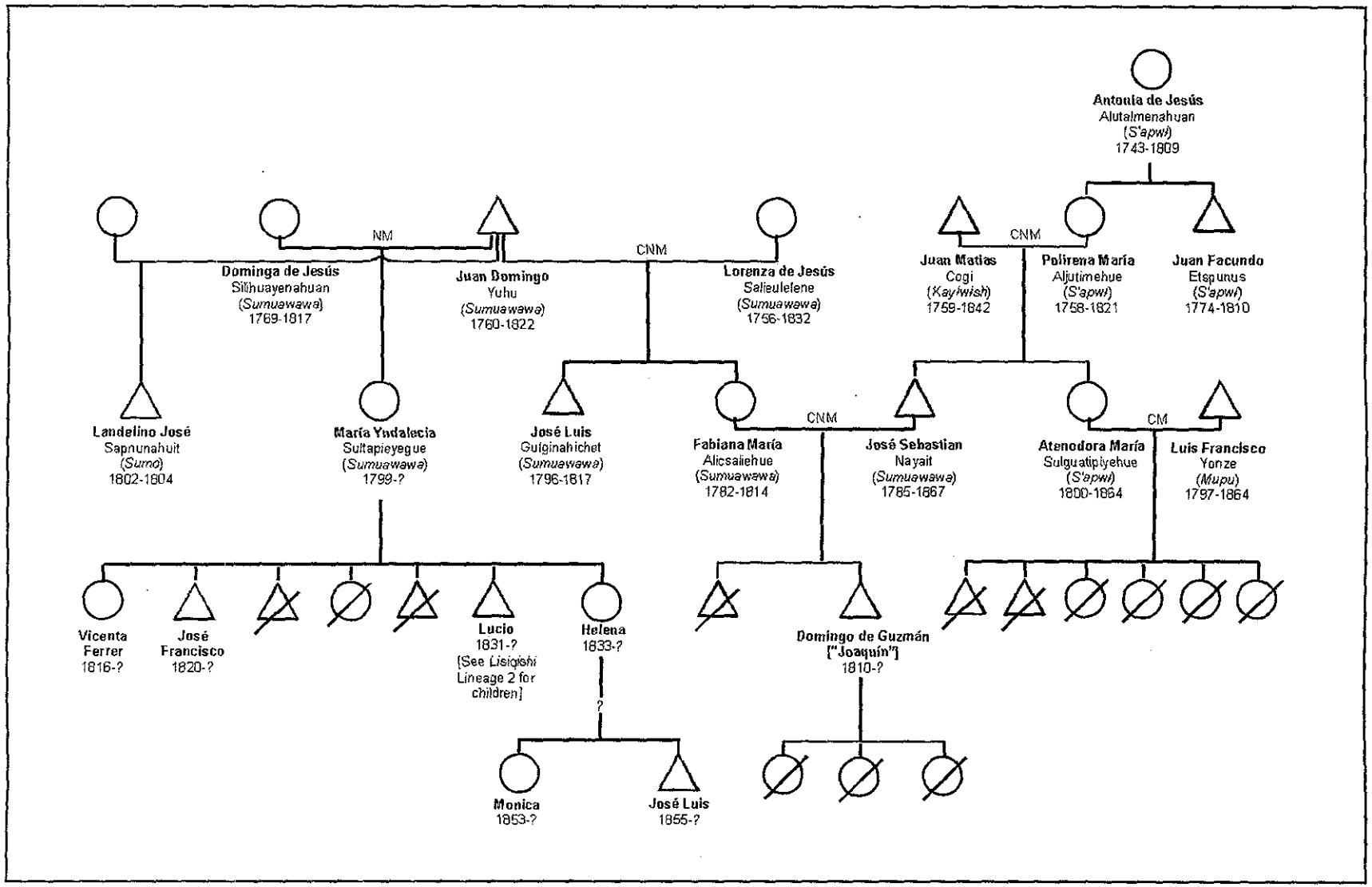



**Figure 11.24** *Sumuawawa* Lineage 1: Descendants of Juan Domingo Yuhu and *S'apwi* Lineage 4: Descendants of Antonia de Jesús Alutalmenahuan

other, younger daughter of Juan Domingo Yuhu's, was baptized in danger of death and did not survive. It is probably significant that Juan Domingo had a masculine version of this earlier wife's name, a common practice used by the missionaries for husband and wives who had been married in native society. Juan Domingo Yuhu also had a son born to a third woman at *Sumo*.

Juan Domingo Yuhu's daughter by Dominga de Jesús Silihuayenahuan was María Yndalecia Sultapiegue. She was married three times at Mission San Buenaventura. Her second husband was Antonio Victorio Chulcumiachuit, who is suspected to have been from a chiefly lineage of *Humaliwo* (see *S'apwi* Lineage 1 and Figure 11.21). María Yndalecia's last husband was Francisco de Paulo from *Kayiwish*, who was the father of her two youngest children, Lucio and Helena. Francisco de Paulo and María Yndalecia were listed in the 1852 California State Census with other members of the San Buenaventura Indian community. Francisco's occupation was "vaquero." He died in 1853, and no subsequent record of María Yndalecia has been found.

Four of María Yndalecia's children, at least one from each of her marriages, reached maturity and married. What became of her eldest daughter, Vicenta Ferrer, has not been determined. The known information about María Yndalecia's eldest son, José Francisco, has been presented under *S'apwi* Lineage 1. Her son Lucio married Raimunda, daughter of the alcalde, Rafael María, of Mission San Fernando. His family has been discussed previously in *Lisiqishi* Lineage 2. Lucio died in Bakersfield.

The last of María Yndalecia's children was Helena, who married Conrado in 1862. Two years earlier, according to the 1860 census, this couple was already living together with a seven-year-old child, Mónica (named for Conrado's mother, Mónica de Jesús). They also had a son, Luís, who was listed in baptismal records as born in 1855, but his name does not appear in the census. No further record of this family has been found.

The disappearance of María Yndalecia and her four adult children from the Ventura area after 1860 implies that they moved elsewhere. Only the family of Lucio has been traced further, to the southern San Joaquin Valley region.

### *Sumuawawa* Lineage 2: Descendants of Benedicta Sinaclipienahuan and Albano María Amuchuahuit and Agatoclia Gilalihue

*Sumuawawa* Lineage 2 actually consists of two lineages that were united through the marriage of Bononio Meetze and Agapia María Cilipieulelene at their native town of *Sumuawawa* before they moved to Mission San Buenaventura. Bononio Meetze's mother was Benedicta Sinaclipienahuan, who had been born about 1719 at *Sumuawawa* (Figure 11.25). Agapia María Cilipieulelene's grandparents, Albano María Amuchuahuit and Agatoclia Gilaliehue, had been born in the 1730s at *Sumuawawa*. Bononio Meetze and Agapia María had two sons who grew up and married. One of these, Elzeario, married Urbana de Jesús, whose parents came from *Muwu*. After this couple were married in 1836, there is no further record of what became of them. Bononio Meetze's eldest brother was José Benito Achayahuit. José Benito's son, Luís Miguel Puts, married Leonor Alagimelelene of *Humaliwo*, one of the grandchil-

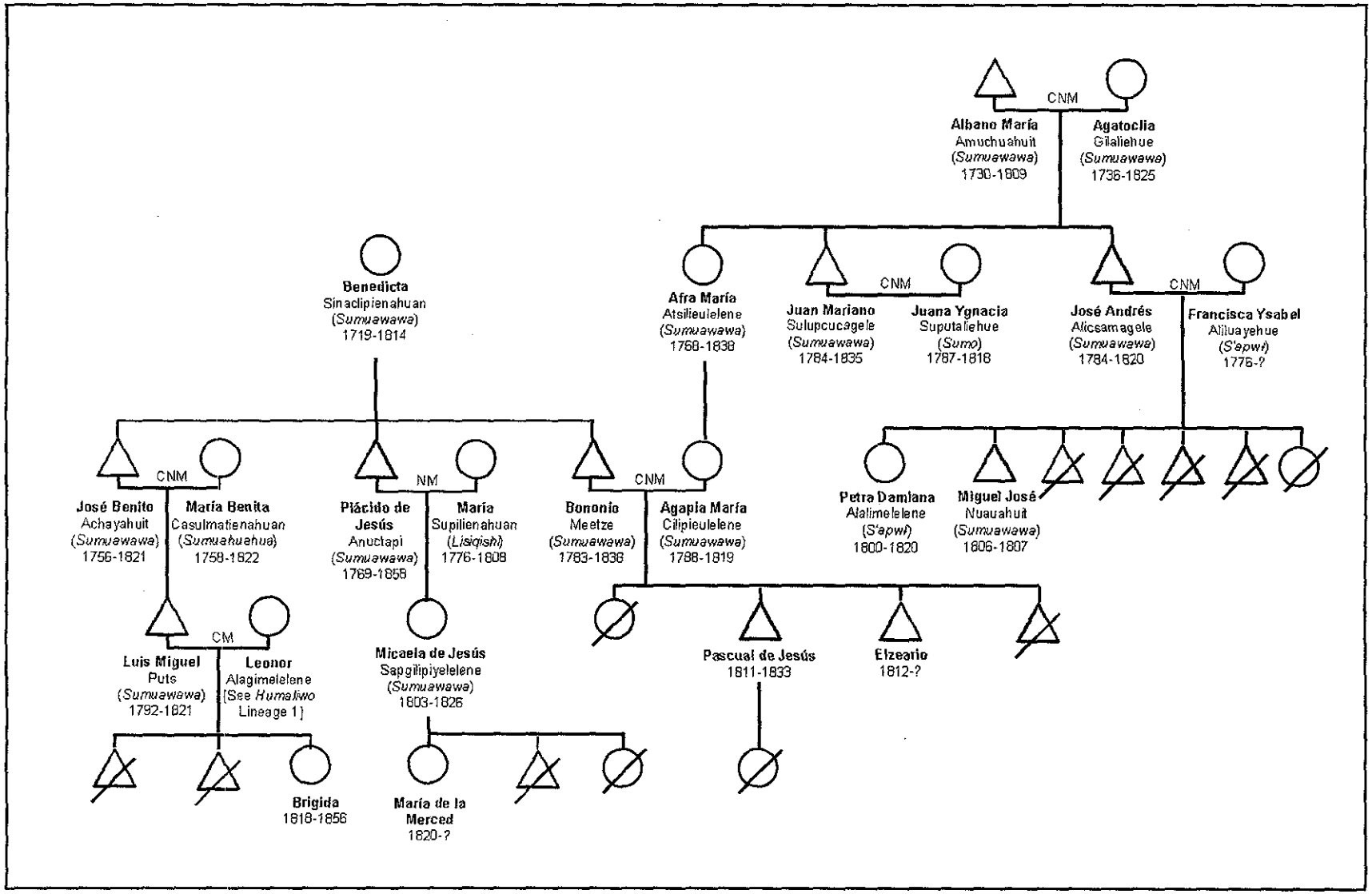



**Figure 11.25** *Sumuawawa* Lineage 2: Descendants of Benedicta Sinaclipienahuan and Albano María Amuchuahuit and Agatoclia Gilalihue

dren of Eduardo Jutchu (see *Humaliwo* Lineage 1).

Benedicta Sinaclipienahuan, who died when she was about 95, passed along her genes for longevity to her middle son, Plácido de Jesús Anuctapi. Plácido entered San Buenaventura Mission in 1809 when he was already 40 years old. He lived another 49 years within the mission community. He was believed by some to be much older than he actually was; for example, Dr. Cephas Bard, a Ventura physician, believed Plácido to have been 137 years of age and noted that he danced at a fandango a short time prior to his death (Bard 1894:11; Hudson 1979). The 1852 census lists Plácido as 82 years old, which was actually very close to his true age.

Plácido's granddaughter was María de la Merced. Merced's mother died when she was six years old, and the girl was then taken to Monterey where she was raised. Merced later married Odorico, an Indian vaquero from Mission San Miguel, and lived on the Avila Ranch near San Luis Obispo. The 1860 census of San Luis Obispo County lists this couple with two children, Andrés, 9, and María, 2. After Odorico's death, Merced continued to work as a washerwoman for the Avilas.

Rosario Cooper, Harrington's Obispeño Chumash consultant, remembered that:

> Merced was old, blind and deaf. [They] found her in the streets of San Luis Obispo at night, crying, and [she] didn't know where to go. Celedonio Zoberanes found her and took her to the jail. Another man lent her a boy to take care of her when she was blind with old age. [The] County gave her a house on Santa Rosa Street and her food....[Harrington 1986: Rl. 1, Fr. 550].

> Merced, who cried when inf. [Rosario Cooper] sang the sad song, talked V[entureño] to inf., but inf. only understood part. Merced died by burning. She had a *muchacho* she was taking care of as an orphan. [She] was living in San Luis Obispo town and *tizón* [firebrand] must have got on [the] floor at night and [the] house burnt up. She was 110 years old or so and blind and deaf. The County was maintaining her and had lent her the orphan boy to help her [Harrington n.d.b].

Like her grandfather and great-great-grandmother before her, Merced lived to an advanced age, although probably not as old as Harrington's consultant though. We have not discovered whether any of Merced's children reached maturity, but the impression given from Rosario Cooper's story is that her children may no longer have been living, because she was left alone in her old age.

### *Sumuawawa* Lineage 3: Descendants of María Procopia Alilmelelene

The last lineage to be considered from *Sumuawawa* consists of the descendants of María Procopia Alilmelelene, who was baptized in 1806 (Figure 11.26). Only one of María Procopia's descendants is known to have survived the Mission Period: her great grandson, Estanislao. Estanislao was the son of María Procopia's granddaughter Francisca Pascuala Gilimenahuan and her second husband, Narciso Huets (*Wech*) of *Mat'ilha*.

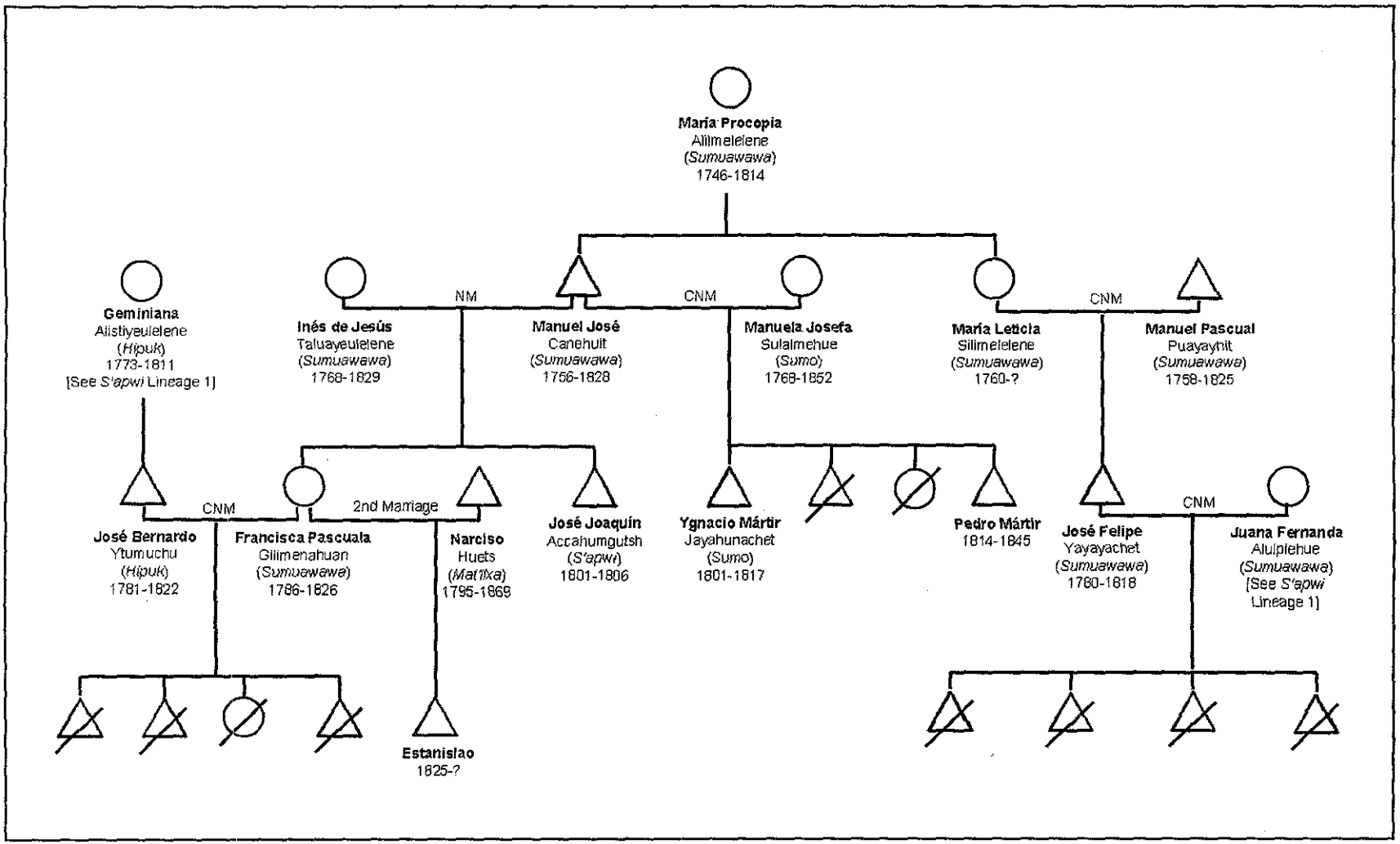



**Figure 11.26** *Sumuawawa* Lineage 3: Descendants of María Procopia Alilmelelene

Narciso *Wech* was a weaver and had once been in charge of the mission looms at San Buenaventura. It was Narciso who related to Fernando Librado much of the Chumash traditional history that subsequently recorded by Harrington in 1912-1913 (Hudson et al. 1977). Narciso was listed in the 1852 census as a "violinist." His son Estanislao was not among those Indians named in the census of the San Buenaventura Indian community, and it may be presumed that he had either moved elsewhere or was no longer living by 1852.

### *Hipuk* (Ypuc)

Of the 37 people baptized from *Hipuk*, about two thirds went to San Buenaventura (24) and one third to San Fernando (13). Six children baptized from other native towns had parents who have been identified from *Hipuk*, all but one from the Santa Monica Mountains area: *S'apwi* 1, *Sumuawawa* 1, *Ta'lopop* 1, El Escorpión 1, *Sumo* 1, and *Shisholop* 1.

There were 51 children born at the mission who had parents from *Hipuk* (Table 11.1). Thirty-three children had grandparents from *Hipuk*. The third generation removed from *Hipuk* contained 7, and the fourth had 3. In addition to the diagrams presented in Figures 11.27-11.29, people from *Hipuk* also may be found in Figures 11.21, 11.26, and 11.32. The family of José Miguel Triunfo, an Indian from Mission San Fernando who might have had Chumash ancestry, is shown in Figure 11.40.

### Traceable Descendants from *Hipuk*

#### *Hipuk* Lineage 1: Descendants of Gamaliel Pamachey or Cajuyjuy

Gamaliel Pamachey or Cajuyjuy is another man suspected of being chief because of his polygamy at *Hipuk* prior to coming to Mission San Buenaventura (Edberg 1983). Figure 11.27 illustrates the fact that his children were born to three different women within the same overlapping period of time. The native marriages of Gamaliel Pamachey's grown children illustrate some unusually extensive links to other towns, another pattern that has been previously observed in the families of known chiefs (Johnson 1988a). Gamaliel Pamachey's son, Miguel de Jesús Sicsancugele, like his father, had native marriages to two wives; based on existing evidence, however, these cannot be demonstrated to be concurrent. One of these wives was from *Sumo*, the other from *Kalushkoho* (Calushcoho), which was evidently the Chumash name for the town of *Momonga* (Chatsworth). Gamaliel Pamachey's eldest daughter was married to a man from *Shisholop* (Ventura), and his second daughter was married to a man from El Escorpión.

The only descendants of Gamaliel Pamachey or Cajuyjuy to be traced beyond the Mission Period up into the twentieth century come through his granddaughter, Apolonia Josefa Agilimehue, who married Gabriel Guilalahichet of *Loxostox'ni* at Mission San Buenaventura (see Figure 11.12). Descendants of Gabriel and Apolonia Josefa have been previously been described under the discussion of *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1.

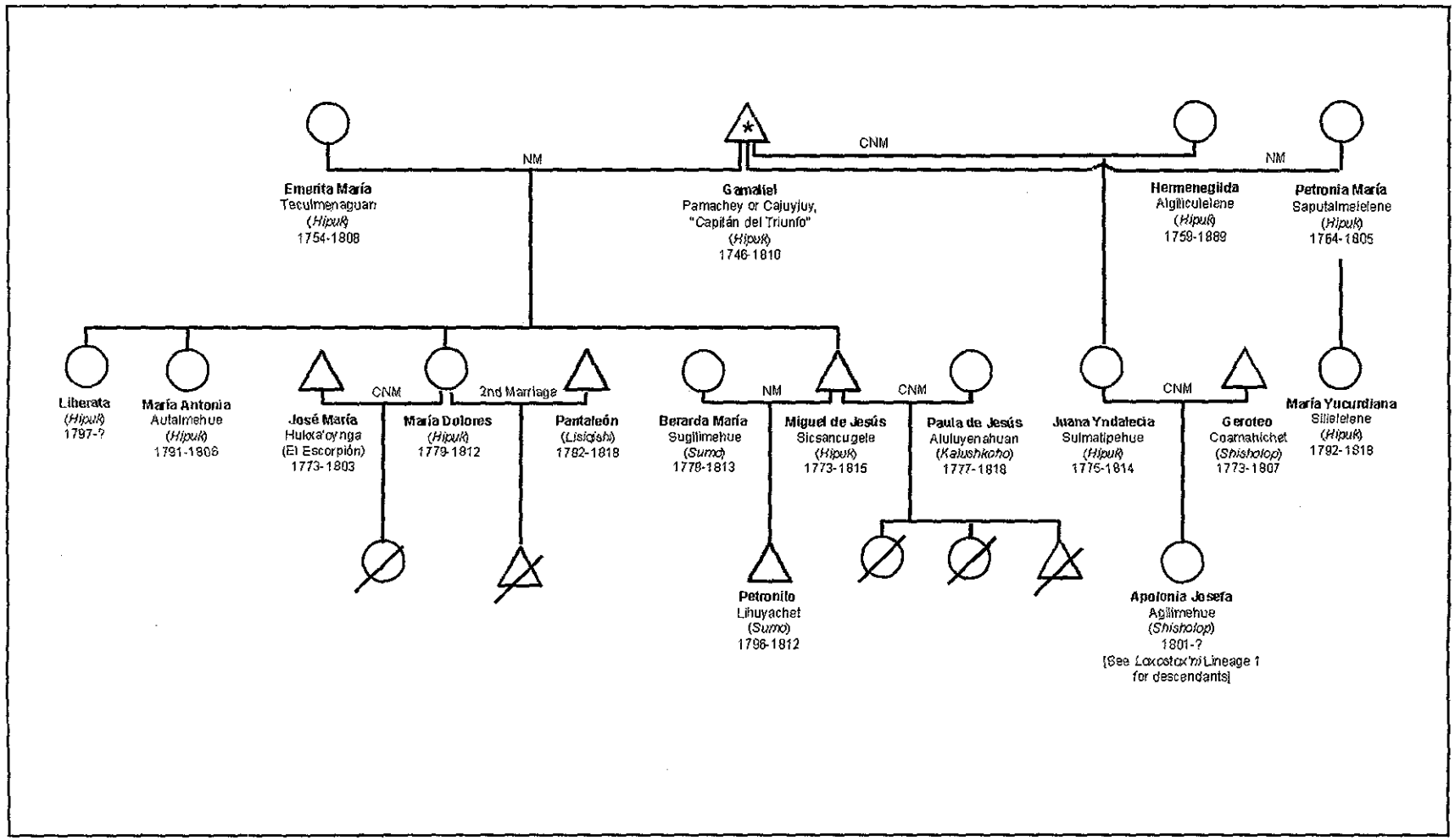



**Figure 11.27** *Hipuk* Lineage 1: Descendants of Gamaliel Pamachey or Cajuyjuy

### *Hipuk* Lineage 2: Descendants of Abraán Giliguyguit and Joaquina

Abraán Giliguyguit and his wife Joaquina from *Hipuk* were baptized at Mission San Fernando in 1805 (Figure 11.28). Their two sons, Patricio Sicsaytset and Nicanor Yojaysiet, both had large families at Mission San Fernando. Patricio married Acursia from El Escorpión. Three of their seven children grew up to be married, but none are known to have had children of their own. Patricio was one of a group of Indians who were granted one league of land at Mission San Fernando in May 1843 by Governor Micheltorena (Johnson 1997b:261). Patricio died the following year, as did his daughter, Baltasara. Baltasara's husband, Fernando Carlos, was the son of Quintiliana from *Hipuk* and (through his father) was a nephew of Odón Chijuya of El Escorpión. He remarried and was listed in the 1860 census at El Escorpión (see Figure 11.32, El Escorpión Lineage 1).

After his first wife died, Nicanor Yojaysiet married María Dolores Sanuslageni of *Ta'lopop*. Three of their children reached maturity. Their first son, Manuel, married a Gabrielino/Tongva woman, Modesta. This couple had seven children listed in the baptismal registers of San Fernando and San Buenaventura between 1835 and 1848. Manuel died with a few years of his last child's birth, and Modesta later had a child born in 1855 at San Fernando by another father. There is no subsequent record regarding what became of the children in Manuel's family.

Nicanor's and María Dolores's son Diego married Luisa, the daughter of Pastor and Bibiana (Figure 11.33, El Escorpión Lineage 2). Luisa died within a few years of their marriage, leaving no children. Diego was apparently a rough character. He was reputed to have killed nine men before he himself was killed in a knife fight after he had been drinking at a Chumash fiesta near Ventura about 1855 (Hudson 1979:118).

The youngest son of Nicanor and María Dolores was Faustino *Lawi*, who married Cecilia at Mission San Buenaventura in 1851. Fernando Librado described Faustino's performance of the Seaweed Dance at Pomposa's Saticoy fiesta in 1869. Faustino and Cecilia had one son who died in childhood, and they soon separated. Cecilia then lived at Saticoy with Melquiades [Olivas], the son of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria. They were the parents of José Juan Olivas and Juan de Jesús Olivas (see *S'apwi* Lineage 3 and El Escorpión Lineage 3).

### *Hipuk* Lineage 3: Descendants of Two Sisters, Josefa Antonia Sumatimelelene and Pascuala de Jesús Saputielelene

*Hipuk* Lineage 3 consists of the descendants of two sisters from *Hipuk*, Josefa Antonia Sumatimelelene and Pascuala de Jesús Saputielelene, baptized in April 1806 at Mission San Buenaventura (Figure 11.29). Descendants of both sisters are known to have lived past the mid-nineteenth century. Josefa Antonia Sumatimelelene was the mother of José de Jesús Tehuiachet. Only one of his eight children, Eugenio María, reached maturity and married. Eugenio María fathered seven children between 1829 and 1845, but it is not known what became of most of them.

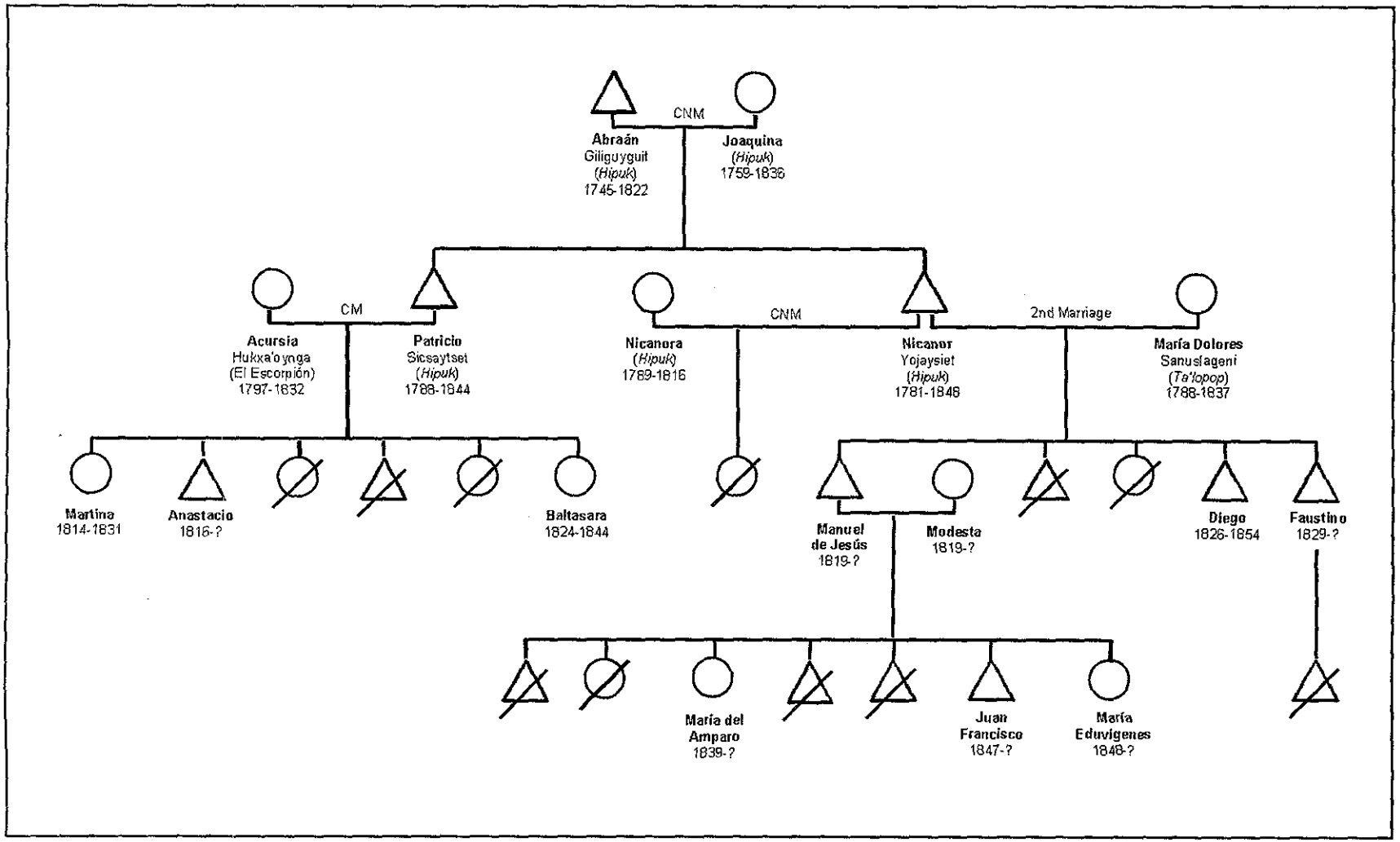



**Figure 11.28** *Hipuk* Lineage 2: Descendants of Abraán Giliguyguit and Joaquina

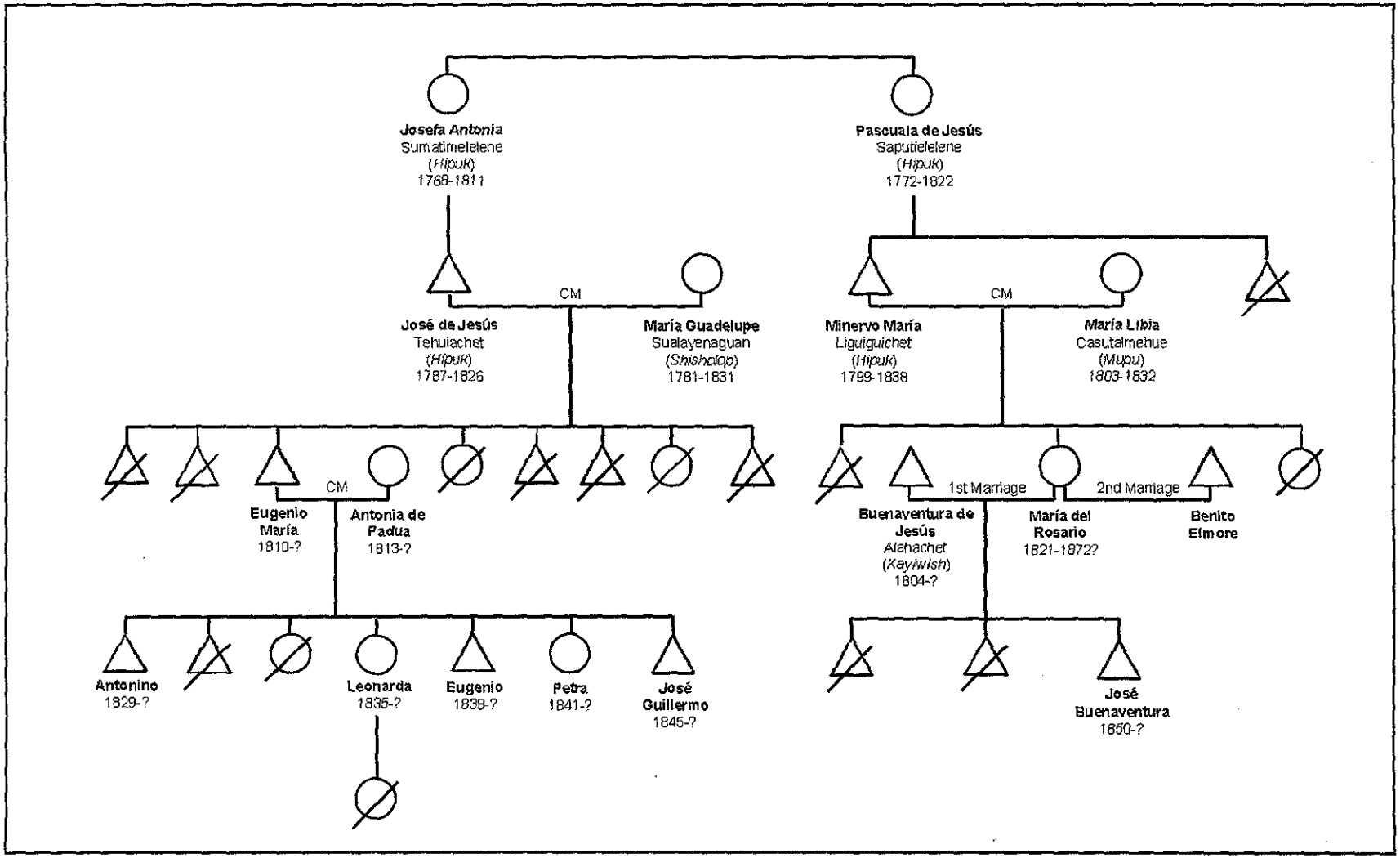



**Figure 11.29** *Hipuk* Lineage 3: Descendants of two sisters, Josefa Antonia Sumatimelelene and Pascuala de Jesús Saputielelene

Only Eugenio María's daughter Leonarda has been identified in subsequent records at San Buenaventura. She married Estanislao, the son of Mateo of *Kayiwish*, and was listed with him in the 1852 California State Census (see *Lisiqishi* Lineage 4). In 1857 she and Estanislao had a daughter, who died as an infant. No burial record has been identified with certainty for Leonarda, but apparently she had died sometime before 1880, because Estanislao was living with Donaciana according to the 1880 census and was identified as a widower when he died in 1881.

Pascuala de Jesús Saputielelene was the mother of Minervo María Liguiguichet of *Hipuk*. Minervo María Liguiguichet's daughter, María del Rosario, married Buenaventura de Jesús Alahachet of *Kayiwish* in 1842. Only the last of María del Rosario's three children, José Buenaventura, born in 1850, lacks a burial entry at San Buenaventura. It is possible that this last child was the (half-Ventureño?) boy later known as Ventura Gann (or Gannon?). He lived with Magdalena (the sister of Donaciana?) at Ventura. He was accidentally killed by a train when drunk while on the railroad tracks near Seacliff between Ventura and Rincon (Harrington n.d.a: Rl. 5, Fr. 572; Rl. 6, Fr. 286).

After her husband's death, María del Rosario remarried in 1863. Her new husband was Benito Elmore, a former slave from Jamaica (Johnson 1994:51, 77, n. 127), who had previously had worked for the Branch family near Arroyo Grande and had at least one son by an Indian woman there (Harrington n.d.b).

In 1872, Simplicio Pico and his wife, Petra, accompanied María del Rosario and Benito Elmore to the Fustero family at Piru to seek a cure for María when she was feeling sick. Juan Fustero had her swallow red ants as a treatment. After spitting up, she said she felt relieved but stayed on with her friends, the Fusteros, to recuperate while her husband and the Picos returned to Ventura. Subsequently they received word that she had taken a turn for the worse and Elmore went back to be with her. She died after his arrival, and he then returned with her body for burial in the Ventura cemetery (Harrington n.d.b).

### Descendants of José Miguel Triunfo[27]

One of the more puzzling cases of identification encountered in mission records is that of an Indian named José Miguel Triunfo of Mission San Fernando. His surname, Triunfo, although unexplained, could imply a connection to *Hipuk*, because that town was commonly known as El Triunfo. Although José Miguel is mentioned as a "neofito licenciado," no official record of his emancipation papers has been found. Perhaps he was one of a handful of Indians whom Governor José María Echeandía liberated from the missions during the late 1820s, as a prelude to full secularization (Johnson 1993a:143).

A number of historical documents exist that allow us to reconstruct a record of José Miguel's life after he moved to the San Fernando Valley. However, his origins and background remain clouded in obscurity. According to his age given in the 1850 census, José Miguel Triunfo apparently was born about

[27] This section has revised information previously published by Johnson (1997b:274-277) based on extensive genealogical research by Maurice and Marcy Bandy (personal communication, 1998) and on a study of the history of Cahuenga adobe made by architectural historian Edna Kimbro (personal communication, 1998).

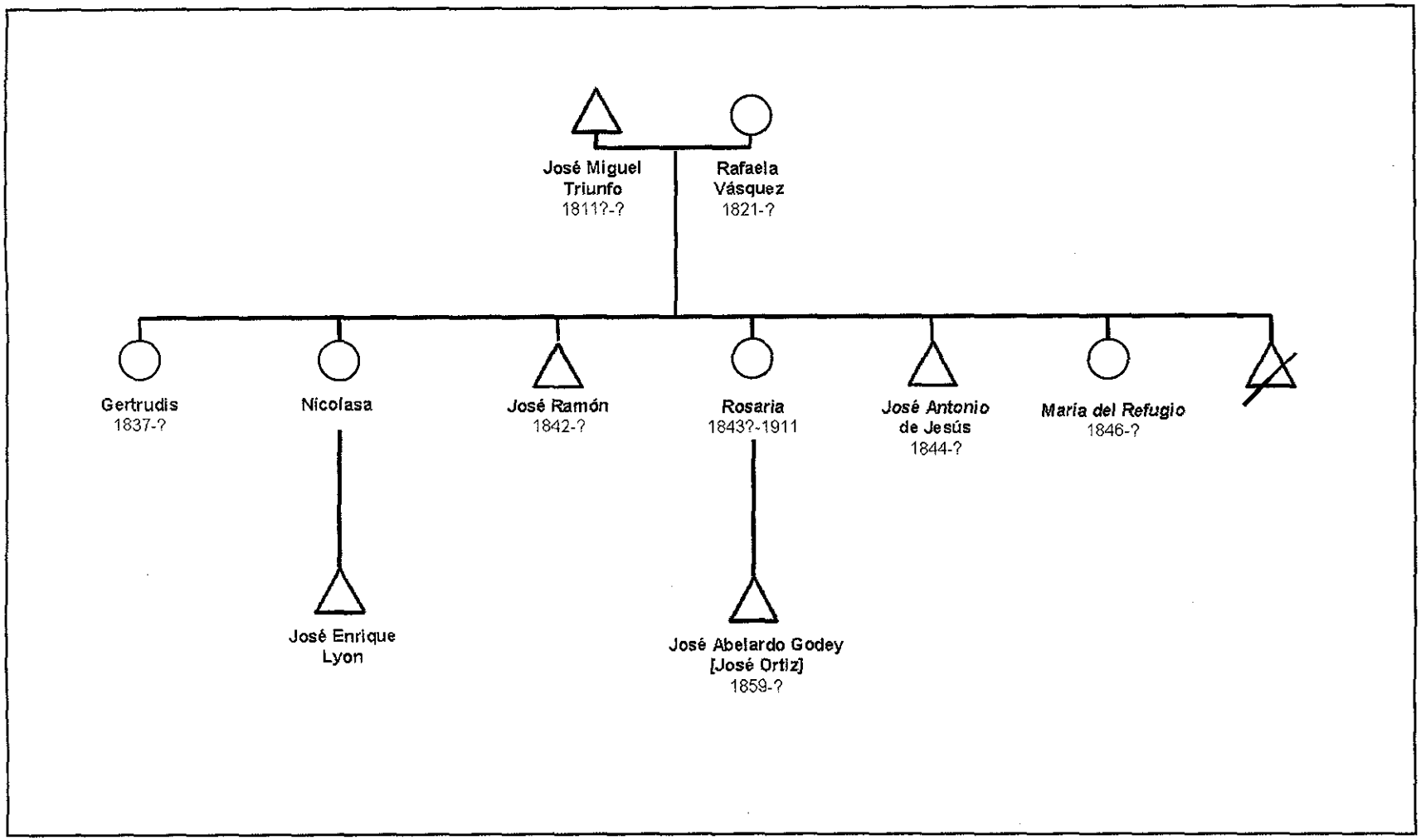



**Figure 11.30** Descendants of José Miguel Triunfo

1811, yet there is no "José Miguel," or "Miguel," baptized at either Mission San Fernando or San Buenaventura that may be matched with him. Because his surname presents the possibility that José Miguel Triunfo could have been partly of Santa Monica Mountains Chumash ancestry from *Hipuk*, a discussion of his descendants has been included in this study (Figure 11.30).

José Miguel Triunfo's wife was Rafaela Vásquez-Cañedo, who was partially of Gabrielino/Tongva descent through her maternal line (Maurice and Marcy Bandy, personal communication, 1998). Harrington's elderly Kitanemuk consultant, Eugenia Méndez, whose parents had once been San Fernando neophytes, described his marriage to Rafaela thus:

Miguel [was] a Fernandeño Indian. Rafaela, a mujer del pais [i.e., "de Razón"], wanted to marry the Indian and went to the priest. The priest did not advise it [and] told her [she] better marry someone of her own race. [He] asked her if [the] man had proposed to her. She said how would he -- they were married and had children [Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 540, lightly edited].

The first baptism of a daughter for Rafaela Vásquez-Cañedo was in 1837 at Mission San Fernando. According to the baptismal record this child was named Gertrudis, and had been born out of wedlock at the Mission's Rancho Cahuenga. No father was mentioned, and no further record of this daughter has been found, unless she is the same individual as a daughter later known as "Nicolasa.." An interesting comment in Gertrudis' baptismal entry provides further information about her mother Rafaela's background. It is noted there that Rafaela Vásquez's mother, María [Rita] Cañedo, had married a "neofito licenciado" named Conrado. So when Rafaela Vásquez took an emancipated Indian for her husband, she was following an example set by her mother.

No marriage record has yet been found for José Miguel and Rafaela Vásquez. They were not married at Mission San Fernando, nor has limited checking of the San Gabriel and Plaza Church records been successful in locating their marriage entry. In July 1841, the baptism of José Miguel Triunfo's and Rafaela Vásquez's infant son José Ramón, took place. José Ramón had been born at the "*Rancho de la Viña de Caguenga.*" His name does not appear in the 1850 census, suggesting that he may have died in childhood. No baptismal entry has been found for Rosaria, a daughter mentioned in later records, born about 1842. Baptismal records at San Fernando were found for two other children: José Antonio de Jesús, born in 1844, and María del Refugio, born in 1846. In María del Refugio's entry, José Miguel's surname, Triunfo, appears for the first time in mission documents. The last known child of José Miguel Triunfo and Rafaela Vásquez was a son, Francisco Javier, who died as an infant in 1849 (LA Plaza Church Burial 1100).

In 1843, José Miguel Triunfo received from Governor Micheltorena a modest grant of land, located between the Rancho de los Verdugos and Cahuenga. For a few years the boundaries of his grant were disputed by Vicente de la Ossa of Los Angeles, who had been given title to the adjacent Rancho El Trigo or Providencia, but it seems that José Miguel Triunfo won out in the end (Spanish Archives, Unclassified Expedientes 169, 191, 202, and 203).

The "1850" federal census (actually enumerated in 1851) lists five children in the family of José Miguel and Rafaela (Newmark and Newmark 1929:73). A girl named María A[ntonia], 14, was the eldest

child in the family, followed by a boy named José Alifonso, 11. Maurice and Marcy Bandy (personal communication, 1998) have suggested that these two appear to have been the children of Rafaela Arriola, a cousin of Rafaela Vásquez. Baptismal and marriage records have been found for María Antonia [Lugo-Arriola] and José Ildefonso [López-Arriola] to suggest that they were adopted children of José Miguel Triunfo and Rafaela Vásquez-Cañedo, not their biological offspring.

José Miguel Triunfo's history following the mid-century mark had tragic overtones. He apparently traded his land at Cahuenga with Pedro López for a tract near Tujunga (Edna Kimbro, personal communication, 1998). Later his title to the Cahuenga parcel was deemed invalid by the Board of Land Commissioners set up to adjudicate the Spanish-Mexican land claims in California (Cowan 1956:21). According to Harrington's consultant Sétimo López, one of José Miguel's sons died and a second apparently was sent to prison. Triunfo went crazy after this, and his wife sold the ranch (Harrington n.d.b). After José Miguel Triunfo died, his widow remarried an Apache Indian and had one son by him (Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 540).

The records of the Plaza Church document that two of José Miguel Triunfo's and Rafaela Vásquez's daughters, Nicolasa and Rosaria, had children born out of wedlock in the 1850s. Nicolasa was the mother of José Enrique Lyon, the illegitimate son of Cyrus Lyon, who served as foreman at Rancho Cahuenga after it was acquired by David Alexander (Christie Miles Bourdet, personal communication, 1997). Rosaria was the mother of an illegitimate child, José Abelardo, born in 1859 (LA Plaza Church Bap. 3:218). The baptismal register states that this baby's father was Alejandro (Alexis) Godey, who had come to California with Fremont. It is well known that Godey had intimate relations with a number of California Indian women and sired a few children by them (Harrington 1985: Rl. 98, Fr. 575-576; Latta 1939). Rosaria later married Miguel Ortiz from New Mexico. She died in February 1911. Her son, José [Abelardo] Ortiz, who evidently did not acknowledge Godey as his father, was enrolled during the 1928-1933 BIA enrollment of California Indians.

The person identified above as José Miguel Triunfo's and Rafaela Vásquez's adopted son, José Ildefonso López-Arriola, married Guadalupe Córdova of Sonora, Mexico in 1862 at the Los Angeles Plaza Church. José Ildefonso's half-sister, María Antonia ("Chata") Lugo-Arriola, married Jesús Córdova in 1869 at the "Rio Bravo" (Kern River) in Kern County. It is likely that Guadalupe Córdova and Jesús Córdova were related in some way; perhaps they were even siblings. Jesús Córdova had been employed as a vaquero for Mission San Fernando about 1844 after he arrived from Sonora. Frank Latta has identified Jesús Córdova as the "Indian" vaquero who was described by Fremont as his guide over Tehachapi Pass in that year. Córdova later worked for Fremont's scout, Alexis Godey. When Godey lost his ranch in Cuyama, Jesús and María Antonia Córdova and their nine children moved to Tejon. Their sons worked as vaqueros on the Tejon Ranch. Only one of the Córdova children, Marcos Córdova, had (13) children of his own who reached maturity (Latta 1976:164-170). The Córdova Ranch was located on Castaic Creek, where the Castaic Reservoir is today.

### *Ta'lopop* (Talepop)

All the baptisms of people from *Ta'lopop* (Las Virgenes) took place at Mission San Fernando. In addition to 27 individuals identified from *Ta'lopop* in the baptismal register, two more names appear in the marriage register and therefore have been added to the data base even though they have not been matched with baptismal entries at either San Fernando or San Buenaventura.

Two individuals were identified as children of people from *Ta'lopop* but had been born at other towns before coming to the mission: one from *Humaliwo* and one from El Escorpión. There were 33 born at the mission who had a parent from *Ta'lopop*. Seventeen children had grandparents from *Ta'lopop*. Only one individual was identified who was three generations removed from a *Ta'lopop* ancestor (Table 11.1).

In addition to Figure 11.31, people from *Ta'lopop* also appear in Figures 11.15 and 11.28. Only in the case of *Sumo* Lineage 1 (Figure 11.15) are there indications that someone originally baptized from *Ta'lopop* may have descendants alive today. Edberg (1982) has previously listed data about people from *Ta'lopop* who entered Mission San Fernando.

### Traceable Descendants from *Ta'lopop*

#### *Ta'lopop* Lineage 1: Descendants of Casimiro Pacuhni and Casimira Guuupiyegua

The first person identified from *Ta'lopop* was a nine-year-old girl named Agueda, baptized on New Year's Day 1803. Agueda's parents were Casimiro Pacuhni and Casimira Guuupiyegua, who came to the mission three years later (Figure 11.31). Unfortunately the baptismal register does not record their town of origin. Assuming that this family followed the matrilocal residence pattern that seems to have predominated in Chumash society, Casimira Guuupiyegua was probably from *Ta'lopop* herself. Based on this inference, we have associated her with that origin in the data base.

Agueda was married three times at Mission San Fernando. Her first husband was Norberto, a widower from *Humaliwo*, whom she wed in 1817. After Norberto's death, she married Mexías from Mission San Gabriel in 1828. Mexías was one of the neophytes who in 1843 were together granted one league of land at Mission San Fernando on which to sow crops to support their families (Johnson 1997b). Agueda's last husband was Marcelo from *Kimishax*, who was originally baptized at San Fernando but had later transferred to San Buenaventura.

Agueda's son, Jacinto, was married twice. He married his second wife, María Silvestra, at San Buenaventura in 1847. No children born from either of Jacinto's marriages have been found in baptismal registers, and he has not been identified in census records either. The only possible indication of his continued association with the San Buenaventura Chumash community is a well- known photograph of Indian men holding musical instruments at Mission San Buenaventura in the 1870s. One of the men is identified as "Jacinto."

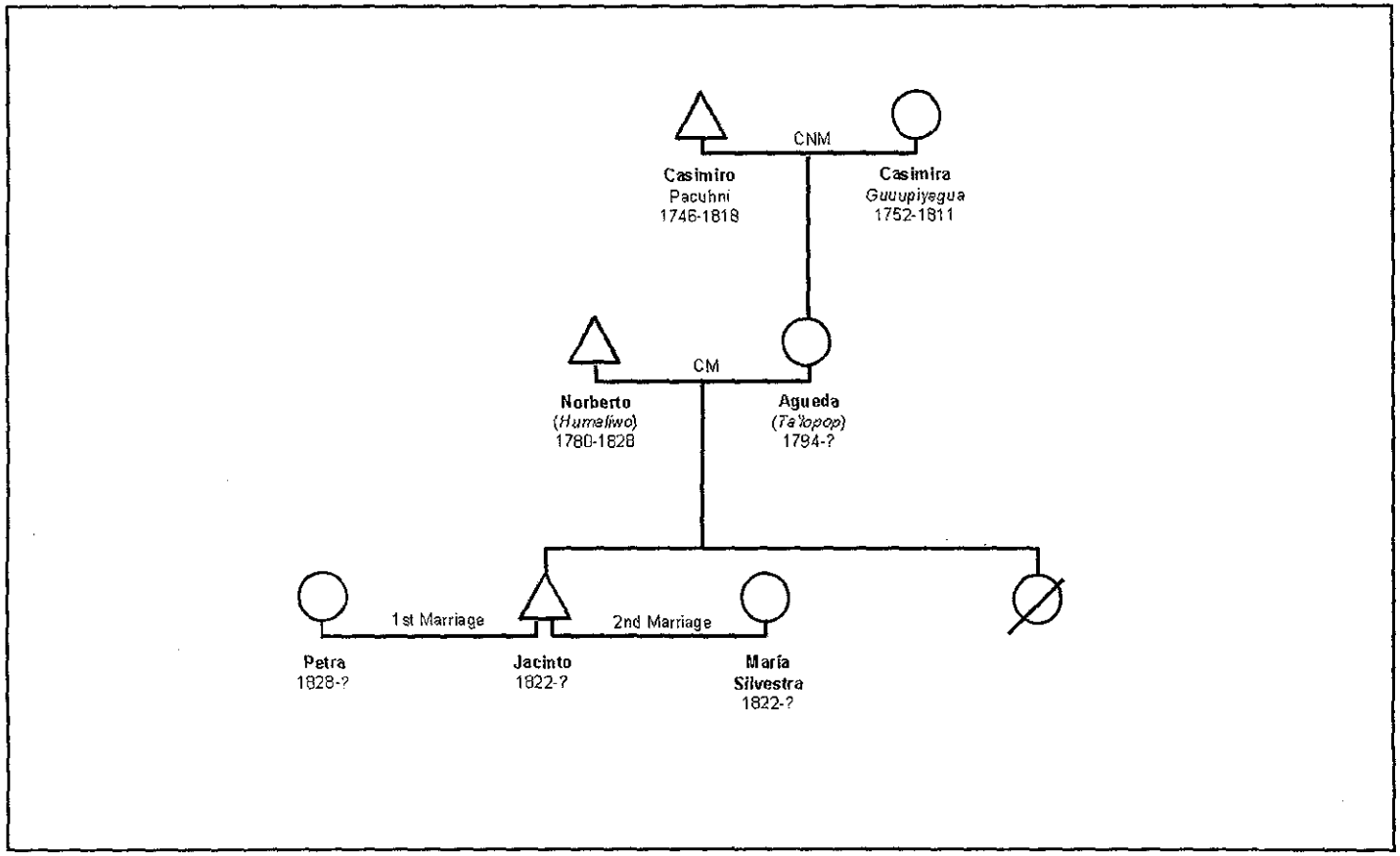



**Figure 11.31** *Ta'lopop* Lineage 1: Descendants of Casimira Guuupiyegua

### Yegeu

Only two individuals were said to be from Yegeu in the San Fernando baptismal register. These were María Lorenza Soltimeu and her mother, Feliciana, who came to the mission in 1798 and 1799. María Lorenza Soltimeu was married twice and had three children. All were deceased by 1806.

### *Topa'nga* (Topanga)

Only five people were said to be from *Topa'nga* in the San Fernando baptismal register: a 50-year-old man baptized in 1800 and four children all baptized at the same time in March 1803. The adult from *Topa'nga* was Juan Antonio, the father of Feliciano from *Pi'inga*, a Tataviam town, who was baptized in 1803. Juan Antonio had two children born at the mission who died in infancy.

One of the four children from *Topa'nga* died within a year of baptism, two were later married, and for the fourth no further record was discovered. As noted in Chapter 6, three of the fathers' names appear to have been Chumash. Furthermore, Bibiana, one of the children later married, was said in her marriage entry to be from *Lisiqishi* (MSF Mar. 666).

The people from *Topa'nga* who later married had six children between them. Burial entries were found for five of these, and for the sixth, a son of Bibiana named Juan Nepomuceno, there is no further record. Bibiana died at Mission San Buenaventura in 1834.

### El Escorpión (*Huwam* or *Hukxa'oynga*)

Of 75 people identified from El Escorpión, only one person, a man married to a woman from *Shisholop*, was baptized at Mission San Buenaventura. Eleven people from other towns who had parents from El Escorpión were identified in the mission registers: *Humaliwo* 3, *Ta'lopop* 1, *Hipuk* 1, La Amarga 1, *Pi'iru* 1, and *Shisholop* 1. A total of 95 children of El Escorpión parents were born at the missions. Fifty-four grandchildren of El Escorpión people were born at the missions. The data base contained nine who were in the third generation removed from El Escorpión and two possible children baptized at San Buenaventura in the fourth generation. These numbers must be viewed with caution, however, because other El Escorpión descendants may be found in the Los Angeles Plaza Church registers that were not systematically covered by this project. This limitation was overcome to a certain extent by checking census records and through recourse to other ethnohistorical sources. In addition to Figures 11.32-11.34, individuals from El Escorpión also appear in Figures 11.27 and 11.28.

## Traceable Descendants from El Escorpión

### El Escorpión Lineage 1: Descendants of Liborio Chavot

The most important lineage of descendants of El Escorpión is probably that of Odón Chijuya, one of the original Indian grantees of the Rancho *El Escorpión* (Figure 11.32). Odón and his wife, Juana Eusebia, had many children and grandchildren. Theirs has been the best-reported family of San Fernando Mission Indians until recently (Gaye 1965; Cohen 1989; Phillips 1993; Johnson 1976b). There is evidence that Odón lived continuously on his rancho from 1836 until his death sometime in the 1880s (Cohen 1989:21). The Leonis Adobe, home of his daughter, Espíritu, and her son, Juan Menéndez, is now a City of Los Angeles historical landmark and museum in Calabasas.

Despite the importance of Odón Chijuya's lineage, there is no other genealogy discussed in this report that has presented as many problems of historiographic documentation. Our identification of Odón's father as Liborio Chavot is the best informed guess we can make regarding his parentage. Also, many of Odón's grandchildren's names were obtained from the 1860 census and have yet to be matched with information from registers that succeeded those kept by Mission San Fernando. Particularly, the Los Angeles Plaza Church registers need to be examined systematically. They were not used extensively because they were beyond the scope of work originally defined for our project. The information provided in Figure 11.32 may be regarded as a working hypothesis that awaits testing through further research.

As we lamented in Chapter 4, the mission registers of San Fernando were the worst kept of all those intensively studied for this project. They provide the least information regarding genealogical relationships and towns of origin, and no *padrón* is extant that might compensate for missing data. Compounding these problems is the greater incidence of clerical errors by San Fernando missionaries. It is not unusual for two or more different people to be identified by the same baptismal number, and Odón is one such case. An extended discussion of this genealogy is required because it revises information provided in another report regarding Odón's identification and parentage (King 1994:87).

No fewer than three different men, all contemporaries in the second decade of the nineteenth century, were identified by the missionaries as "Odón," and each was cross-referenced to the same baptismal entry, No. 780, at Mission San Fernando. This naturally has led to some confusion for latter-day ethnohistorians. Baptismal entry for No. 780 reads that a boy was baptized with the name Odón on January 16, 1803, at about eight years of age, who was the son of a *catecumeno* (adult under Catholic instruction) named "Anajaqui." Unfortunately no town of origin is mentioned, and there is no subsequent entry at Mission San Fernando of an adult who is named Anajaqui or who is said to be Odón's father. King (1994:87) has tentatively identified the father of this "Odón" as Cecilio Najaguit, who was baptized with his wife, Cecilia, at Mission San Gabriel in 1805. Both were from Siuccabit, probably a reference to *Syutkanga* at El Encino (San Gabriel Bapt. Nos. 3857 and 3897). However, there is some reason to suspect that Odón Chijuya was not the same "Odón," son of Anajaqui, whose baptism was recorded as No. 780.

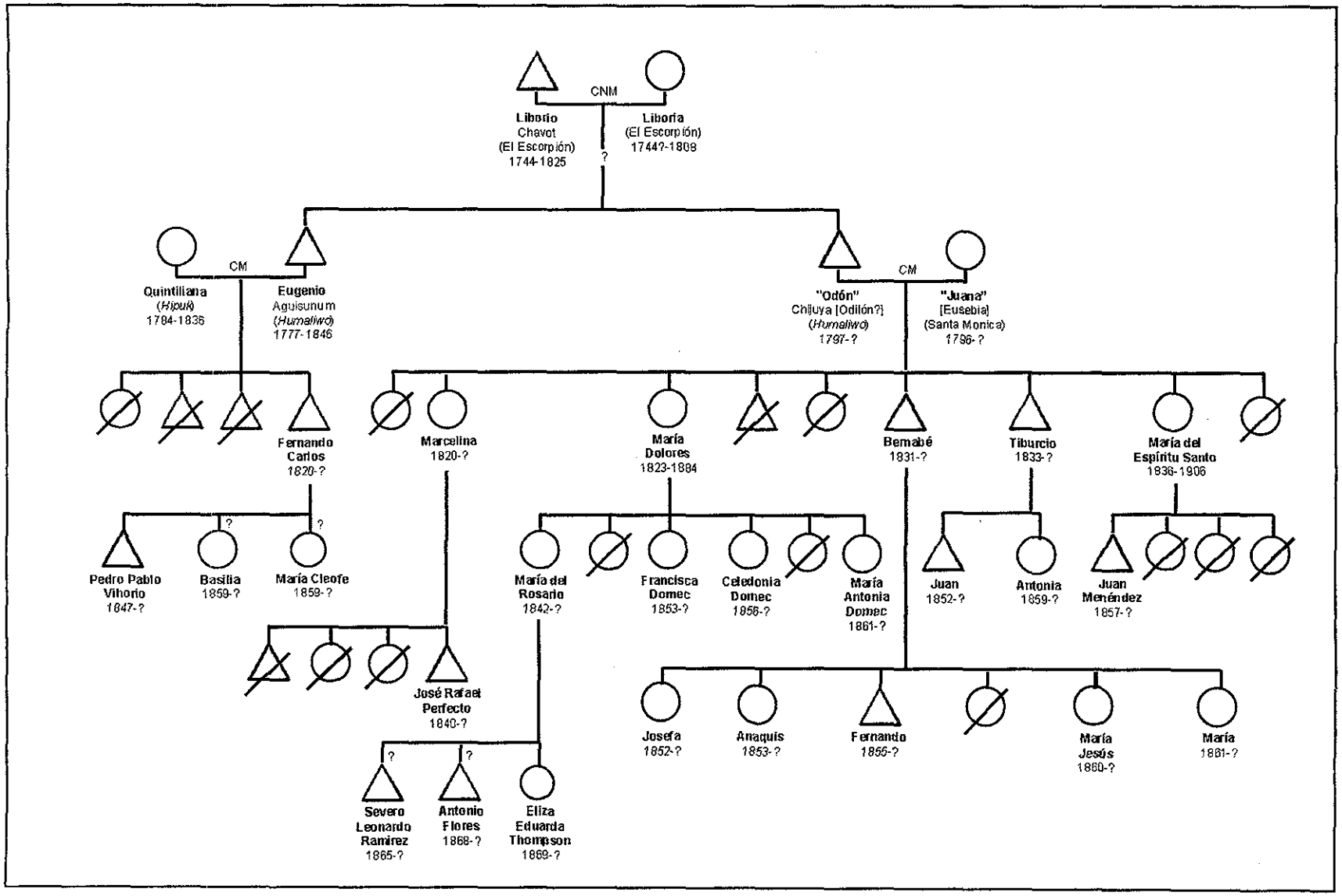



**Figure 11.32** El Escorpión Lineage 1: Descendants of Liborio Chavot

The only other baptism of someone named "Odón" occurred on February 6, 1803, within a few weeks after the first "Odón" was baptized. Actually there were two boys with very similar names baptized immediately after one another: one named Odilon, said to be about six years old, and the other named Odón, about five years old. Both were from the Chumash town of *Humaliwo*. No parents or relatives are mentioned in either entry (SF Bapt. Nos. 824 and 825). These baptisms bear more scrutiny as candidates for Odón, the grantee of El Escorpión, for two reasons: (1) the names "Odón" and "Odilon" were likely to have been pronounced essentially the same and easily confused in the Ventureño Chumash language, because that language lacks the [d] phoneme (see Chapter 2); and (2) oral tradition relates Odón to *Humaliwo*, because he once was known as the "Malibu Chief" (Gaye 1965).

The next mentions of these various "Odóns" occur early in the second decade of the nineteenth century when all seemingly became married as teenagers. It was not unusual for boys and girls to be married somewhat young during mission times, perhaps indicating that this had also been the native practice. One of these "Odóns" was married in 1811, later widowed, and remarried in 1824 (MSF Mar. Nos. 549 and 719). The second was married in 1812 (MSF Mar. No. 557). No marriage entry was found for the third "Odón," but he was stated to be the father of two legitimate children born in 1813 and 1815 (Bapt. Nos. 2057 and 2153). Apparently the priest neglected to make an entry in the marriage register when he married the third "Odón," a fairly rare occurrence but not unknown, especially at Mission San Fernando.

The first "Odón" to be married was identified as Baptism No. 780, which is probably accurate. The date was June 27, 1811 (MSF Mar. 549), when the other Odón candidates would have been only thirteen or fourteen years old, too young to be married even in those days. Odón No. 780 would have been sixteen in 1811, and his bride Flora, a Tataviam girl from *Pi'ing*, would have been thirteen (MSF Bapt. No. 903). This Odón was probably from *Syutkanga*, if King's identification of his parents is correct.

The next "Odón" to be married was undoubtedly the famous grantee of El Escorpión, Odón Chijuya. He may be so identified because the name of his wife, Eusebia, is well known. She was from a native Gabrielino/Tongva town at Santa Monica (MSF Bap. No. 1052). She was also commonly known as "Juana," according to one entry in the registers, adding a minor wrinkle to the identification problem. Eusebia ("Juana") was the mother of all of Odón Chijuya's known children, and she is listed with her husband and her children's families in United States census records from 1850 onward. Odón and Eusebia were married on June 23, 1812, when they were only about fifteen and sixteen years of age, respectively. Based on the fact that he was one year older than the other "Odón" from *Humaliwo*, the "Odón" who married Eusebia was probably the boy baptized as "Odilon" (MSF Bap. No. 824). He was misidentified as "No. 780" in his marriage record. As has been stated, he could not be No. 780 because the latter had already married Flora and later remarried in the 1820s when "Odón" and Eusebia were still having offspring.

The last "Odón" to be wed was probably the youngest of our "Odóns," (i.e., MSF Bap. No. 825). He was married to Olímpias, although, as has been mentioned, no marriage record exists for their union. Olímpias would have been only about eleven or twelve when her first child was born, according to her

estimated age at the time of her baptism (MSF Bap. No. 844). Like her probable husband, she was from the Chumash town of *Humaliwo*. This last "Odón's" baptismal number was given as "180" in his children's entries, an obvious copying error for "780," which was itself an identification error, as we have previously deduced (MSF Bap. 180 was actually an entry for a woman named Engracia). Olímpias died shortly after the birth of her second child in 1815, and there is no record of her husband remarrying.

No burial entry has been found for any of the "Odóns," but it is known that at least two of them were still living at San Fernando in 1843, when they were both named in a list of Indians collectively granted one square league of land on which to sow their crops (Spanish Archives Expediente No. 526; Johnson 1997:261). One of these two "Odóns" presumably was Odón Chijuya, who was also co-grantee of El Escorpión with his son-in-law, Urbano Chari, and another Mission Indian named Manuel.

Only one man baptized at Mission San Fernando is explicitly stated to be the father of an "Odón": Liborio Chavot from El Escorpión, who was baptized at about 60 years of age on February 18, 1803. Neither Liborio's baptismal entry nor that of his wife, Liboria, give the names of any relatives (MSF Bap. Nos. 1183 and 1184), but his burial entry in 1825 mentions that he was the father of Eugenio and Odón (MSF Bur. 1655). Liborio's son Eugenio may be identified as Eugenio Aguisunum of *Humaliwo*, who would already have been an adult at the time his brother Odón was born (MSF Bap. 1385, see Figure 11.32). The fact that Eugenio was from *Humaliwo* lends credence to the fact that we have correctly identified Odón Chijuya as also being from *Humaliwo*. Liborio Chavot's association with El Escorpión as his native town may have been one of the reasons why his probable son, Odón Chijuya, became one of the grantees of Rancho El Escorpión in post-mission times and was considered chief of the Indians there.

Those children of Odón and Eugenio children who survived to adulthood continued to remain associated with El Escorpión. Eugenio's son Fernando Carlos is probably the man known simply as "Carlos" in later census records; he was living with his wife, Fernanda, at El Escorpión in 1860. The names of three of this man's children are known, the last born in 1861, but further work will need to be done in the records of the Plaza Church to determine if these survived or if he had other children as well.

The story of many of Odón Chijuya's descendants is fairly well known, at least for the nineteenth century (Gaye 1965; Cohen; 1989; Hudson 1979). His eldest daughter, Marcelina, married Urbano Chari, co-grantee of El Escorpión. Later she lived with Joaquín Romero, a part owner of the rancho. Marcelina's son, José Rafael, was a vaquero on the Escorpión rancho but was killed by a horse on the Domec Ranch (Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 575). Marcelina's last husband was John Mulligan, a native of County Heath, Ireland, whom she married on September 30, 1870 (Plaza Church Marriage No. 1093).

Odón Chijuya's second daughter María Dolores first married a San Fernando Indian named "Polo," then lived with José Arnaz, recipient of the Ex-Mission San Buenaventura grant, and finally settled down with Pierre Domec, a Frenchman who operated a limekiln near El Escorpión. Her eldest daughter, María del Rosario, was said by Fernando Librado to be the daughter of José Arnaz (Hudson 1979:92); however María del Rosario's baptismal entry states that she was the daughter of María Dolores's first husband, "Polo" (MSF Bap. 3027). María del Rosario married Carlos Leboubon, a Frenchman who worked for Domec and became involved in a fight and court battle with him (Cohen 1989). After winning his lawsuit

against his wife's stepfather, Leboubon and his wife moved near Saticoy, where he worked on the Punta de la Loma Ranch. No children of this couple have been identified. Leboubon died as a widower when he was 71 years old in 1889 (MBV Bur. 2:1789).

María Dolores had three daughters by Pierre Domec who reached adulthood, but only the youngest married. María Antonia Domec married Francisco More, also of half-Indian/half- Euroamerican ancestry, who had been raised at Saticoy. More's genealogy was presented in Figure 11.12, *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1. This couple is listed in the 1880 census at Ventura as boarders in a Chumash household headed by Petra Pico, a famous basketweaver (Johnson 1994:44).

Odón's son Bernabé first married Teodora, a woman of Tataviam and Kitanemuk (or Kawaiisu) ancestry (Johnson and Earle 1990:203-204). After Teodora's death, he lived with Marta, a woman of mixed Tataviam/Fernandeño ancestry who had previously been married to an Indian from Tejon (the older brother of Harrington's Kitanemuk consultant, Eugenia Méndez). The 1860 census lists five children of Bernabé and Marta living with them at El Escorpión, but by 1866 the couple had split up, and Marta remarried a [Luiseño?] Indian from Temecula (MSF Bap. 1305). Bernabé continued to live at El Escorpión into the 1880s (Cohen 1989:21). His eldest daughter, Josefa, died as an adult, but the fate of his other children remains unknown (Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 575). Bernabé's last wife, "Lola" (Dolores), may have been the granddaughter of Urbano Chari and his first wife Olava (see Figure 11.20). Bernabé ended his life in dramatic fashion by hanging himself from one of the rafters at Mission San Fernando one New Year's Eve (Harrington 1989: Rl. 2, Fr. 31). After Bernabé's death, "Lola" married Sétimo López, who later served as a consultant on Fernandeño language and culture for J. P. Harrington in 1916.

Tiburcio, Odón's and Eusebia's youngest son, is listed in both the 1850 and 1860 censuses. By 1860 he had married an Indian woman named Manuela and was listed with two children. No further records of his family have been located.

María del Espíritu Santo, usually called "Espíritu," is perhaps the best known of Odón Chijuya's daughters (Plate XLIX). She had one son, Juan Antonio Manuel Menéndez, born in 1867, and several daughters who did not reach adulthood. Photos of Espíritu, Juan Menéndez, and Marcelina, her youngest daughter, are preserved at the Leonis Adobe in Chatsworth. Espíritu lived with Miguel Leonis, a Basque sheep rancher from France, for many years. He later acquired Rancho El Escorpión from Odón. Espíritu was able to inherit Leonis's estate after his death in 1889, but only after waging a court battle to prove they had lived together as husband and wife (Cohen 1989:22).

Espíritu's son, Juan Menéndez, and his wife, Juana Valenzuela Menéndez, served briefly as ethnographic consultants for John and Carobeth Harrington about 1916 (Mills and Brickfield 1986). No children of this couple are known. It is possible that some descendants of Odón Chijuya and Eusebia ("Juana") still exist, but more research, building on the information presented above, will be necessary to determine this.

**Plate XLIX.** Espíritu Chijuya de Leonis, daughter of Odón Chijuya and Juana Eusebia, 1905 photo.
*Harrington Papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution 91-33622.*

### El Escorpión Lineage 2: Descendants of Salvador Zalasuit, Chief of *Ta'apu*, and his Relatives

On February 18, 1804, Salvador Zalasuit was baptized at Mission San Fernando. His baptismal entry specifically mentions that he was the chief of *Ta'apu*, which was the largest Chumash town in the Simi Valley. He was the first listed in a group of nearly sixty men and women, most of whom were from El Escorpión, *Pi'iru*, and *Tochaborunga* (the last two being Tataviam towns). Immediately following Salvador Zalasuit's baptismal entry was that of another chief, Miguel Semenia, the chief of El Escorpión. Only two individuals from *Ta'apu* were baptized on February 18, 1804, with the large contingent of El Escorpión and Tataviam individuals. Besides Salvador Zalasuit, his daughter, Dorotea, who was married to a *Pi'iru* man, was also among the same group of converts.

The implied association of the Chumash chief of *Ta'apu* with El Escorpión by his appearance with many people from that town is understandable by reconstructing his family relationships based on mission register evidence (Figure 11.33). Salvador Zalasuit's wife, Salvadora, was said to be from "Huama" (the only time this name for El Escorpión was recorded in its Chumash form, *Huwam*), and his brother, Juan Francisco, had been previously baptized from "Jucjauybit (the Fernandeño/Tongva name for El Escorpión). The close links between El Escorpión and *Ta'apu* within Salvador's family continued in subsequent generations: his daughter, Bibiana, married Pastor from *Hukxa'oynga* in 1820, and his grandniece, Antonia, whose mother came from El Escorpión, married Ladislao of *Ta'apu* in 1827.

Salvador Zalasuit, like other Chumash chiefs, seems to have had more than one wife. We have already reported on those of his descendants baptized at Mission San Buenaventura who resulted from his marriage to Celerina María Atsiliyehue of *S'apwɨ* (see *S'apwɨ* Lineage 2). Salvadora, his wife at Mission San Fernando, was the mother of his daughter Bibiana, who had been born at *Humaliwo*. Bibiana and her sister Sista were both married at Mission San Fernando. Bibiana's daughter, Luisa, also reached maturity and married but had no children of her own. We do not known the name of the mother of Dorotea, Salvador Zalasuit's eldest daughter. Dorotea was married in succession to two Tataviam men. Only one of her ten children, Thimotea, was not accounted for in burial records, but it is unknown what became of her. Likewise, no further record has been found for José de los Angeles, one of the sons of Antonia, the granddaughter of Salvador Zalasuit's brother Juan Francisco.

### El Escorpión Lineage 3: Descendants of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria

Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* from El Escorpión was baptized at Mission San Fernando when he was a little more than a year old in February 1800 (Figure 11.34). His sister Cristina, a year older than he, had been baptized the previous year in the "Ranchería llamada Las Calabasas." Although both children were raised at the mission and later married, the identity of their parents was never mentioned in mission register entries. One may assume that the parents of Pedro Antonio and Cristina were among the various adults baptized from El Escorpión for whom no family relationships were recorded. According to Harrington's consultants who knew him, Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* spoke both Fernandeño and Ventureño Chumash – to be expected if, as we believe, El Escorpión held a mixed Fernandeño and Chumash population.

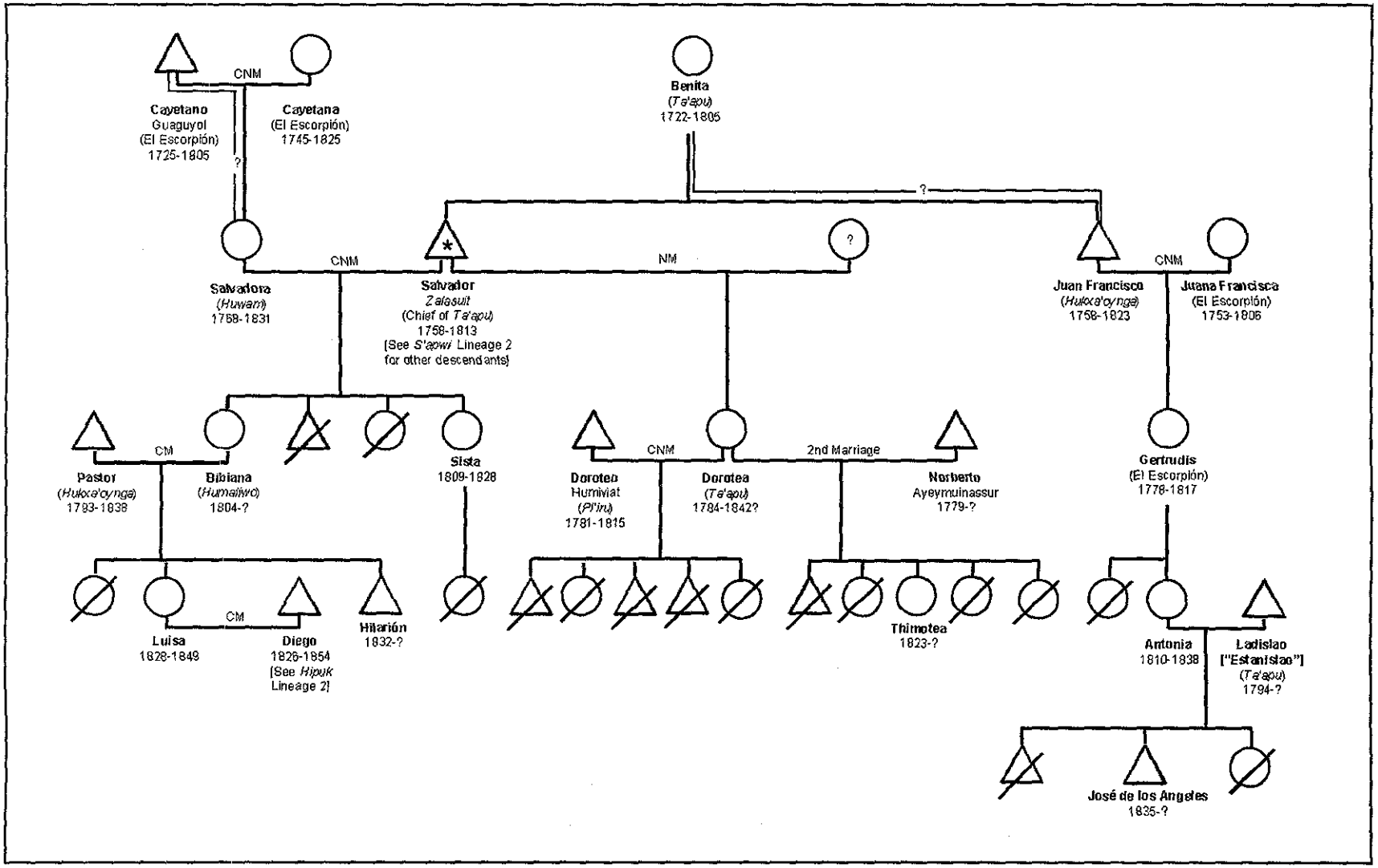



**Figure 11.33** El Escorpión Lineage 2: Descendants of Salvador Zalasuit, Chief of *Ta'apu* and his relatives

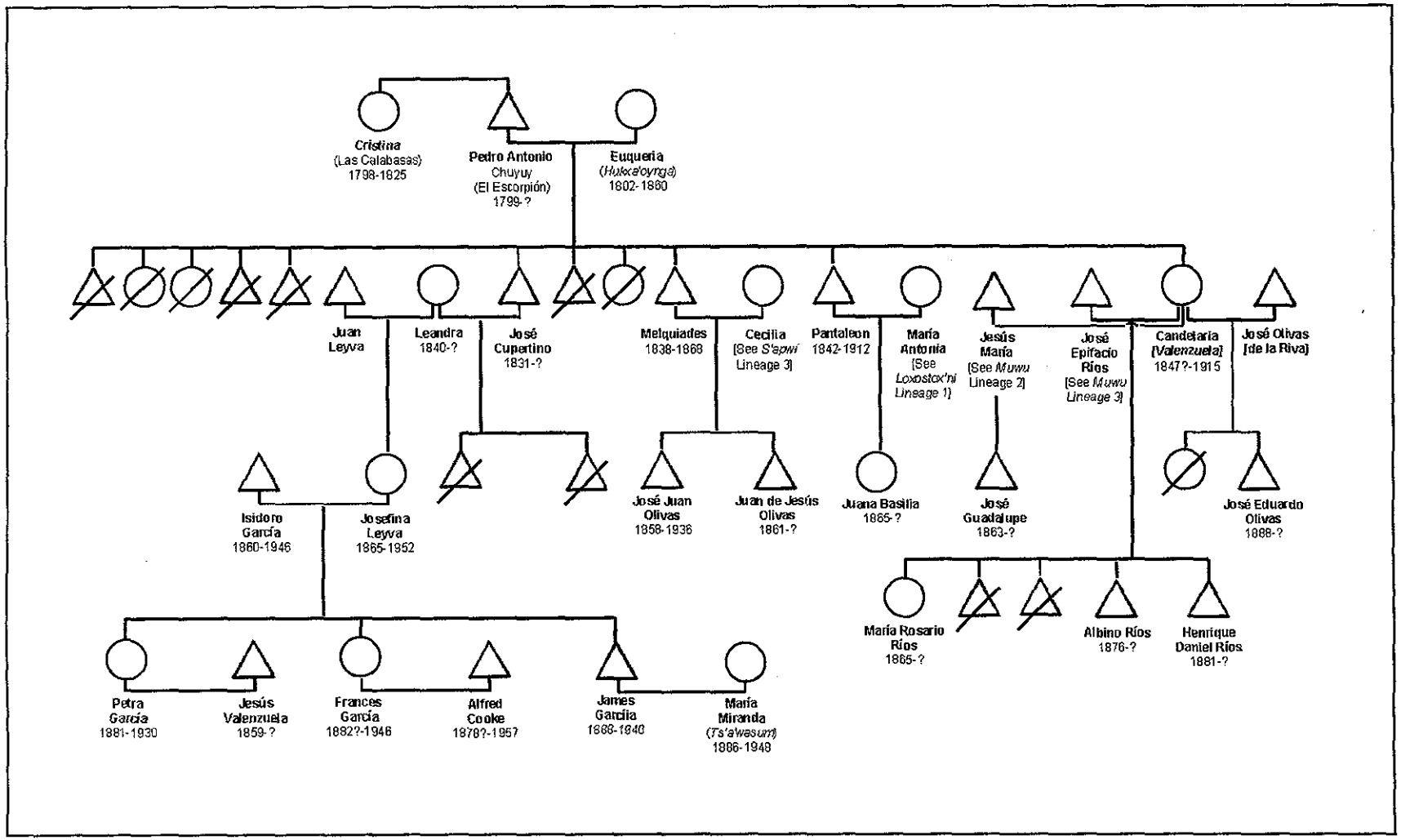



**Figure 11.34** El Escorpión Lineage 3: Descendants of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria

Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* married Euqueria in 1817. She was from from "Jucjauybit" (*Hukxa'oynga*) and had been baptized in 1803, when she was two months old. Hers was the baptism immediately following that of the daughter of the chief of El Escorpión, but as was the case with Pedro Antonio, there is no mention anywhere in the records regarding who her parents were. Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria had ten children who were born at Mission San Fernando between 1819 and 1842. Their youngest child, Candelaria, was born on Lord's Creek near Sespe about 1847, according to information collected in an early interview and from early census records (Blackburn 1963; Johnson 1994). No baptismal entry has been found for her. In addition to Candelaria, three sons were raised to adulthood, José Cupertino, Melquiades, and Pantaleón. The family settled at Saticoy and were listed along with other Saticoy Indians in the 1852 state census and the 1860 federal census. Euqueria died in 1860. Her husband moved to Tejon in 1870 with his grandson, José Juan Olivas,(Harrington n.d.b). The descendants of Pantaleón, who married María Antonia (see *Loxostox'ni* Lineage 1), and Melquiades, the father of José Juan Olivas (see *S'apwɨ* Lineage 3), have been previously discussed.

The oldest son of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy* and Euqueria was José Cupertino, who was married twice at Mission San Buenaventura. His second wife was Leandra, the daughter of Ramón and Eugenia of Mission San Fernando. Ramón was Tataviam, and Eugenia was Fernandeño and Vanyume in ancestry. Eugenia's mother, Teófila, was the half-sister (through the father) of Vicente Francisco *Tinoki*, a former alcalde at Mission San Fernando and later a Kitanemuk chief at El Tejón (Johnson n.d.b).

José Cupertino, later known as "José Chiminea," was a prominent member of the Indian community at Saticoy. Fernando Librado described his performances of the Blackbird, Seaweed, and Barracuda Dances at Pomposa's Saticoy fiesta in 1869 (Hudson et al. 1977:91-92). José Cupertino and Leandra had sons in 1856 and 1859, but who both died in 1859. This couple was listed in the 1860 census among the Saticoy Indians. In 1862, Leandra had a daughter named María Josefa ("Josefina") Leyva who was born in San Fernando (Los Angeles Plaza Church Bap. Bk. 4, No. 53). This child's father was said to be Juan Leyva, who was later a teamster and vaquero on the Tejon Ranch. However, José Juan Olivas mentioned that Josefina was his "cousin," raising the possibility that he considered José Cupertino to have been her father. It is known that José Cupertino (a.k.a. "José Chiminea") later moved to Tejon and was eventually killed there (Harrington n.d.b). Perhaps Juan Leyva was actually Josefina's step-father and José Cupertino was her real father; however, the California Indian enrollment application that Josefina submitted to the BIA in 1928 identifies Juan Leyva as her father, and José Juan Olivas's signature appears as one of her witnesses.

María Josefa ("Josefina") Leyva married Isidoro García, who may have been partly of San Fernando Mission Indian ancestry on his mother's side. Josefina later separated from Isidoro García and lived with Bill Gardner at his "Fish Camp" near Pitas Point. Several Chumash families lived at or near Bill Gardner's Fish Camp in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Harrington n.d.b; Eugenia Apodaca, John Callis, Ralph Morello, Carol Pulido, Edna Rodríguez, and Vincent Tumamait, personal communications).

Josefina and Isidoro García had three children: Petra, Frances, and Santiago ("Jim"). Petra García married José Valenzuela, the brother-in-law of Candelaria Valenzuela, and also had numerous offspring

(Suria Gottesman, Leo Valenzuela, and Paul Varela, personal communications). Frances García married Alfred Cooke and also had a large family (Charlie Cooke, Ted García, and Lyda Manríquez, personal communications). Jim García moved to the Tejon Ranch, where he married María Miranda, the stepdaughter of Juan Lozada, chief of the Tejon Indian community. He also had many children (Celestina García Montes and Mary García Montes, personal communications). Many descendants of Josefina and Isidoro García live in Ventura, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and Kern counties today. The Oakbrook Park Chumash Interpretive Center in Thousand Oaks is directed by one of their descendants, Paul Varela. Many other family members are actively involved in Native American heritage concerns in the Santa Monica Mountains and neighboring regions.

Candelaria [Valenzuela] was to become the most famous of Pedro Antonio *Chuyuy*'s and Euqueria's children, because of her reputation as a maker of fine basketry (Moser 1993:45-47). Her first child, born in 1863, was the son of Jesús María, who was probably the brother of Pomposa, the chief of the Saticoy Indians (see *Muwu* Lineage 2). In 1865 Candelaria married José Epifacio Ríos (José "Grande"), another Saticoy resident (see *Muwu* Lineage 3). Five children of this couple are listed in the baptismal register of San Buenaventura between 1865 and 1881. By 1880 Candelaria had moved to Ventura, where she boarded with Petra Pico, another famous Chumash basketmaker (Johnson 1994). She separated from José Epifacio Ríos and had two children by José Olivas. Her only known descendants come from her youngest son, José Eduardo Olivas, born in 1888; his son, Candelaria's grandson, is a resident of Ventura County today. Candelaria's last husband was José Valenzuela from Sonora, Mexico. J. P. Harrington met Candelaria in 1913 and consulted with her regarding Ventureño Chumash basketry and culture (Plate L). She also was interviewed by George Henley and Dr. Bizzell in 1914. In 1915, when she was cooking on the Peirano Ranch, Candelaria's clothes caught fire and she died from the burns she received (Blackburn 1963).

## DISCUSSION

In Chapter 8, we summarized Chumash history after mission secularization to demonstrate the continuity of specific communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this chapter, we have sharpened our focus to ascertain the histories of individual families that have descended from people born in native Chumash towns in the vicinity of the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area. As became clear during the discussion of these family lineages, many Santa Monica Mountains descendants were integrally a part of post-secularization communities that existed at San Buenaventura, Saticoy, La Cieneguita, San Fernando, El Escorpión, and El Tejón. Many of these communities themselves merged or intertwined.

In the early twentieth century, individual families who had ancestry from the Santa Monica Mountains were widespread in California. Although our project was limited in scope to those families who remained in the Chumash region, people as far away as Monterey County to the north and San Diego and Baja California to the south had ancestors from various Santa Monica Mountains towns. One family was discovered to have been incorporated into the Tule River Indian Reservation.

In addition to individual families we were able to trace, two principal communities persisted where people of Santa Monica Mountains ancestry were living. These were the Chumash neighborhood of Ventura and the Indian rancheria on the Tejon Ranch. Our discoveries regarding the histories of such communities and families provides factual information regarding the most likely descendants of the native peoples who once controlled the territory now under National Park Service jurisdiction within the Santa Monica Mountains.

**Plate L.** Candelaria Valenzuela.
*Harrington Papers, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, JPH-CA-CH-9*

# CHAPTER 12

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONSULTATION

John R. Johnson and Sally McLendon

The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and other national legislation that requires consultation with American Indian and Native Hawaiian groups has instituted a new era in the relations between native people and government agencies responsible for managing collections and properties that have traditional importance to indigenous cultures. In regions like California, where Native American groups were severely impacted following the coming of Europeans, the identification of surviving descendants and communities of the original tribal groups becomes a matter of utmost importance if federal agencies with stewardship responsibilities are to consult with the most appropriate representatives. This ethnohistoric study of Chumash community history and lineal descent was designed and implemented as a case study to demonstrate how it is possible objectively and fairly to link indigenous inhabitants of the two areas now under National Park Service Stewardship in the Santa Barbara Channel Region with descendant groups and families that exist today.

"Cultural affiliation" and "lineal descent" are two key concepts embedded in NAGPRA that have guided this project from the beginning. Specifically NAGPRA defines "cultural affiliation" as "a relationship of shared group identity ... between a present day Indian tribe ... and an identifiable earlier group." When Native American human remains and associated funerary objects are discovered on a National Park, priority in ownership is given to:

> ... lineal descendants of the Native American; or ... in any case in which such lineal descendants cannot be ascertained, and in the case of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony ... in the Indian tribe ... which has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects and which, upon notice, states a claim for such remains or objects ... [U.S. Code 1990:3050].

Prior to discussing our recommendations for consultation with lineal descendants and tribes with closest cultural affiliation, it is necessary to review and summarize the principal findings of this project that pertain to the continuation of Chumash sociopolitical groups from initial contact to the twentieth century.

## Chumash Political Organization at the Time of European Contact

At the time of European arrival, the basic Chumash sociopolitical units consisted of towns that were largely independent from one another. Sometimes a particularly effective chief would have some form of authority over several towns, but he was by no means all-powerful. While the basis for his leadership may have been determined partly by birth, it was more dependent on personality, the ability to control certain economic activities, and success in creation of alliances with other chiefs. Despite ethnohistoric and ethnographic evidence that the powers of Chumash chiefs were somewhat limited, there remain intriguing indications that sometimes several towns would be linked in what have been termed "federations." The relationship between major centers and lesser towns remains unclear.

Fernando Librado, one of our best ethnographic sources for Chumash social and political traditions, told J. P. Harrington in 1912-1913 that only the four largest towns on Santa Cruz Island had once had chiefs in residence and that one of these was recognized as paramount chief (*paqwot*) of the entire island (Hudson et al. 1977:14). Mission register research corroborates some of Librado's information: only four identified chiefs are named for Santa Cruz Island, one each for the four largest towns (Johnson 1982a, 1993b). Juan Estevan Pico, a native Chumash speaker who compiled a list of native towns remembered in the 1880s, told H. W. Henshaw that certain towns were "capitals . . . where festivals, feasts, and perhaps councils were held" (Heizer 1955:194; Appendix IV). Late-eighteenth-century Spanish observers mention that certain chiefs, like Yanonali of *Syuxtun* and "El Buchón" of *Tsipxatu*, held some form of authority over surrounding towns (see Chapter 3).

The question raised by such reports is whether evidence for ascendancy of certain chiefs necessarily implies several levels of jurisdictional hierarchy in Chumash society. Although some anthropologists have concluded that this was indeed the case (e.g., the discussion of Chumash "provinces" in Hudson and Underhay 1978), most ethnohistoric evidence suggests that political organization seldom extended much beyond a particular town. There are no named supravillage political units present among the Chumash, which would be expected if complex chiefdoms had been present. Only town names were recorded in ethnohistoric and ethnographic records. Major centers or "capitals" appear to have been places wherein resided chiefs who were responsible for sponsoring festivals to observe important religious ceremonies. As elsewhere in California, chiefs held important religious functions, as well as political roles, and often had wide-ranging networks of relatives who assisted in supporting such festivals. The Chumash settlement pattern of large towns with chiefs and lesser towns without such leaders might result from a process of fissioning of smaller "daughter" communities from "parent towns." Important ceremonies continued to draw people back to larger towns for important festivals, but the chief's power over outlying communities was otherwise limited.

## Political Organization during and after the Mission Period

Over a period of forty years, native Chumash towns on the Channel Islands and in the Santa Monica Mountains were abandoned as people were incorporated into mission communities. The effects of intro-

duced European diseases resulted in a catastrophic population decline during this period. Yet despite the loss of their traditional land base, there is evidence that traditional leadership and earlier sociopolitical units continued to be recognized throughout the Mission Period. This may be seen in the continued identification of certain individuals as *capitanes* (chiefs) in the *padrones* (census registers kept at each mission) and in the continued identification of people with the names of their earlier pre-mission towns in the registers of all missions. That traditional sociopolitical units continued to be of importance at the missions is further indicated by the fact that in some *padrones*, families were organized according to their earlier towns. It is likely that the citizens of each pre-mission town continued to live together as a group once they came to the mission.

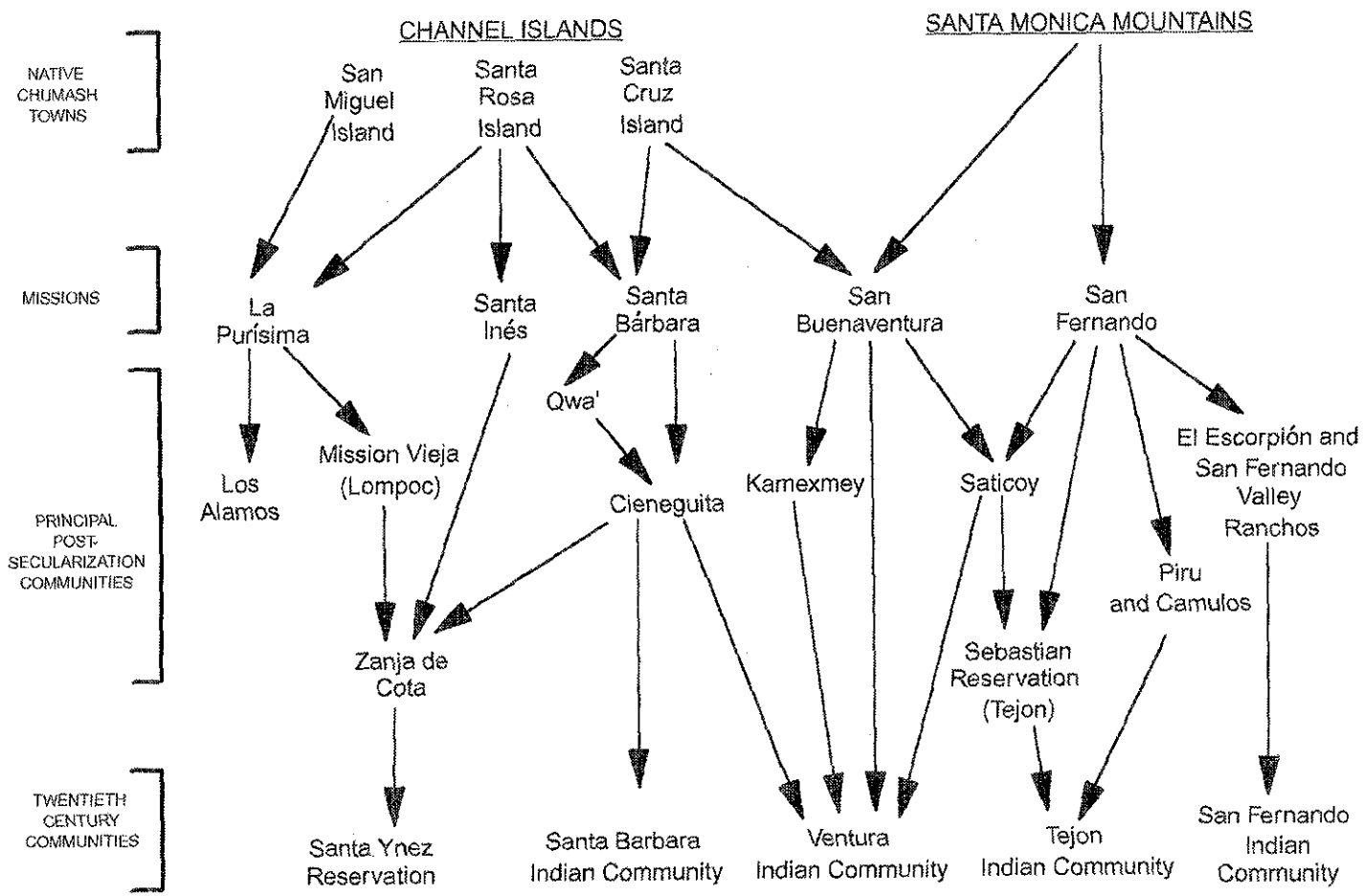
The continuing vitality of earlier sociopolitical units can be traced following secularization of the missions (Figure 12.1), despite the continuing impacts of declining population and pressures endured from becoming a minority population in a dominant Euroamerican society. The elderly Chumash Indian people interviewed by Harrington in the early twentieth century had all been born and raised during the period following secularization, and they provided him with firsthand descriptions of communities that persisted during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Although the original land bases of the earlier sociopolitical units had been lost, one can see the re-emergence and vitality of Chumash sociopolitical groups during the post-mission period. For example, Channel Islanders at each mission lived together for several decades, maintaining their distinctiveness as sociopolitical units apart from other Chumash communities. Chiefs continued to be chosen to represent certain important towns, even though those towns since been abandoned during early Mission times long before. These chiefs continued to host and attend ceremonial gatherings and represent their ancestral communities during periodic festivals.

As intermarriage linked various Chumash families together and the encroachment of non-Indians continued to erode the land allotments given to them during mission secularization, the separate communities began to merge (Figure 12.1). Some of the surviving families associated with La Purísima moved to Zanja de Cota at Santa Ynez, while others moved to Cieneguita near Santa Barbara. Saticoy, which included many families from the Santa Monica Mountains region, was eventually abandoned and its residents moved to Ventura. At least two Indian communities persisted in the San Fernando Valley on land grants given to prominent Indian leaders when the missions were secularized, one at El Escorpión and the other in the vicinity of the old Mission. Many other former San Fernando neophytes emigrated to the Sebastian Reservation at Tejón in the 1850s.

Both the Cieneguita community in Santa Barbara and the Sebastian Reservation at Tejón had Indian agents appointed under the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, thereby being extended federal recognition and protection during the 1850s and 1860s. The land at Cieneguita, however, was subsequently deemed private property and was gradually sold by the remaining Chumash families, mostly to the man who had been appointed their agent. Because at Tejón a land grant was claimed from the Mexican Period and later patented, the reservation had to be abandoned even though Indian people continued to reside there in several native communities headed by chiefs. Despite the loss of their lands, the Indian communities at Cieneguita and Tejón persisted. Although in the 1880s the last residents of Cieneguita were forced to move from their homes, their sense of community remained. This is abundantly documented in oral

**Figure 12.1**

Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains
Contributions to Descendant Chumash Communities



interviews conducted by Harrington between 1912 and 1958 and in oral interviews conducted as recently as this year. The Tejón Indians were able to live together at the Tejon Canyon ranchería for much longer than the Chumash at Cieneguita, largely permitted to do so by ranch owners who employed many of the men as vaqueros and laborers. Indeed the Tejón Indians' sense of community remains strong today and they are in the process of obtaining federal recognition as a tribe.

Ventura's Chumash community had great vitality throughout the nineteenth century. Some Chumash people who had been at Cieneguita and San Fernando moved there, as well as those from Saticoy and other post-secularization communities in the Ventura County area. Henry Henshaw visited and described this community in 1882 when he consulted with several residents during his fieldwork to collect linguistic data [see Appendix X]. Federal census records, contemporary court records, newspaper articles, and J. P. Harrington's ethnographic notes document this community's persistence during the late nineteenth century (Johnson 1994). Its continued existence in the twentieth century is verified by by J. P. Harrington's field notes from March 12, 1913, when he went door to door surveying all the Chumash families of this community who were living in the same neighborhood, and is further substantiated by Johnson's interviews with people who grew up in the community.

It was easy for certain earlier commentators to assume that Chumash communities no longer existed because of repeated loss of their land base, but ethnohistorical research by Harrington and by us has demonstrated that people often regrouped in residential neighborhoods where the community was maintained. Intermarriage between Chumash families further strengthened community bonds. Even though people may seem to live in a more dispersed manner today, the same sense of community persists. Although the original scope of work for this study did not include the collection of oral histories, more than 170 individuals came forward during the four years that this project was underway to offer information and seek assistance regarding family genealogies, and they often provided oral histories in the process (see Appendix XIV). These interviews have improved our ability to trace family genealogies and continuity of communities throughout the twentieth century.

Our study has demonstrated that at least five surviving communities are direct descendants of the original Chumash sociopolitical groups that existed in the Channel Islands and Santa Monica Mountains (Figure 12.1). Only one of these, the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians, has been federally recognized. Yet our research suggests that Santa Barbara, Ventura, San Fernando, and Tejón also produced Indian communities that are direct continuations of earlier groups who came from areas now under Park Service stewardship. Since National Park Service policies (1988) require consultation with American Indians when park programs or actions affect their interests, our research will make it possible for the parks to consult these Indian communities as well as the federally-recognized band. Although repatriation of human remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects, and other objects cannot occur automatically at this time, consultation about their disposition is supported by policy and does and should occur.

## Lineal Descendants

As documented earlier in this chapter, NAGPRA gives precedence to the lineal descendants of known individuals with respect to ownership of their human remains and of the funerary objects associated with those remains when they are discovered in National Parks and on other federal land. Since it is difficult, if not impossible to know the identity of an individual whose remains are found in a traditional Native cemetery, it is difficult to know how to trace that individual's direct lineal descendants, although it is conceivable that DNA analysis could be of use. As we have shown in Chapters 10 and 11, however, because many California Indian groups were missionized there exist detailed mission records that can be used to establish lineal descent from members of the earlier identifiable groups, in this case ethnohistorically-known towns. Because these communities were relatively small and their members interrelated in multiple ways, a lineal descendant of any of the citizens of a town has a strong chance of being a lineal descendant of most, if not all, of the citizens of that town, and therefore of most of the people who were buried in that town's cemetery. Nonetheless, according to the letter of the law, such known relatives who descend from an identified town apparently have no standing under NAGPRA, unless they are members of a culturally affiliated federally-recognized tribe or can prove that they are direct lineal descendants of an identified individual in a particular grave.

Our study identified ten lineages from the Channel Islands (Table 12.1) and ten lineages from the Santa Monica Mountains (Table 12.2) who are represented by known descendants today. Members of each of these modern family groups are plausible descendants of burials that may be encountered at their ancestral Chumash town. As such, they should be identified and consulted whenever Native American human remains are encountered in the vicinity of their ancestral town, either accidentally or in the course of planned archaeological excavation. Such consultation should be implemented, even through final decision-making authority pertaining to human burials resides with the designated NAGPRA representative of the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation and/or other culturally affiliated group that attains federal recognition. This seems the best approach to carry out the clear intent of NAGPRA -- to give priority to direct lineal descendants -- and complies with National Park Service policies (1988) which require consultation with American Indians when Park programs or actions affect their interests.

## Recommendations for Consultation

Given that at least five existing communities are direct continuations of the original Chumash sociopolitical groups in the Santa Monica Mountains and Channel Islands and that a number of family lineages have descended from native towns in those same areas, how is the National Park Service to operationalize its consultation for NAGPRA and other purposes? In order to minimize conflicts that may arise from competing claims, mechanisms must be set in place to handle situations that arise when human burials are uncovered through inadvertent discovery or during planned archaeological investigations.

The regulations for NAGPRA implementation require that consultation take place with

> known lineal descendants and Indian tribe officials: (1) from Indian tribes on whose aboriginal lands the planned activity will occur or where the inadvertant discovery has been made; and (2) from Indian tribes ... that are, or are likely to be culturally affiliated with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony; and (3) from Indian tribes ... that have a demonstrated cultural relationship with the human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony [U.S. Department of Interior 1995:62162].

The Native communities of Cieneguita, Ventura, San Fernando, and Tejón, which continued the earlier towns of the Channel Islands and/or the Santa Monica Mountains on whose aboriginal lands burials may be uncovered, have not maintained or achieved federal recognition. The only Chumash tribe with federal recognition is the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians, some of whose members have been identified as lineal descendants of citizens of one or more Channel Island towns. However, many more lineal descendants of citizens of Channel Island towns, as well as those of Santa Monica Mountain towns, have been identified who are not members of the Santa Ynez Band.

Therefore, we recommend:

(1) A memorandum of agreement should be signed between each of these parks and the Santa Ynez Band's Business Council to arrange for consultation mandated by NAGPRA and other federal laws. Either the NAGPRA representative appointed by the Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians or the Tribal Elders Council should be contacted to assist in drafting the memoranda of agreements.

(2) Because our study has identified at least four other descendant communities that are direct continuations of "identifiable earlier groups" in the study area, and therefore culturally affiliated with areas under Park Service stewardship, some form of consultation mechanism should be set up with them. Several groups have applied for federal recognition and our research suggests that the Santa Barbara Chumash, Ventura Chumash, and Tejón Indian communities could all present strong cases to achieve federal tribal status, if they choose to do so. These communities typically are democratically organized in large extended families. Group consultation can probably best be achieved, if the group wishes, through a council composed of representatives chosen by each of the extended families in the descendant communities that have not yet achieved federal recognition.

(3) Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area and Channel Islands National Park should meet with the NAGPRA representative from the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation to explore an arrangement that could involve modern relatives in decision-making when they can prove ancestry from particular Chumash towns. There is a precedent for this suggestion -- such consultation between the reservation's NAGPRA representative and non-reservation Chumash descendants from the Channel Islands has already occurred in several instances. Once such an agreement is reached, the Parks should each hold meetings with modern relatives descended from each earlier town, in order to agree on how consultation could most appropriately be carried out in the case of inadvertent or intentional discovery of Native

**TABLE 12.1**
**Channel Islands Descendants Traced to the Twentieth Century**

| LINEAGE | PROMINENT 20th CENTURY DESCENDANT | DESCENDANTS KNOWN TODAY |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Xaxas* 1 | Eduardo Romero | Yes |
| 2. *Xaxas* 2 | | No |
| 3. *L'akayamu* 1 | | No |
| 4. *L'akayamu* 2 | | No |
| 5. *L'akayamu* 3 | Juan Isidoro Pico | No |
| 6. *Liyam* 1 | Juan Isidoro Pico | No |
| 7. *Liyam* 2 | Juan ("Chocolate") Pacífico | No |
| 8. *Liyam* 3 | María Ana Hall | Yes |
| 9. *Nanawani* 1 | | No |
| 10. *Nanawani* 2 | Fernando Librado | No |
| 11. *Nanawani* 3 | Rosa Cota | Yes |
| 12. *Nanawani* 4 | Cecilio Tumamait, María Antonia Tumamait | Yes |
| 13. *Swaxil 1* | Luís Arellanes | Yes |
| 14. *Swaxil* 2 | Aurelia Sánchez | Yes |
| 15. *Swaxil* 3 | Juan Barrios, Tomás Barrios, Josefa Barrios Pérez | Yes |
| 16. *Swaxil* 4 | | No |
| 17. *Lu'upsh* 1 | | No |
| 18. *Qshiwqshiw* 1 | Clara Miranda | Yes |
| 19. *Qshiwqshiw* 2 | | No |
| 20. *Qshiwqshiw* 3 | | No |
| 21. *Hichimin* 1 | Josefa Delfina Castiano | Yes |
| 22. *Hichimin* 2 | | No |
| 23. *Silimihi* 1 | Fernando Cordero? | Yes |
| 24. *Nimkilkil* 1 | | No |
| 25. *Nimkilkil* 2 | | No |
| 26. *Tuqan* 1 | Emma Gutiérrez | No |

**TABLE 12.2**
**Santa Monica Mountain Descendants Traced to the Twentieth Century**

| LINEAGE | PROMINENT 20th CENTURY DESCENDANT | DESCENDANTS KNOWN TODAY |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Muwu* 1 | María Ana Hall | Yes |
| 2. *Muwu* 2 | Josefa Castiano | Yes |
| 3. *Muwu* 3 | Juana Ríos Rodríguez | Yes |
| 4. *Muwu* 4 | Juan Isidoro Pico | No |
| 5. *Muwu* 5 | | No |
| 6. *Muwu* 6 | | No |
| 7. *Muwu* 7 | Juan Miller | Yes |
| 8. *Lisiqishi* 1 | Juan Miller | Yes |
| 9. *Lisiqishi* 2 | | No |
| 10. *Lisiqishi* 3 | | No |
| 11. *Lisiqishi* 4 | | No |
| 12. *Loxostox'ni* 1 | Francisco More | No |
| 13. *Loxostox'ni* 2 | Juana Ríos Rodríguez,<br>María Basilisa Barrios Tumamait,<br>Eduardo Romero | Yes<br>Yes<br>Yes |
| 14. *Loxostox'ni* 3 | | No |
| 15. *Sumo* 1 | Aurelia Sánchez | No |
| 16. *Humaliwo* 1<br>(Also see *Loxostox'ni* 2) | Neva Balerio | Yes |
| 17. *Humaliwo* 2 | Juana Encinas, Agustín Hinio | Yes |
| 18. *Humaliwo* 3 | Catarina O'Brien Bermúdez ?,<br>Ysidora O'Brien Domínguez ? | Yes<br>Yes |
| 19. *Humaliwo* 4 | | No |
| 20. *Humaliwo* 5 | | No |
| 21. *S'apwi* 1 | | No |
| 22. *S'apwi* 2 | | No |
| 23. *S'apwi* 3 | José Juan Olivas | No |

(Continued)

**TABLE 12.2**
**Santa Monica Mountain Descendants Traced to the Twentieth Century**

| LINEAGE | PROMINENT 20th CENTURY DESCENDANT | DESCENDANTS KNOWN TODAY |
|---|---|---|
| 24. *Sumuawawa* 1 | | No |
| 25. *Sumuawawa* 2 | | No |
| 26. *Sumuawawa* 3 | | No |
| 27. *Hipuk* 1 | Francisco More | No |
| 28. *Hipuk* 2 | | No |
| 29. *Hipuk* 3 | | No |
| 30. José Miguel Triunfo | José Ortiz | No |
| 31. *Ta'lopop* 1 | | No |
| 32. El Escorpión 1 | Juan Menéndez | No |
| 33. El Escorpión 2 | | No |
| 34. El Escorpión 3 | Candelaria Valenzuela,<br>José Juan Olivas | Yes<br>No |

American human remains on Park lands in the territories of their ancestral towns. This would set up a process in accord with NPS policy that Parks consult widely with affected Native American groups and with NAGPRA's intent that direct lineal descendants have priority in repatriation when burials are encountered. Each extended family or lineage could be asked to appoint a representative or representatives as contact people who would meet with the National Park Service and transmit information back to their families. The names and telephone numbers of lineal descendants or agreed upon contact persons should be collected and maintained at Park Service headquarters and updated at frequent intervals (at least twice a year). Given the fact that intermarriage through time has concentrated descendant lineages in some families, the council of family representatives described above will also include lineal descendants who could be consulted regarding burials from towns for whom descendants could not be traced.

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