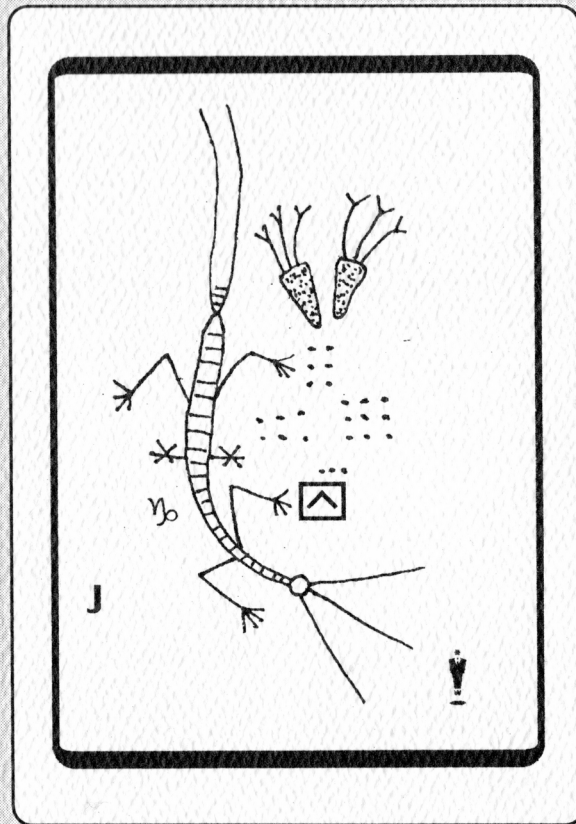


Academic Nihilism

And the Chumash Indians



By John M. Anderson
Historian

Hubris And Gatekeeping Relations With the Chumash Indians

Web Pages of John Anderson

Nihilism

John Anderson is a New Western historian, who also write about the mythology of native Americans. He joins a growing number of scholars who are reassessing the history of the western United states, offering fresh viewpoints on events which shaped public policy in the past century. In this volume, he focuses on the often contentious relations between American academics and the Chumash Indians of California.

Native American history: Chumash, Anthropology,
mass media, Nihilism, Primitivism, New Primitivism,
cultural identity, University of California.

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HUBRIS

*The web pages featured in this text represent almost six years
of internet debate over the proper role of non-Indian scholars
in defining tribal identity.*

Hubris refers to insolence or arrogance resulting from excessive pride or from passion. In the web pages featured in this book, the problem of hubris lies in the background of every discussion.

The author began working with the non-reservation Chumash in the late 1970's. At this time, he was researching the history of the Tejon Indian Reservation. This inquiry led Anderson, who has a Ph.D. in philosophy of education, to become interested in the unique relationship between anthropologists, archaeologists, and contemporary Chumash Indians. Anderson concluded that the federal government's continued use of these academics as "gatekeepers" of cultural identity favored an outdated policy that needed correction.

When he published *No Brave Champion* in 1997, Anderson's documentation of racial and religious bias in texts published by the University of California was joined by a call for expanding dialogue between anthro-pologists, archaeologists, and other disciplines in the humanities.

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Introduction

The debate featured in this text was monitored by the Chumash Internet Project, which in the 1990's hosted over two hundred web pages on the history and culture of the Chumash Indians of Southern California. Numerous Chumash individuals participated in the discussions in these web pages, especially on the topics of Chumash identity and protection of Point Conception as a sacred site.

Two themes that also appeared and reappeared in these web pages are academic nihilism and scholarly hubris. Contemporary guidelines for establishing federal recognition of native American communities are criticized for unjustly frustrating the efforts of the Chumash and other native peoples of California seeking legal rights in the courts. Without a reinstatement of their previous legal status, it is argued in these web pages, these non-reservation Chumash will not be able to establish a federally protected land base where they can build a sustained community. As a consequence of these legal barriers, the majority of Chumash people continue to be frustrated in their efforts to protect their cultural and archaeological sites from destruction by ongoing American development.

Anthropologists who graduated from the University of California, at Santa Barbara, play important roles in this text. One is Dr. Brian Haley from the Oneonta campus in New York, and another is Dr. John Johnson who is the Curator of the anthropology program at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Readers of my web pages on the *Jonjonata* archaeology site are familiar with John Johnson, whom I first met in the 1970's when he was a student at UCSB. He is known to the residents of Santa Barbara through his many public appearances at the local museum and to a national audience through his numerous articles on Chumash culture. Some background on Dr. Haley is also helpful to the reader, in understanding the web pages featured in this text. In November of 1996, Haley published an article in the American Cultural Resources Association (ACRA) internet web page. Haley was a graduate student at this time. He advocated that American academic ethnographers employed by local, state, and federal bureaucracies should continue to be empowered as legal "gatekeepers of genuine indigenous traditions."

Nihilism

Tom King responded to Haley's comments: "It's a real leap from the notion that cultural anthropologists are usually, normally, the folks to do TCP [traditional cultural property] studies to the idea that such specialists are the 'gatekeepers of genuine indigenous tradition.'

Excuse me, but that looks to me like a pretty amazing case of hubris. Whoever does a TCP study has the obligation to present the results in an unbiased manner and offer interpretations and judgments flowing from the results, but I don't think that makes such a person a 'gatekeeper' of cultural genuineness in the way that, say, an archeologist can (with numerous caveats) be understood to be the gatekeeper of archeological research significance."

In this selection of web pages, the function of Haley's 'gate' being guarded by American scholars is contested. I join King and others who propose that academics need to throw off their historic role as sole arbitrators of native identity.

John Anderson
March 4, 2011

Controversies Between Traditional Chumash and the Academic Community ¹

2000

Campbell Grant And the Cuyama Chumash

As recently as 1978, [Campbell] Grant argued, in the Smithsonian *Handbook of Native American Indians*, that: "The Interior Chumash occupying the northern territory are virtually unknown."

Actually the Chumash who lived in the interior mountains of California were not virtually unknown. A great deal was known about them through government records, and John Harrington accumulated extensive information on Cuyama and the nearby Tejon Chumash [whose territory Campbell includes in his denial of information]. In fact, Harrington's rich research files were stored in the Smithsonian, but much of it had not been made available to the public by the late 1970's.

Campbell Grant alienated Chumash admirers after publishing this Cuyama article for the *Handbook*. Many Chumash deeply appreciated Campbell's lifetime of dedication to the preservation of their rock art, but found his viewpoints on their culture less than desirable. Campbell ended his Cuyama article, for example, with a 1925 quote from Alfred Kroeber in which Kroeber argued that the highly developed technical abilities of the Chumash "do not by any means prove an equal superiority in other directions." ²

Why Campbell chose to close with this disparaging remark is unknown, but it clearly reflected the negative views that many members of the public held at this time and did little to foster better relations between the academic community and the Chumash.

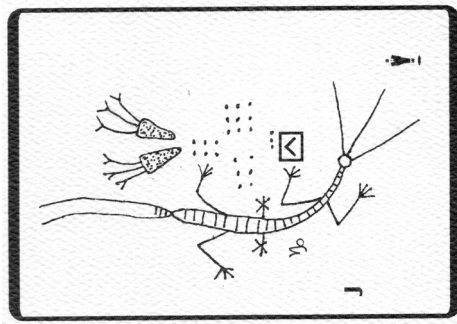
The relationship between American academics and the Chumash Indians have been strained from the beginning of the American occupation of California in the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. Alfred Kroeber, who is known as the 'father' of California anthropology, set the

Nihilism

stage for generations of denigration of native Californians by researchers associated with the University of California. Through his example, many other academics gained encouragement for publishing their social, religious, and racial bias under the guise of academic neutrality (scientific methodology).³

The role of some leading academics in popularizing the Vanishing Indian myth, including claims for the 'extinction' of the Chumash and other native Californians, caused much suffering among native families. It has also resulted in deep bitterness among many surviving Chumash who live in Santa Barbara, Ventura, San Luis Obispo, Kern, and Los Angeles counties.

John Anderson
October 5, 2000



No Brave Champion

**A Book about Racism,
The Chumash Indians, and
the University of California ⁴**

1997

No Brave Champion is a book I wrote in 1997. It proved controversial in that it challenged conventional wisdom concerning the writings of University of California professors studying native California cultures, in the early part of the twentieth century. Generations of California school children have been educated about the primitiveness and uncivilized behavior of the region's native people, prior to the invasion of Christian Americans. The text asks the reader to examine a number of 'classics' in the field, and questions how they can best be presented in secondary and college classrooms in an era of increasing cultural tolerance

California Culture Has Its Roots In Racism

California needs to frankly acknowledge that its culture and economy has been built on a foundation of racism. It should be publicly acceptable to condemn this as a shameful heritage, for California society will soon be undergoing profound changes in race relations. A realistic assessment of the past is essential for laying the foundations for better race relations in the future.

One of the main causes of native political isolation is the saturation of mass media with Euro-centric world views. This is generally the economic reality imposed on television networks, newspapers, magazines, and books. Such media extol the virtue of white culture, interpreting world events from the perspective of Western Europe as the keystone of historical progress... As a person of European descent, I am concerned about the widespread popularity of... conservative ideas in California. Conservation is only a virtue if what is being conserved is desirable. ⁶



B

**Champion, Racism, the Chumash Indians,
and the University of California**

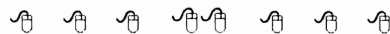
Culturally Biased Textbooks

"To fully understand the detrimental impact of culturally biased textbooks on University of California classrooms, the reader needs to explore the linkage between the disciplines of philosophy and sociology. Social pressures on academic and church leaders caused Americans to continuously misrepresent the theological views of native California philosophers. In the past this was a minor issue for most colleges and universities. The low priority placed on native American studies was easily justified by academic administrators on the grounds of inadequate enrollment in these courses.

What they failed to acknowledge was that a proactive policy was necessary, to increase enrollments in this field because virtually all of the students had been trained from their first classroom experiences to ignore native cultural issues.

Such publicly expressed prejudice has generated a stressful racial tension in the State of California, because the treatment of native peoples by non-natives remains one of the most important fields of studies in the humanities." ⁹

John Anderson
No Brave Champion



Scholarly Neutrality

I do not believe that scholars can write morally 'neutral' texts in

the humanities. The problem explored in this book, therefore, is NOT that ethical values have crept into the articles and books of University of California professors. What is important is that we clearly understand the explicit and implicit judgments intertwined with facts and figures presented in our classrooms, and that we take responsibility for the impact of these judgments on the lives of people - for both the living and future generations.⁷

What is Civilization?

Open-minded study of another culture is difficult. In the past, many Euro-American scholars have not been equal to the great sensitivity demanded of the endeavor. The Chumash, for example, have been repeatedly described as uncivilized by Euro-Christian scholars. One of the meanings of the term civilization is to act civilly, that is, to serve an ethics greater than one's own narrow self-interests. In this sense, both Chumash and Europeans demonstrated civilized behavior when they elevated their ethics beyond individual selfishness. But the term has a broader meaning which includes simple decency - a respect for fairness and courtesy. Given these criteria, it has been white Americans who have too often acted as uncivilized people.⁸

Concluding Remarks

The Chumash survived the destiny of extermination prophesied by white scholars in the early part of this century. Each year, more and more people with Chumash ancestors are joining groups dedicated to the preservation of the Chumash culture, and are proudly declaring themselves among the survivors of the California Holocaust"¹⁰

△ △ △ △

Thes web pages in this booklet cover a wide spectrum of issues, often featuring traditional Chumash viewpoints that are not reported by the mass media. At the bottom of most of my web pages was a disclaimer stating that the text represents the views of the author and "does not necessarily represent the views of the Chumash Indians, either individually or in a group." As I explain in my history text called *The Chumash Nation*, the modern Chumash are a diverse people represented by many associations and councils. No one viewpoint can ever capture the rich diversity of contemporary Chumash life.

There is a good deal of interest in these and other topics relating to the modern Chumash people of southern California. By May of 2002, web pages by the Chumash Internet Project had over a third of a million 'hits' registered by viewers wanting to learn more about the native Californians. The homepage was called "The Chumash Indians" and it had over 168,000 hits by November 2002. Only a fraction of these web pages remain on the web today.

The Chumash Controversy Continues

The Haley and Wilcoxon Debate

1997 - 1998

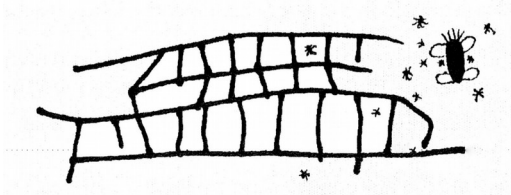
The purpose of this webpage is to present additional comments on an article mentioned in my main webpage on the California Spaceport. This article, written by Brian Haley and Larry Wilcoxon, is called "Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition." It appeared in the journal of *Current Anthropology* in December 1997.

Some of the statements by the article authors have proven quite controversial, both among scholars and among Traditional Chumash Indians whose continuity with the ancient Chumash culture is challenged by the authors.

Quotes from this article have been used by local California newspapers to raise questions in the public's mind about the legitimacy of many Chumash families to participate in legal hearings about ancient Chumash sites. These same newspapers have also used Haley and Wilcoxon to raise questions about the legitimacy of Point Conception as a recently used 'gate' leading Traditional Chumash souls into the heavens.¹¹

Delineators of Chumash Identity

Haley and Wilcoxon discuss in some detail the mechanisms by which university trained scholars like themselves have been used by California governments, often to the exclusion of contemporary Chumash people, as



the designated judges of Chumash traditional culture.¹²

The guidelines for the National Register of Historic Places, used by government to evaluate traditional cultural properties, was written in 1990. "The guidelines empower anthropologists," they wrote, to serve as "judges of the genuineness and authenticity of tradition and thereby positions them as gatekeeping identifiers and objectifiers of heritage and delineators of identity." ¹³

I wrote in my *Jonjonata* report to Caltrans, the California department of transportation, that I no longer have confidence in the state practice of hiring a single company or individual scholar to write ethnohistories of sites selected for development hearings. The traditional role of university-trained researchers has changed dramatically in recent decades, and the field of Chumash Studies is currently in a state of turmoil as can be seen in the Wilcoxon/Haley article.

'Wilcoxon/Haley do not resolve any of the problems, because their article only 'mirrors' a long-standing dysfunctionality that persists in Chumash anthropology and archaeology. Any solution, I concluded, will have to incorporate a wide spectrum of interest groups (serving as delineators of Chumash identity) including disputing academics and the many Chumash sub-groups or bands whose ancestral sites are threatened by development.¹⁴

In the conclusion to their article, Haley and Wilcoxon claim that anthropologists have had an "intense impact" on the formation of Chumash cultural identity.¹⁵ This may, or may not be the case. The problem is that Haley and Wilcoxon (like the rest of us) are simply speculating, without hard evidence because no systematic survey of all living Chumash has ever been conducted. And even if one were funded and undertaken, I seriously doubt that all Chumash descendants would cooperate fully with such a study, given the deep distrust that exists within this population of white academics and government officials.

Haley and Wilcoxon question the validity of existing federal laws protecting native American sites. "We explicitly state our concerns about the traditional-cultural property guidelines," they write, "including the authority they grant to anthropologist."¹⁶ They also "acknowledge the expertise on various parts or versions of Chumash tradition of Maria Solares, Fernando Librado. Kitsepawit, contemporary Traditionalist, nontraditionalists, and others."¹⁷ But even with these acknowledgments, critics of Haley and Wilcoxon, continue to question how they can become advocates for a strong role for the Chumash in future negotiations over their heritage sites, when Haley and Wilcoxon continue to argue that all Chumash are "modern" and "constructed."¹⁸ As a consequences of these academic disputes, Haley/Wilcoxon persist in presenting a tough critique of other academics whom they charge with "promoting Chumash Traditionalism."¹⁹

Authentic

Verses Modern Chumash?

I can confirm from the contents of my phone calls and emails over the last half year since Haley and Wilcoxon published their article, that they upset a number of people, both native and non-native, when they concluded that ALL Chumash Indians hold "modern" beliefs which are discontinuous with their ancestral religion and culture.²⁰

An underlying issue, in any discussion of the California Spaceport and the rights of native people to contest its development, may be the political/economic impact of charges that all the Chumash are so modern that their identities are less than fifty years old. If less than fifty years old, then they might not qualify under the National Register of Historic Places guidelines to initiate litigation against developers seeking permits for projects like the spaceport which could potentially have a negative impact on ancient Chumash historical sites!

Haley and Wilcoxon acknowledge the uncertainty of federal guidelines in their article. They write, for example, that: "if a property's traditional use has been revived or revitalized within 50 years of its evaluation after a prolong period of disuse, it may still qualify as a traditional cultural property."²¹ At issue is whether some or all of the contemporary Chumash claims about historic sites are "spurious"²² or "invented"²³ or "obstructionist."²⁴

I have exchanged numerous emails with Brian Haley over these issues. This dialogue has been constructive in editing my webpages and expanding our understanding of each other's writings and our differing views.

Haley's views on academic objectivity, for example, are a major area of disagreement between us. He approaches this topic as an academic trained in the social sciences, and I approach it with a training in philosophy. I believe that the evidence collected in the past by Spanish, Mexican, French, Russian, and American observers of the Chumash is incomplete, fragmentary, culturally biased, seemingly contradictory, and therefore forever open to interpretation and dialogue. I therefore remain skeptical of claims made by a long line of white scholars, government officials, military officers, and Christian church leaders who state with certainty that all (meaningful, legal, significant) continuity with the old Chumash culture and religion has ended.

In the mission days, colonial government officials could have ordered the military to round up every family with suspected Traditionalist beliefs and kept them confined until they revealed their hidden beliefs. Or colonial church authorities might have used intimidation to extract confessions of religious deviancy. Obviously,



none of these government interventions into personal lives is acceptable in contemporary California. And as a result, American scholars will have to content themselves with speculation about the continuity of Chumash cultural beliefs. The public should, to do justice to the situation, therefore take Haley and Wilcoxon's proposed classification of all Chumash as modernly "constructed" as only speculative. The moral background to all of these academic discussions is the California Holocaust, and anyone who doubts the depth of religious distrust among native Traditional families in California is underestimating the task ahead of us in healing the wounds of the past.

My recent commentary on the Chumash and recent Spaceport developments has been based on the belief that the public should move beyond the technically legal issues of "authenticity of tradition" and "objectifiers of heritage" and instead focus on the higher moral issues involved in further desecration of ancient Chumash sites. Voters in the State of California need to consider the justice, not only the legality, of policy options at Point Conception and other documented areas of cultural significance near the spaceport.

I am not convinced as of this date (November 15, 1998) that the Air force, the California Spaceport corporation, or the state government of California took adequate steps to ensure justice in their rush for development. What is missing from this narrative is substantiation that the Spaceport coalition showed respect for the basic human rights of the contemporary Chumash, and judiciously invited all of the Chumash bands to participate in consideration of the evidence about disputed sites. If a wide spectrum of Chumash groups were included in a meaningful way in the evaluation of these numerous sites, it would be helpful for the Spaceport coalition to present better documentation of that fact so that all factions in the debate can have a better understanding of the briefing process.

Protection For The Greater Point Conception Area

Haley and Wilcoxon conclude that the immediate vicinity around Point Conception qualifies as "a traditional cultural property." By implication, they are proposing that the larger area within view of Point Conception (including any expanded spaceport facility that might later be located within "the larger area within view from Point Conception") should not be protected under current historic preservation guidelines.²⁵

If the Chumash, under existing American law cannot establish historic use of the greater Point Conception area, then developers might be in a

good position to ensure the expansion of the operations of the California Spaceport. The federal guidelines on revitalized use of Traditional sites apparently remain unclear on this issue. I do not agree with Haley and Wilcoxon's conclusions about the greater Point Conception area. My objections are not solely based on the Traditional beliefs about the greater area being used by the souls of their dead, nor on the physical occupation of the Point by Chumash during the recent LNG protest, but also on my interpretations of Harrington's field notes. I remain concerned, therefore, that the Haley/Wilcoxon findings may be used at a later date by the Spaceport coalition to block Chumash efforts to protect Point Conception (and other Chumash sites located near the spaceport).

Other Scholars Included in the Dispute

For those of you who want to use the web to expand your understanding of the above issues, the following citations may help you in your computer search.

A number of individuals were acknowledged by Haley/Wilcoxon to have assisted in development of this article, with the leading acknowledgment to Dr. John Johnson who is responsible for anthropological research and displays at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. "We thank John Johnson who has followed our project from its inception and provided advice, references, and unpublished data and reviewed earlier drafts." ²⁶ Mary O'Connor is also cited in this footnote as having made beneficial "suggestions" for the article.²⁷ O'Connor was the principal investigator of the 1980's Chevron oil pipeline project built through western Chumash lands. She is often cited as a key player in related debates over the authenticity of contemporary Chumash Traditionalism. Other scholars who provided suggestions include Eve Darlan-Smith, David Cleveland, Tanis Thorne, Don Brown, Richard Handler, Richard Fox, Janice Timbrook, Linda Agren, Gilbert Unzueta, Donna Sheeders, Susan Davidson, and Hallie Heiman.

Hints on searching the web. Scholars who were criticized by Wilcoxon and Haley in their January 1997 article include: Chester King, Diana Wilson, Robert Gibson, and Steve Craig. Scholars who wrote comments printed with the article include: Michael Brown, Jonathan Friedman, Richard Handler, Jean Jackson, Joanne Kealiinohomoku, Klara Kelly, Anders Linde-Laursen, Tim O'Meara, Andrew Spiegel, and David Trigger.

Email From Brian Haley

Dr. Haley emailed me after he read an earlier version of this webpage, to suggest editing changes and to bring me up to date on new

publications covering the Chumash authenticity issue. I appreciate his thoughtful critique, and have cited the following comments for the reader's consideration.

◆ Haley stated that he and Wilcoxon did not claim that Point Conception was never a gate to the afterworld, as the Ventura Star newspaper article charged. "We allege that some Chumash peoples probably did believe this prior to colonization."

◆ Haley questioned my wording in an earlier version of this webpage, stating that he and Wilcoxon do not dismiss Point Conception as an insignificant Chumash religious site (September 8, 1998). In a later article he clarified this statement to say that only the Point and "not the larger Western Gate area" should be made eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places as a traditional Chumash cultural property.²⁸

◆ I speak a good deal about religious issues in my webpages and recent articles on Point Conception and the Spaceport (My graduate work is in philosophy). Haley wrote to remind me to clarify that, while a good deal of space is taken up in his article in discussion of Point Conception as a religious site, current American law does not provide legal mechanisms for effective protection of native American spiritual sites from development. Thus the legal struggle to protect Chumash use sites near the spaceport (including the greater Point Conception area), should the Chumash decide to go to court, would take place within the context of laws protecting historic sites.

This is a correct assessment, and I am editing my webpages to make this issue more clear to my readers. To understand the legal issues involved, one has to go back to the passage of the Religious Freedom Act and the decision of the conservative U.S. Supreme Court to neutralize this act in 1990. The Supreme Court overruled the historic 'compelling interest' doctrine which had previously proved effective in protecting native American sacred sites. Then in 1993, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act was passed by the congress and signed by the president, restoring religious freedom to native peoples (along with people of Christian faiths). But in June of 1997, the Supreme Court once again intervened, declaring the new act unconstitutional and thereby cutting short these temporary protections. Judge Scalia authored the ruling that recognized all "generally applicable" statutes unconstitutional if they conflicted with religious practices.

Throughout California native tribes have been stymied by this restrictive ruling. It has been very frustrating for Traditionalist leaders, as many of the theological issues which matter most to them continue to be ignored by the currently hostile conservative Supreme Court.

◆ Haley and Wilcoxon acknowledge that "the American Indian Religious Freedom Act has proved ineffective."²⁹

The reader can be sure that they will learn more in the future months about the inadequacies of American laws protecting native sites, as other

Nihilism

California Indians join the Chumash in protesting the ethical fairness of this situation. Chris Peters (a Pohliklah/Karuk Indian) is raising many similar issues, for example, concerning native religious sites in northern California. Peters characterizes the U.S. Supreme Court decisions which denies religious protection to native sites as acts of "physical and cultural genocide." I will be addressing this issue of cultural genocide in an article in the *Earth Island Journal* (Fall 1998).

John M. Anderson
Last updated Nov 15, 1998

Jonjonata and Chumash Traditionalism

1998

Jonjonata is a Chumash archaeological site Located West of Santa Barbara

The Jonjonata report (Anderson) was submitted to the Santa Barbara county government and the California State Department of Transportation in April, 1998, and a news release entitled "Controversy Over the Chumash Archaeological Site Called *Jonjonata*" was submitted to various newspapers. Dr. Anderson wants the public to be aware of the many substantive issues involved as the state government concluded hearings on the fate of this important Chumash Indian site. Too many Chumash towns have been destroyed by developers in the past decades, he concludes in his findings which are highly critical of California State policies regulating development on and near native American sites.

The Report Submitted to Caltrans

Anderson submitted a controversial report on *Jonjonata* to the California transportation agency called Caltrans. The Jonjonata town site is located in Santa Barbara County, near the contemporary town of Buellton. Anderson's report provided an overview of *Jonjonata* and proposed significant changes in Caltrans's policies governing public historical reports on native American sites. Anderson acknowledged his misgivings about the ability of Caltrans, or any other state agency, to properly represent the history of native California sites without changes in its operating procedures.

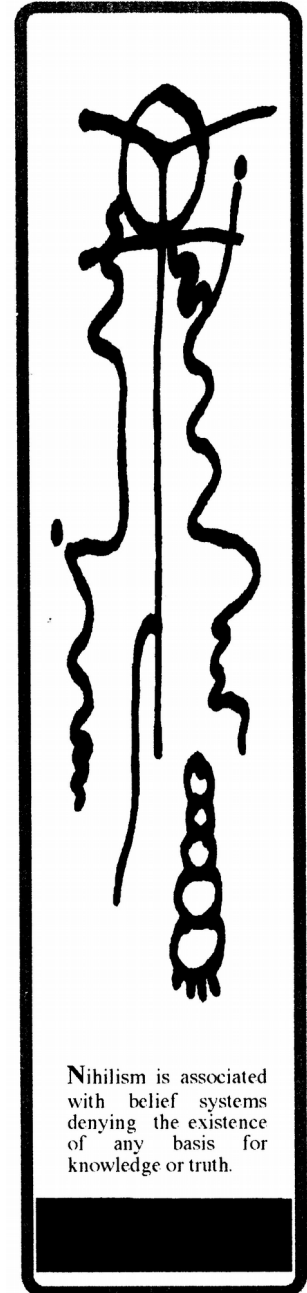
One of the most important statements Anderson makes in this report is that he no longer has confidence in the state practice of hiring a single company or individual scholar to write ethnohistories of sites selected for 'salvage' studies. He believes the traditional role of university-trained researchers has changed dramatically in recent decades, as a large number of doctoral graduates from anthropology and archaeology departments have been unable to find teaching jobs in universities and colleges. A growing number of these scholars have turned to industry and government for employment. Many of these "practical" anthropologists have become spokesmen for corporate and government interests, increasingly conflicting with colleagues who have

been traditional advocates of preservation of native California sites.

Anderson identifies a recent article by Dr. B. Haley and Larry Wilcoxon, published by the journal of Current Anthropology as a pivotal influence on his thinking about *Jonjonata* and other Chumash sites scheduled for 'salvage' study. The field of Chumash Studies is currently in a state of turmoil. One has only to read the Wilcoxon/Haley complaints against a long list of anthropologists, archaeologists, and Chumash groups to identify some of the rival factions active in the various fields of Chumash Studies. Wilcoxon/Haley do not resolve any of the problems, because their article only mirrors a long-standing dysfunctionality that persists in Chumash anthropology and archaeology. If the reader believes even half of Wilcoxon/Haley's charges against their colleagues, then common sense tells us that no single source of analysis should be favored in such a contentious arena...

Anderson believes that for future public contracts the State of California should openly acknowledge the disunity of the academic community in the area of native American studies. Conflicts arise continuously between native and non-native residents, between growth and non-growth interest groups, and even between conflicting native Californian bands. The academic community is too fragmented, and no longer enjoys the necessary esteem of tribal, corporate, and government interest groups to serve as a sole depository of public trust.

With new pressures for rapid growth in the Santa Ynez Valley, it is essential that the public understand the declining role of University trained anthropologists and archaeologists as disinterested arbiters of Chumash authenticity. The policies established by the Department of the Interior for evaluating Chumash cultural heritage have too often proved unworkable. Instead of neutral judges, academics have become spokespersons for various interest groups and frequently express conflicting views on public policy issues. Given this disunity, [the report] concludes that the State of California should revise its existing policies for selecting a neutral arbitrator. The procedural role for native American heritage preservation should be upgraded so that the referees do not have close ties to the conflicting parties. A public hearing should represent the full spectrum of opinions on native California issues, so that it includes not only the views of commercial developers and government agencies but also reservation, non-reservation, Catholic, Protestant, and Traditional Chumash, as well as



dissenting Chumash families who don't associate with any particular contemporary group.

Anderson proposes not only the preservation of the Jonjonata town site from future county road building activities but also asks Caltrans to consider whether Zaca lake, located upstream from *Jonjonata*, should be set aside as a tribal park or monument assigned to the nearby Santa Ynez Indian Reservation. Zaca lake was a 'doorway' into the heavenly realm for the ancient Chumash, according to the testimony of two Chumash traditionalists, M.S. Piliqutayiwit and L. Garcia. In one myth, a Chumash islander used the lake as a pathway to follow the soul of a drowned girl to the celestial realm of the souls. He brought her back through the gateway located at the bottom of the lake. Sites with similar religious associations often warrant special consideration under state laws protecting native California religions.

Anderson also proposes construction of a rest stop or historical sign near the *Jonjonata* archaeological site at intersection of highway 101 and 154. This highway pull off should be dedicated to a historical discussion of Chumash Traditionalism which continues to be a neglected subject on public history roadside signs in Santa Barbara County. The pull off should feature the history of the resistance of local Chumash to 'reduction' in the nearby Purisima and Santa Ynez missions. If *Jonjonata* citizens did migrate into the Chumash mountains, Anderson concludes, they undoubtedly suffered numerous relocations as the ebb and flow of warfare washed through this mountainous region.

The Spanish and Mexicans sent numerous expeditions to punish the Mountain Chumash and their Penutian and Uto-Aztecan allies who joined them in raids and harbored them in times of stress. And the native towns organized numerous counter-attacks against the colonial ranches and missions. Eventually, the Mountain Chumash were pressed deeper and deeper into the highlands by disease and warfare, until they were concentrated in the far northeastern Chumash mountains. Chumash refugees who left the missions during the later decades of Mexican rule would have been welcomed into the *Tecuya* Chumash community, a militantly anticolonial coalition of coastal refugee families who relocated primarily from the lower Santa Ynez Valley.

Excerpts from the Report's Conclusion

"Given the current turmoil generated by the Wilcoxon and Haley article that recently appeared in *Current Anthropology* (a national professional journal) it would be prudent for Far Western to proceed cautiously. It seems to me that existing working relationships between the Chumash and university trained scholars have been seriously damaged by Wilcoxon and Haley's article, and Caltrans needs to distance the state government from a potentially factious ethnohistorical report on *Jonjonata*. I would suggest that the state respond to the negativity generated by the Wilcoxon/Haley article by inviting the Santa Ynez Reservation and the numerous non-reservation Chumash groups to submit separate commentary on Far Western's ethnological report.

Nihilism

And other commentary should be judiciously sought, from non-native and native Americans interested in the academic politics of the western Chumash region.

The final *Jonjonata* report will not be complete, therefore, unless it presents a wide spectrum of views on *Jonjonata* and the role played by its citizens in the volatile post-invasion politics of the Santa Ynez (Samala) Valley. In addition to other objectives, the *Jonjonata* report should include a discussion of the sacred role of Zaca Lake (as documented by Chumash Traditionalists), grievances by the citizens of *Jonjonata* and their neighbors against the California mission system, and (perhaps most importantly) a frank discussion of the inhumanity of both Spanish and Mexican colonialism which caused the out-migration of Chumash peoples from the Santa Ynez Valley into the relative safety of the Chumash Mountains.

John M. Anderson
1998

In Retrospect

Dr. John Johnson, Curator of the anthropology program of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, was selected by the California Department of Transportation as the sole academic scholar to submit a report on the *Jonjonata* archaeological site.

When I heard that Johnson was writing this report, I looked through my research files to see if there was anything of special interests about this site. I found a citation from C.H. Merriam that referred to two *Jonjonata* sites. I consulted with Dr. Johnson concerning this curious citation, but was dissatisfied by his dismissal of my concerns. "From the beginning of my consultations with Dr. Johnson, it became evident that we disagreed not only on the significance of the Merriam citation but also on a wide spectrum of issues impacting California public history projects. As a result, I submitted a separate report on *Jonjonata* addressing these broader policy issues." ³⁰ I received no feedback from Caltrans or Dr. Johnson on my 1998 report. After four years of waiting for a reply, I think it is reasonable to conclude that independent assessments of Caltran development sites are not welcome.

John M. Anderson
November, 10, 2002

Responsible Research And the Chumash Indians of California

2002

In 1999, Dr. Brian Haley wrote an article entitled "Indigenous Politics, the New Primitivism, and Responsible Research."³¹ It appears on a web site of a University of California program called UCMexus which is located on the Riverside campus.³² In the text that follows, Anderson provides a critical review of Haley's commentary.

^ ^ ^ ^

It is disappointing to discover that, two years after his divisive *Current Anthropology* article, Dr. Haley has not moderated his aggressive criticism of rival scholars in his publications. Instead, he offered his readers a simplistic dualism, which causes the reader more confusion than illumination. A disputational duality, which dominates Haley's reasoning, is between "Civilizations defenders on the right" and "Civilization's critics on the left."

Hmmm? Suddenly our previously civil conversation about nihilism has taken a plunge into contentious politics. And it is not even a subtle or congenial plunge. According to Haley's argument, right wing intellectuals should be a priori defined as defenders of "civilization" and left wing intellectuals should be relegated to a negative role of criticizing civilization. What is missing, not surprisingly, is a clear definition of what Haley means by "civilization" and how he proposes to delineate left and right wing intellectuals.

It seems that Haley equates "civilization" with mainstream American society, though it is not made clear. How odd his proposed dualism must sound to conservative scholars who are critical of their society, perhaps for example an economics professor proposing changes in federal policies regulating businesses on reservations. And where do scholars labeled as leftists fit in, when they defend government policies? Is it not conceivable that a Chumash

Traditionalist might criticize the mainstream American society for failing to protect their religious shrines, or that a French socialist might find cause to praise some program goals of a conservative government's foreign aid to the Caribbean? Would writers interested in such diverse viewpoints, by Haley's definition, be conducting irresponsible research?

Haley received his Ph.D. in 1997, at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California. That same year, the anthropological journal called *Current Anthropology* published his controversial article called "Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition" (co-authored by Larry Wilcoxon). This article caused a good deal of turmoil among descendants of Chumash Indians, especially those living off of the Santa Ynez reservation.³³ Haley charged a number of scholars with fabricating ("making" up) a Chumash identity for many native Californians who identify themselves as Chumash. These allegations led to a storm of protest, not only from Chumash but also from members of the scholarly community whose research was challenged.

The editors of *Current Anthropology* printed the rebuttals of the denigrated scholars in a follow-up issue. But they decided to give Haley an opportunity to respond to the commentary of the denigrated scholars. Haley did not use this publication to seek a common ground, but instead repeated his criticisms of his detractors. As a result of the divisiveness of these *Current Anthropology* articles, deep divisions still remain in both in the academic and contemporary Chumash communities.



The UCMexus Program

UCMexus was established in 1980 by the University of California to encourage scholarly interchange between California and Mexico. Critics of the program question whether it was set up to serve the interests of international corporations, while neglecting the interests of non-corporate stakeholders such as the indigenous people's living on both sides of the border.

The president of the University of California, Richard C. Atkinson, provided important background information on this program in July 1997 when he served as the keynote speaker to a conference in Mexico City. His speech celebrated a new agreement of cooperation between the United States and Mexico. This agreement is called UC-CONACYT, and Atkinson praised it for its economic benefits to the California economy. No mention was made of benefits from the agreement to indigenous populations. Nor was any mention made of social and spiritual benefits from the program. Atkinson acknowledged the important role played by the director of the UC Mexus program for helping in the "shaping and shepherding of this agreement from the beginning to end."

Atkinson's speech made it clear why at least some native Californians' distrust UC Mexus and the UC President. Atkinson declared: "It is true that Mexico has a long and rich cultural history, while ours is a comparatively short one." This is of course nonsense, since both nations have the same ancient native heritage. Clearly Atkinson could not have been referring to the time frame of history in Mexico and the United States, for they are the same! It is only logical to conclude that the University of California's top administrator considered only European colonial history of significance.

Civilizations Critics on the Right

Haley did not soften his language in the UC Mexus article. Readers will find him as defiant as ever, vigorously condemning scholars with whom he disagrees. He warned, for example, that leftist scholars who express criticism of "civilization" [presumably referring to existing American society] are guilty of updating an older and discredited academic tradition of "leftist romanticism."³⁴ Haley labeled rival scholars as "Civilization's critics on the left". Arbitrarily, he grouped his critics under the label New Primitivism, and he charges that scholars who adhere to New Primitivism threaten to outmaneuver "historical" Indian communities by siding with "newcomers to indigenous identity."

The compelling question for contemporary Chumash is whom to trust? I don't think many of them will take Haley's advice and trust the established and generally conservative mainstream academics over rival scholars who propose competing interpretations of cultural continuity, tribal enrollments, protection of religious sites, and federal recognition policies.

After more than twenty years of correspondence with non-reservation Chumash, I am not at all persuaded by Haley's commentary. It is my conviction that many academics

Problems At the UC Riverside Sherman Institute

Many California native families have bitter memories of the forced relocation of their children to the riverside campus of the University of California.

Chumash children were among those taken from their parents in the nineteenth century and registered in the Riverside program called the Sherman Institute. No Chumash parent could forget the oppression of this institution in that era, which preceded the economic and cultural imperialism of the twentieth century.

In 1969 the federal government set up a special subcommittee on native education. After an investigation, this committee denounced Sherman for inadequate staffing both administratively and academically. It criticized the program's emphasis on vocational education and proposed revisions to the curriculum. In response, the California Indian Education Association recommended that Sherman be governed by an all native board of directors. In the following decades many improvements have ensued.

associated with the University of California have been persistently unsympathetic to the human rights of the local indigenous people. Haley's findings are a mirror image of the reality of contemporary academic influence in the State of California. University trained personnel working in local, state, and federal governments have done more to marginalize and out-manuever the Chumash than any so-called leftist scholarly tradition.

Towards the end of his article, Haley argues that: "The responsible researcher accepts that academic work carries a certain authority (regardless of how much rhetoric recently has been spent to contest that authority)." In *No Brave Champion*, I presumably was guilty of providing "rhetoric" in the chapters that documented the systematic racism and cultural bias of mainstream University scholarship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I concluded that the moral authority of this segment of the California academic community was deeply compromised, as far as traditional native Californians are concerned.

My Chumash contacts advise me, in no uncertain terms, that they remain wary of academics like Haley who champion the rights of University scholars and museum curators to determine ("delineate") authentic Chumash culture and thereby control tribal enrollment. They do not trust "responsible" researchers, who make claim to better knowledge of Chumash identity than the native families living the harsh realities of contemporary California racism. How is it, they ask, that scholars whom Haley defined as right wing politically, refused to stand beside the non-reservation Chumash as they struggled for federal recognition and a land base upon which to build a communal life?

Haley's efforts to discredit scholars who disagree with him as uncivilized is deeply disturbing. This kind of academic writing by staff of UCMexus offers little to illuminate the complex ethical dilemmas of modern scholars trying to work with a marginalized population. Whom will the Chumash trust in the years ahead? I think it will be those, both inside and outside of academia, who stand beside them and declare publicly that it is time to end the racism that has dominated generations of California politics."

J. M. Anderson

May 14, 2002

Note: My definition of a conservative is someone who wishes to conserve the status quo because it is desirable. In the case of twentieth century academic climate in departments of anthropology, archaeology, and history at the University of California I decidedly have not identified myself as a conservative.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many American academics

assumed roles of accommodation to the racial and religious bias of the general public... I find sympathy with other intellectuals... Ironically, we find ourselves in the same frame of mind as the Danish philosopher Soren Kierkegaard who attacked the credibility of mainstream Christian churches of the nineteenth century. Kierkegaard shocked his readers when he charged that the majority of Europeans were so debased in their ethical behavior that they should not be considered legitimate Christians. Just as Kierkegaard demanded a cleansing of Christianity, modern critics of twentieth century academia denounced the encroachment of secular interests on academic freedom.

My decision to publish criticisms, in national journals, of scholars working for the military at Vandenberg was based on the following principals:

- ◆ One synonym of 'conservative' is 'unprogressive'.
- ◆ The more you study any topic, the more questions that should arise.
- ◆ Public trust of academia, like intellectual authority and integrity, has to be earned from generation to generation.

It has always fascinated me how strongly conservative anthropologists and archaeologists have reacted against the efforts of academics from other disciplines and intellectuals outside of academia, to join their debates over indigenous people.

John M. Anderson

Webpage first submitted in 2002

Anthropology, Nihilism, Fundamental Christianity

And their Impact on the Chumash Indians ³⁵

1998

I maintain many web pages on the Chumash Indians, who were the largest cultural group in California prior to the invasions of Europeans into the region. One of these web pages provides commentary on the rapid development of the California Spaceport, on the western lands of the ancient Chumash Indians. This spaceport is located west of Santa Barbara, near a remote Indian religious shrine called Point Conception.

One of my web pages features commentary on the emotional anthropological debate that is featured in the international journal called *Current Anthropology*. It was triggered by an article by Brian Haley and Larry Wilcoxin from the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California. In a web review, I described their controversial article... as "filled with academic jargon influenced by post-modern anthropological nihilism." This assessment generated a considerable amount of mail, mostly from from web users asking me to elaborate on the topic of academic nihilism. Among the respondents was one of the authors of this article who assured me that, like myself, he was opposed to nihilism in modern anthropology.³⁶

The purpose of this webpage is therefore to provide a brief overview of the nihilism debate in contemporary anthropology, with a focus on the field of Chumash Studies. The 1997 Supreme Court ruling against the Religious Freedom Restoration Act enters into discussion, as does the long-standing religious intolerance shown by fundamental Christians against native Traditional spirituality.³⁷

Lost? Can't figure how you found yourself in a discussion of nihilism, when you wanted to know more about environmental impacts of spaceports?³⁷

Anthropological Nihilism on the Web

My webpage commentary on the presence of nihilism in contemporary anthropology was not drawn out of the air. It was meant, rather, to invite readers interested in Chumash Indians to explore an already rich international dialogue on the widely recognized 'problem' of anthropological nihilism.

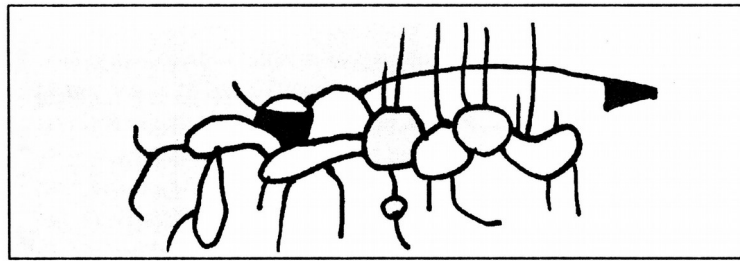
A large number of websites address related topics, and readers can locate them by searching for the keywords "anthropology" "post-modern" "Pomo" and "nihilism." You will find tens of thousands of citations. And if you want to jump into one of the many anthropological overviews on the subject, I would suggest "Postmodernism and Its Critics" by S. Weiss and K. Wesley as a good place to start.³⁸

Nihilism and California Anthropology

After a day or two of reading in this serious and often disconcerting topic, you might need some relief. Try the website called, "Postmodern Humor" by Professor Katz (Trent University, Canada). But no matter how often those of us interested in Chumash Studies try to break the tension with self-deprecating laughter, the topic of anthropological nihilism always remains before us as a sobering consideration.

If you open a typical dictionary, it will define nihilism as the denial of the existence of any basis for knowledge (or truth). This is the sense in which I used the term nihilism in my writings. Anthropologists who consider themselves postmodernists often criticize modernist colleagues for expressing nihilistic attitudes.

The term 'nihilism' can also be used to imply rejection of custom, but this is not the connotation that I wished to convey. In fact, it is my contention that the negative impacts



on the California Indians from nihilistic attitudes stems from the long-standing practice of American social scientists. Many who consider themselves Modernists (advocates of objectivity in the social sciences) have denigrated native Californians for deviating from the dominant Euro-Christian mainstream customs.

But the current debate over nihilism in anthropology is only secondarily focused on religious intolerance and ethnocentrism among self-proclaimed objective social scientists. A growing concern is the philosophical nihilism among some professors in our graduate schools, whose cynicism towards ethics has influenced some of their graduates to take high paying jobs for developers and construct their findings according to the needs of their employers. Let us take the worst possible example, in the context of the Chumash Traditionalists who might choose to challenge the fabulously rich coalition promoting the development of a commercial spaceport near Point Conception. This coalition, like other development interests, needs to comply with state and federal laws regulating development. One aspect of these laws is the protection of historical sites, including those of native Americans. A truly nihilistic social scientist, lacking any deep seated convictions about truth, might be tempted to shade his or her findings to comply with the economic/political interests of the developer. As a result, economic self-interest (what Kitsepawit refers to as "greed") may taint the assessment.

I am not saying that greed influenced the researchers working for the Spaceport when they decided to release their divisive article on the Chumash and Point Conception. I do not know their motives, or the specifics of their relations with the Air Force, the commercial aerospace industry, or the pro-growth political coalition backing the California Spaceport. But I do believe that they made a mistake in releasing this particular article, with its findings against protecting the greater Point Conception area (and its extensive critique of Chumash Traditionalism) at a time when spaceport activities were intruding on the Point Conception region. The non-reservation Chumash, especially those who consider themselves traditionalists, were already distrustful of scholars hired to write salvage

archaeology reports. The Traditionalists discredited many of their reports as overemphasizing material culture, and blamed government agencies for failing to address controversial historical issues dealing with the California Holocaust.

Regardless of the author's motivations in the *Current Anthropology* article, its publication gave some Chumash Traditionalists the impression of accommodation to special interests. The authors' questioning of Chumash Traditionalism understandably caused much concern among the numerous Chumash bands, distracting them with issues of authenticity of membership just at the time that they needed to unite in common cause if they wanted to make an effective case against the Spaceport.

Nihilism, Greed, and Chumash Philosophy

In *The Chumash House of Fate*, I address the ethical problem of greed in Chumash ethics.³⁹

"Chumash theologians believed in free will. This did not mean that they considered themselves independent of the struggles of the gods. Rather they felt that they had personal and social responsibility for deciding which of the gods to seek help from at any given time.

Kitsepawit, a Chumash islander, explained this situation to John Harrington, an ethnographer from the Smithsonian Institution. Traditional theologians taught Kitsepawit to believe that greed ruled the world.⁴⁰ Harrington's field notes do not explain exactly what Kitsepawit meant by 'world.' But from other cosmological data we can guess that the power of greed was not active in the highest heavens and was manifested only in the lower levels of the cosmos such as in the 'world' occupied by humans.

Like other educated Chumash, Kitsepawit apparently believed that he had free will but was constantly suffering from the effects of selfishness. By himself, an individual human could never expect to escape suffering in the moral chaos around him. So he beseeched the gods to aid him in his struggles. He prayed for assistance, in a world overwhelmed with disease, death, and pain.

The Spanish and Mexican priest who ran the Chumash 'missions' (production centers) routinely sent reports to Mexico City condemning leaders of traditional families for supposedly practicing black magic. Chumash traditionalists considered such accusations to be both bizarre and ruthless, because they implied that the native Californians were guilty

of seeking alliances with the demons of the Lower World (whom the Christians believed to be led by Satan). Such an alliance with the ruling powers of the lower world made no sense to the traditionalists who were trained to balance the powers of the upper and lower worlds"

(page 10).⁴¹

Ethical Nihilism

Ethical nihilism is the belief that there is no meaning or purpose in existence. Clearly, this is not the focus of my commentary. I believe that there is meaning in existence; I presume most American anthropologists believe the same; and I am certain that Traditional Chumash believed in such (existential) meaning.

Ethical nihilism can lead an anthropologist, or any other social scientist, to reject what I consider basic ethical responsibilities to the peoples being studied. Lacking a deep-seated commitment to any mitigating professional ethical standards, ethical nihilists may be constantly tempted to sell their M.A. and Ph. D. credentials to the highest bidder.

Political Nihilism

Political nihilism is generally associated with violent revolutionary movements, typically associated with terrorism. Clearly, this is not the focus of my commentary."⁴²

John M. Anderson

Nov 15, 1998

^ ^ ^ ^

Retrospective

This web page was drafted in 1998, in response to a rush of correspondences generated by the publication of Brian Haley and Larry Wilcoxon's article in *Current Anthropology*.

Since I wrote my first web page on the Spaceport controversy Brian Haley and I exchanged a number of emails. These were very helpful in better educating me on his perspective. In the emails, Haley objected to any implication that he embraced nihilism in any form. In fact he indicated that he is opposed to nihilistic tendencies in anthropology.⁴³

Unfortunately, rejection of nihilism does not necessarily lead to agreement on other matters. If I understand the situation correctly, the anthropological split[described by Haley and Wilcoxon in their 1998 article] has not been healed in the many months that have gone by since publication. There is a strong need for including in the debate sociologists, linguists, philosophers, historians, musicologists, and other scholars as well as many more Chumash voices.

Chumash Traditionalists, especially those from non-reservation families who represent the majority of Chumash, still distrust academics working for government and private development interests. There is much work to be done, to rebuild trust and it is my contention that the fundamental step to healing is federal recognition and a land base for the Chumash groups living outside of the Santa Ynez valley.

The second step is for government and private interests to cooperate with Chumash Traditionalists when they ask for frank discussion of Spanish, Mexican, and American genocide in public history projects. The era of describing material culture on road signs and other public displays, and avoiding the harsh realities of the California Holocaust, should be ended." ⁴⁴

J. M. Anderson

April 2000

Anthropological Nihilism

And the Chumash Indians of California ⁴⁵

2000

Many academics have gained the respect of the Chumash Indians. But their numbers remain surprisingly low, in light of the general public's assumptions of fairness and academic objectivity in contemporary scholarship.

It has been two years since I wrote my first web site on academic nihilism. Six months ago, I wrote an update to the original page, which concluded with the commentary that: "The era of describing material culture on road signs and other public displays, and avoiding the harsh realities of the California Holocaust, should be ended." ⁴⁶ Since these remarks, I have had a number of conversations with traditional Chumash about problems with the California public history program which continues to reform itself at a snail's pace.

These non-reservation Chumash pose a number of questions concerning the objectivity of publicly funded scholarship in California.

- ◆ Why, modern Chumash ask, didn't anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians whose professional work brought them into close contact with surviving Chumash families, openly protest against the racism which in the last century perpetrated false claims of their extinction?
- ◆ Why didn't these same academics help the Chumash in their struggles to hold onto their lands and win legal recognition and protection from local, state, and federal governments? The loss of the Tejon and Kashwa Reservations are primary topics of contention.⁴⁷

◆ Will more contemporary academics get involved in the human rights struggles of the Chumash? And how can advocacy be reconciled with academic neutrality?

The answers to these questions involve many complicated issues. Foremost among them are the socio/economic pressures causing academics to conform to the prejudices of the times, especially the bias of funding agencies such as the federal government which encouraged much anti-native programing in the twentieth century.⁴⁸

As we enter the next millennium, it is time for a shift of power to Native California communities, who wish to serve as guardians of their cultural heritage. They deserve strong legal, social, and political support from the majority of voters in California. And the balance of power for delineating cultural identity and sovereignty should be shifted from the academic community and government agencies to living native communities as quickly as possible.⁴⁹

Continued degradation of native lands by expanding housing and industry contributes to the urgency of scheduling social change in California. The challenge to the academic community, to join hands with native survivors of the California Holocaust, remains strong.⁵⁰

John M. Anderson
August, 2000

Anthropological Nihilism and the Chumash Indians

Mike Khus

2000

Commentary by Mike Khus on John Anderson's Web page:
"Anthropological Nihilism and Chumash Traditionalism" ⁵¹

"I have read your web-page and have found it to be a straight-forward and painfully detailed explanation of some the issues associated with the divisive article published in the magazine *Current Anthropology*.

"I believe that anyone who reads this web page can gain a better understanding of the problems which plague not only contemporary Chumash who struggle to preserve their sacred religious sites from destructive development and unscrupulous "professional" anthropologists, but might also gain some degree of familiarity with the complex, internal debate among members of the anthropological community itself.

"This debate is not merely about who anthropologists work for and whose political-economic interests they uphold. This debate reflects the broader issue of whether anthropology as practiced today, is capable of scientific objectivity on the level of other disciplines such as theoretical physics (it clearly is not) or whether it is merely an "interpretive art", and is therefore not reliable or authoritative for purposes of public policy.

"Some anthropologists have a vested economic interest in preserving an image of scientific objectivity. They engage in unethical attacks and censorship upon those within their own community who might question this image. Neither have they flinched from making it their business to meddle in the internal affairs of the Chumash community, deliberately targeting those Chumash families and individuals who challenge these same anthropologists when sacred religious sites are threatened by the latter's irresponsible actions.⁵²

"Some of these anthropologists wish to undermine the status of Chumash people themselves by claiming to be the "gatekeepers" of Chumash identity- literally, to say who is Chumash and who is not. By controlling membership of the Chumash community, they wish to regulate what contemporary Chumash might say and do. I know of no other ethnic group in

the United States whose fundamental right of self-determination and identity is under similar attack, and I doubt that any other group would tolerate such an offensive and arrogant assault by so-called "experts".

" This outrageous attempt to control the Chumash community, flies in the face of every legal precedent and federal administrative interpretation of Indian law that I can think of. The old policies of termination and assimilation have been repudiated. Now a faction of

Professional Turf Defender

Richard Davis, cultural anthropologist [Agana, Guam]'challenged Haley's conservative bias.

Davis concluded in 1996 that Haley defended the existing American federal policies of assigning professional anthropologists as the judges of indigenous cultural identity. He described Haley's arguments as "professional turf defenses".

Like academic and intellectual authority, Davis proposed that public trust has to be continuously justified by the actions of those in positions of power. Such power holders are frequently moderated because they seek little or no change in the status quo, as opposed to everyone who wishes to alter it.

It has always fascinated me how strongly conservative anthropologists and archaeologists have reacted against the efforts of academics from other disciplines and intellectuals outside of academia, to join their debates over indigenous people.

Davis, 1996

*One synonym of 'conservative'
is 'unprogressive'.*

anthropologists would have us step backwards, and have us all believe that like the Indian agents of the wild west, that they alone "know what is best for those savages" and therefore, we should permit them to control the destinies of California Indian peoples.

"We California Indian peoples whose treaties were never ratified nor honored, whose ancestors were left homeless and without means of self-support and ruthlessly hunted down by American death squads (the infamous state militias) in an ethnic cleansing campaign of extermination, whose numbers were reduced by an incredible 90% (a higher mortality than

Nihilism

suffered by European Jews of WWII), suffering indescribable emotional and psychological damage not to mention severe social disorientation when our cultures were decimated, deserve justice. As Dr. Martin L. King once said: "Justice delayed is justice denied".

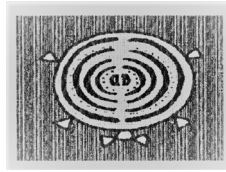
When is the anthropological community going to ever develop a sense of justice and fairness and recognize the part which they can now, albeit belatedly, play in securing such justice for the surviving remnants of the California Holocaust ? Do they covet their privileged academic careers so much that they close their minds and yes, their hearts too, to what any decent American can plainly see? I think that the American public wishes to see justice for California Indians, because I have faith in the basic goodness of all people.

So, I appreciate your work in providing the internet-literate public the opportunity to learn and to gain a more complete understanding of important issues that face our Chumash community. Thank you

Mike Khus
April 23, 2000

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Khus is a member of the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation and a former member of the federal Advisory Council for California Indian Policy.⁵³ Mike served as an officer in the U.S. Marines, before returning to higher education to earn a masters degree in the department of history from Stanford University.



Addendum

Issue Oriented Debate

The debate over academic objectivity featured in this text, ended in the summer of 2002.

In the winter of 2002, however, a Swedish journal of anthropology called *ACTA Americana* published a related article by Dr. Brian Haley. Haley dismissed John Anderson as a "pseudo-scholar", and perplexed many readers by condemning both Anderson and Theo Radic as "novice environmentalists."

What motivated this journalistic outburst? Book two in this series explores Radic's response, from his Shyuxtun webpage project which provides bemused commentary. Anderson rejects Haley's personal attacks, and advocates a return to issue-oriented discourse, refocusing the public debate back to the need for protecting Chumash human and civil rights.



The Chumash

Internet Project

2011 Commentary

The web pages in this booklet cover a wide spectrum of issues, often featuring traditional Chumash viewpoints that are not reported by the mass media. At the bottom of most of my web pages was a disclaimer stating that the text represents the views of the author and "does not necessarily represent the views of the Chumash Indians, either individually or in a group." As I explain in my history text called *The*

Nihilism

Chumash Nation, the modern Chumash are a diverse people represented

by many associations and councils. No one viewpoint can ever capture the rich diversity of contemporary Chumash life.

There is a good deal of interest in these and other topics relating to the modern Chumash people of southern California. By May of 2002, web pages by the Chumash Internet Project had over a third of a million 'hits' registered by viewers wanting to learn more about the native Californians. The homepage was called "The Chumash Indians" and it had over 168,000 hits by November 2002. Only a fraction of these web pages remain on the web today.

Chumash Traditionalism And Academic Freedom

John Anderson

In November of 1986, I sent the following statement to the Chairman of the Coastal Band. My previous commentary on the use of datura as a traditional sacrament caused some concern among Chumash traditionalists. The ensuing debate within the board over endorsing academics, prompted me to write:

" I have been asked by a number of native people if my writings follow the traditional Chumash teachings. My answer is normally complicated, not only because there is an ongoing debate as to the proper interpretation of the Traditional teachings of Chumash philosophers, but also because I am not a member of the Chumash community through upbringing or family relations.

The renewal of Chumash influence in the socio-political matrix of California is one goal of my research. I have deep appreciation for the many, rich contributions that Chumash culture has to offer the present generation of Californians.

My own study of Chumash history and religion has thrown new light on my understanding of European and American cultures. People like myself, with European heritage, can gain a great deal of insight into our own cultures through study of the Chumash peoples and their belief systems. In doing so, however, we will not simply be studying the teachings of the Chumash religious and political leaders for the purpose of replicating their philosophies. We will be seeking our own integrating of these ideas with those of our own personal educational and religious beliefs. Intellectual freedom becomes vital to this process, for it opens the door for a full spectrum of ideas and varying opinions on the real images of speeches, folk tales, prayers, and other materials now available on Chumash culture.⁵⁴

If I deny that I am a Chumash traditionalist, then who would I define as a good example among living Chumash? This is a complicated issue, for a good percentage of Chumash descendants consider themselves to be traditionalists in a loosely defined sense. For the majority, however, this does not entail a total observance of Chumash ceremonial and philosophical practices of the ancient past. The use of powerful psychotropic plants for visionary insight, for example, has not become a

way of life for most of these individuals. Yet if one wanted to demand a strict interpretation of the word traditionalist, such practices would be essential for maintaining the old religion into the contemporary world. The only pure traditionalists, in this understanding, would be someone who totally embraced all aspect of the ancient culture. Since no peoples on this continent have completely escaped the impact of new technologies and customs, perhaps there are strictly speaking very few full traditionalists anywhere in America.

The ancient Chumash philosophers taught a complicated and highly sophisticated metaphysics, which was similar to the mystical religions of such peoples as the Hindu, Tibetans, and even early Europeans. Reincarnation was a basic component of this theology, along with the belief in a cosmology which assumed that the North Star was the center of the heavenly realm, an epistemology which emphasized the importance of visionary insight into the mystery of the universe, and a social philosophy which taught respect for learned religious leaders who also served as socio-political officials.

Because the Chumash religion was based on the general principles of mysticism, certainty of knowledge about the nature of the supernatural was never achieved. Various government officials such as the *Antap* competed with one another in trying to master the intricacies of the religious practices of their day. Thus, being a traditional Chumash meant different things to different townspeople.

The point is that a lively debate among the ancient Chumash concerning religion and ceremony was normal, with various spiritual leaders gaining and losing followings according to the changing fortunes of time. It is in this light that I have felt free to write and talk about the Chumash religion and culture in my studies of Chumash history. Without such analysis, the understanding of motivations of Chumash actors in the drama of history becomes improbable. It is my expectation that contemporary Chumash would welcome ongoing interest in their cultural heritage, confident that whether they call themselves Traditionalists or not they are carrying on the reality of Chumash history by each decision they make in their lives today. For most Chumash, they have chosen attractive artistic, cultural, ceremonial, and ethical components of their rich heritage but have not felt compelled to duplicate unchanged every aspect of that changing and evolving culture.

In conclusion. let us not dismiss a particular Chumash person because they might not, for example, interpret the lines of Kitsepawit concerning Santa Rosa island ["there is where it all began. Always it will continue"] as meaning that all of creation began on this island, or that the Chumash culture started on this island.⁵⁵ Perhaps he meant only that the great tradition of boat building began on this island, or even another interpretation. Christian Chumash will probably disagree with many teachings of Kitsepawit, which might be embraced by non-Christians. In the end, the Chumash will be best served by an ongoing public dialogue concerning the meaning of the past and its appropriateness as guidelines for our current ethics.

In my own writing, I intended to present the past as accurately as I can and to suggest where it is relevant to our current understanding of

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Chumash, American, or even worldwide culture. I am convinced, furthermore, that the materials which have survived on the Chumash culture provide vital insights into many areas of contemporary philosophy, religion, and culture. It also provides data which will contribute to the much needed revision of California state history, especially in the reinterpretation of colonialism and religious intolerance which brought so much suffering to the people of the past. Perhaps we can learn from the Chumash story."

John M. Anderson
November 1986

Endnotes

- 1 The text of this webpage was taken from <http://expage.com/academic33>.
- 2 (Smithsonian Handbook, page 534).
- 3 This section is a follow-up web page linked to the primary text. It can be found at: <http://expage.com/academic77>. Links include webpages featured in other chapters of this booklet, plus a web page on the Munoz Report and the exclusion of the Chumash from their islands.
The Munoz Report link reads: "Dr. Munoz submitted an ethnographic study on the Chumash Indians in 1981. It provided a critical overview of the bitter alienation between the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation and the academics working on the oil pipeline being constructed in the western Chumash lands. See *Munoz* for discussion of this pivotal publication." The island link reads: "Commentary on the lack of participation by the local Chumash Indians in the management of the Marine Sanctuary located off the coast of Santa Barbara."
- 4 The third edition of *No Brave Champion* (Anderson) was released in 1999.
- 5 (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, 9).
- 6 (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, 10).
- 7 (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, introduction, dated May 14, 1997).
- 8 See chapter two of *No Brave Champion* (Anderson).
- 9 (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, Epilogue, 37).
- 10 (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, 12).
- 11 (Anderson, 1998).
- 12 (Haley/Wilcoxon, page 765; they use the phrase "delineators of identity").
- 13 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 765).
- 14 For more information, see the author's webpage called *Jonjonata*.
- 15 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 790).
- 16 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 790).
- 17 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 790).
- 18 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 790).
- 19 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 761).
- 20 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 790. "And we betray all Chumash as equally modern, equally constructed...").
- 21 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 765).
- 22 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 765).
- 23 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 766).
- 24 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 66; designed to stop development projects).
- 25 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 766).
- 26 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 761, footnote one).
- 27 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 761).
- 28 (Aug/Oct 1998 edition, page 507).
- 29 (Haley/Wilcoxon, 765). They cite Parker & King's 1990 article as a

reference, but they do not have much to say about the Supreme Court's ruling against the Religious Freedom Restoration Act and its repression in 1997.

30 This quote concerning my efforts to collaborate with Dr. Johnson [curator of anthropology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History] is taken from the booklet called "Identifying the Old and the New *Jonjonata*". It was written in February '2000.

31 Correspondence between Haley and Anderson ended in the summer of 2002. Haley's overt hostility to academics on the left, whom he characterized as enemies of civilization, made further correspondence futile.

32 See *UC Mexus*, No. 36, Winter 1999, for Haley's article. Or read it on the University of California web site of UCMexus.

33 The Santa Ynez reservation housing the Samala division of the Chumash people, is located a short distance north of Santa Barbara.

34 Haley uses the phrase "Romanticism of the left" to describe this older tradition. Critics of Romanticism typically associate it with negative connotations, implying an overemphasis on feelings, sentimentalism, impracticality, and lacking a basis in fact. Romanticism is often contrasted with classicism, realism, and so-called scientific objectivity.

See chapter one in this booklet for a discussion of anthropological nihilism and the dangers of academics claiming special authority based on false claims of objectivity.

35 This text was taken from <http://www.angelfire.com/id/newpubs/nihilism.html>.

36 Brian Haley did state that he was opposed to ethical nihilism in the field of anthropology. It was not until the publication of his 1999 article, while on the staff of the University of California UCMexus program, that it became clear that Haley repudiated nihilism for a frankly politicized model of anthropology in which he and his colleagues are labeled defenders of civilization, while those who disagree with them are labeled critics of civilization. Haley used the phrase "on the right" to describe those associated with him, and dismissed his critics as "on the left" (page 2).

See Appendix A for a subsequent article in which Haley denounced me as a "pseudo-scholar" whose leftist leanings are based on faith rather than so-called objective scholarship of Haley's right wing colleagues ("Civilization's defenders on the right").

37 Two sentences that appeared the original webpage are omitted in this text. Reader feedback confirmed that the intended humor of this interjection was distracting. It read: "Lost? Can't figure how you found yourself in a discussion of nihilism, when you wanted to know more about environmental impacts of spaceports?"

38 Also see the Weiss/Wesley webpage called "Criticisms" for an interesting overview.

39 *The Chumash House of Fate* (Anderson 1997) proposed a fundamental reassessment of Chumash theology, using the groundbreaking writings of Hudson and Underhay (especially *Crystals In the Sky*) as a focus of criticism. Even though I disagree with many of their findings, I fundamentally respect Hudson and Underhay for their willingness to take academically risky steps towards model building when other scholars held back due to the extreme difficulties of subject matter.

40 See Greed in the glossary for related commentary.

41 (Anderson, *House of Fate*, 10).

42 A link appears in this part of the text, referring the internet user to more information.

43 In 1999 Haley clarified what he meant when he earlier denied affiliation with nihilism. In his article called "Indigenous Politics, the New Primitivism, and Responsible Research" Haley identified himself and his academic colleagues as "Civilization's defenders on the right" (2). Clearly his model of responsible research divides scholars as either in his camp of "right" wing researchers or they fall into a rival group which he calls "Civilizations critics on the left"(2).

I was rather appalled by this polarizing model of academic dispute, which seemed so contrived, offering little insight into the reality of a multiplicity of viewpoints which should be fostered in American intellectual circles. Moreover, Haley left out the Native American voice which is fundamental to any analysis of American policies towards indigenous people.

Later, in an article published in a Swedish anthropology journal, Haley openly acknowledged his animosity towards me as an irresponsible (leftist) scholar. He went so far as to describe me as a "pseudo-scholar." I was appalled at the inaccuracies of his statements in this article and at the arrogance of his denouncement of Theo Radic and myself as "laymen" critics of his writings. See Appendix A for further information.

44 A link appears in this part of the text referring to the text found in chapter one of this booklet.

45 This text was taken from <http://expage.com>. It referred its readers back to the homepage: www.angelfire/id/newpubs/nihilism.html.

46 These remarks were entered on this web page in April 2000.

47 The *Kashwa* reservation is located near Santa Barbara, California. Dr. Greg Schaaf's research on *Kashwa* (called *Cieneguitas*, a Spanish translation) is a fundamental research on the theft of this Chumash land base by the federal agent appointed to protect it from unscrupulous whites.

The 1.2 million Tejon treaty Reservation is located near Bakersfield, California. A number of Mountain Chumash groups signed this treaty, but were dispossessed of their lands by the federal agent appointed to protect it from unscrupulous whites.

48 "Given the current turmoil generated by the Wilcoxon and Haley article that recently appeared in *Current Anthropology* (a national professional journal) it would be prudent for Far Western to proceed cautiously. It seems to me that existing working relationships between the Chumash and university trained scholars have been seriously damaged by Wilcoxon and Haley's article, and Caltrans needs to distance the state government from a potentially factious ethnohistorical report on *Jonjonata*. I would suggest that the state respond to the negativity generated by the Wilcoxon/Haley article by inviting the Santa Ynez Reservation and the numerous non-reservation Chumash groups to submit separate commentary on Far Western's ethnological report. And other commentary should be judiciously sought, from non-native and native Americans interested in the academic politics of the western Chumash region.

The final *Jonjonata* report will not be complete, therefore, unless it presents a wide spectrum of views on *Jonjonata* and the role played by its citizens in the volatile post-invasion politics of the Santa Ynez

(Tsmala) Valley. In addition to other objectives, the *Jonjonata* report should include a discussion of the sacred role of Zaca Lake (as

documented by Chumash Traditionalists), grievances by the citizens of *Jonjonata* and their neighbors against the California mission system, and (perhaps most importantly) a frank discussion of the inhumanity of both Spanish and Mexican colonialism which caused the out-migration of Chumash peoples from the Santa Ynez Valley into the relative safety of the Chumash Mountains." (Anderson, *Jonjonata* web page).

49 The relationship between academics, intellectuals, and native Americans may always remain controversial, if not contentious. It is a problem of outsiders verses insiders, of academic freedom verses community norms, of religious and cultural differences.

My emphasis in this web page was not to dismiss the rights of independent scholars to publish their original research, but rather the importance of eliminating scholars as the sole delineators of native American cultural identity. Clearly, any balanced government policy would give serious weight to the internal dynamics of a native community, recognizing that the members of a functioning social system are necessary sources of opinion on group identity!

50 This text referred the reader to the Haley/Wilcoxin controversy featured in webpage 4 of this text.

51 This text was taken from angelfire.co/id/newpubs/nihilism77.html. Mike Khus is a member of the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation. He has a masters degree in history from Stanford University.

52 Mike Khus came to this assessment long before the publication of the Haley/Wilcoxin article in *Current Anthropology*. Fourteen years earlier, in 1986, for example, Mike wrote me: "Right now, there is much suspicion of persons exploiting Chumash culture, whether it be in the destruction of our burial and village sites or in the collection and publication of our history and traditions. ____ and ____, among many others, have used genealogical data to enable the developers at Hammond's Meadow in Montecito, to abandon negotiations with the local Chumash and switch to the Business Council at Santa Ynez Reservation for a 'deal.' ____ has allowed the developers to go ahead and destroy part of that site in return for \$7,000 and the right to work there as monitors during excavation. Seven years of successful resistance was wiped out overnight. ____ and ____ were paid by the developer to collect the genealogical data which claimed, in their report, to show that the local Chumash were not Chumash but Mexican Indians, and that the only legitimate next-of-kin resided in Santa Ynez. Their conclusions were based on inference only, and not upon the data itself. Needless to say, the Coastal Band members have taken strong exception to these dubious claims, and have renewed their customary distrust of academics who work and publish at the expense of the Chumash." [Khus was the Chairman of the Coastal Band's Historical Committee in 1986. There is no date on Mike's letter, except the year designation].

53 A series of links appears at the bottom of this page, referring the reader to web pages on the *Jonjonata* controversy, Mike Khus's article on Point Conception, and the Haley/Wilcoxin article (see webpage 2, featured in this text).

54 I addressed the topic of academic freedom as far back as 1986, in a letter to Mike Khus, the Coastal Band Historian. "You have suggested that I submit my whole book to the Chumash traditionalists for approval before publication. This issue is of concern to me, for I have not attempted to

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speak for the whole Chumash nation nor even for the traditionalist faction. Since I am not a Chumash person, I am writing as if a foreigner, interpreting Chumash history from my own perspective. As a result, some

of what I have to say will not represent, for example, the Catholic Chumash of this history. Some analysis will not represent the Santa Ynez council's perspective. Other materials may not represent the traditionalist views.

It seems to me that no one could write a book which pleases everyone. I do think that the traditionalist Chumash will be in more sympathy, with my work than other Chumash. Some families may resent my interpretations of decisions made by their ancestors, perhaps, while others will approve of particular criticisms of Chumash leaders. It would be a disaster for me to attempt to censor my work to please particular families if in my own heart I feel my analysis is made with integrity and goodwill." (February 1986).

After exchanging a number of letters, Khus and I came to an understanding on the issue of censorship. Khus explained that the Coastal Band did not approve of censorship, but wanted to broaden their contacts with scholars prior to publication. The purpose of such a dialogue was not censorship, but to ensure that historians and other scholars had access to the views of contemporary Chumash and not limit themselves to older materials collected in the early twentieth and late nineteenth centuries. This seemed fully reasonable to me, so I adopted a policy of sharing my writings in a draft form with various Chumash. I found the ensuing dialogue very helpful in the 1980's and continue the practice in the twenty first century, often by email.

55 (Kitsepawit, December's Child, 240).

Glossary

Authentic In their controversial 1998 article, Brian Haley and Larry Wilcoxon argue that ALL Chumash Indians hold "modern" beliefs which are discontinuous with their ancestral religion and culture (Current Anthropology, 790). In effect, the authors were arguing against federal re-recognition of the Coastal Band and other Chumash groups in spite of the fact that these Chumash have not yet had an opportunity to submit their federal recognition data for evaluation.

Discussion: Haley and Wilcoxon dismissed all Chumash groups other than those affiliated with the Santa Ynez reservation as wholly "modern" communities of peoples, who consider themselves to be Chumash, but who lack cultural continuity and therefore should not be awarded legal rights in court, land, or other forms of federal assistance as Native Americans. A variant of this argument against federal re-recognition is to call them "modern" groups, "constructed" groups, "neo-Chumash," etc.

California Holocaust In 1869, the unified council of the Chumash met in *Saticoy*, for its last public ceremony. After that date, American racism was so intense that the Traditional Chumash families went underground.

Discussion: America's federal re-recognition policy is inhumane, demanding that Native American communities demonstrate fully documented socio/political continuity in spite of everything that city, county, and state governments, and non-government agencies including corporations did to destroy their culture.

Chumash A person who identifies as descended from one of a number of groups who spoke closely related Chumash languages.

Discussion: Dr. Haley dismisses "neo-Chumash" as "newcomers to indigenous identity" (Indigenous Politics, page 2) implying that all associations dismissed by Haley do not deserve federal re-recognition. According to federal guidelines for re-recognition any existing Chumash group not only has to prove its genealogical ties to mission era Chumash but also a continuity of group identity from 1900 to the present.

The Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation has been awarded funds to implement a federal re-recognition process. The Kern County Chumash Council is also studying the re-recognition process. Until they submit their findings and they are reviewed by the federal government, it is inappropriate to dismiss them as so called neo-Chumash. See [Federal Re-recognition](#) for related discussion.

Chumash Internet Project John Anderson maintained hundreds of web pages on the Chumash people, from the 1990's onward.

Civilization In *No Brave Champion*, I argue that the term civilization has a broadly accepted meaning which includes simple decency - a respect for fairness and courtesy. Given such criteria, I

argue that it has been white Americans who have too often acted as uncivilized people.

Civilization: Critics on the Left Haley's contrived model assumes that persons with left-wing political views are necessarily "critics" of civilization (Haley, Indigenous, 1999).

Civilization: Defenders on the Right Haley's contrived model assumes that persons with right-wing political views are necessarily "defenders" of civilization (Haley, Indigenous, 1999).

Constructed Haley/Wilcoxon sparked a divisive debate among California anthropologists in 1997 when they argued that the cultural identities of all modern Chumash were "constructed."

Discussion: Blaming other anthropologists for promoting Chumash traditionalism, Haley/Wilcoxon's stated objective was to deconstruct modern traditionalist identity. Not surprisingly, this ambitious undertaking caused a reaction in the Chumash community, both on reservation and off.

Delineators of Chumash Identity Haley is an advocate of the federal government's reliance on American academics, primarily anthropologists, as legally responsible for identification of surviving Chumash communities having continuity with pre-1900 Chumash groups. Proof of this continuity is a critical criteria used by the federals in evaluating re-recognition petitions.

Discussion: Many contemporary Chumash traditionalists challenge Haley's advocacy of existing federal mechanism for defining Chumash identity. They point out that many of these so-called legal delineators are non-indigenous, and are unsympathetic to, or often historical rivals of, the Chumash groups they are asked to judge. Haley praises his academic colleagues for objectivity, and blames other academics and environmentalists for "advocacy" of the native communities seeking rights under federal law.

Chumash critics of Haley point out that he is guilty of advocacy of a long standing federal policy that is unjust, preventing the non-reservation Chumash from gaining legal rights in local, state, and federal courts and denying them access to their aboriginal territory, natural resources, and cultural heritage use sites. Note that the phrase "delineators of identity" appears in the 1990 guidelines for the National Register of Historic Places.

Federal Recognition See Federal Re-Recognition.

Federal Re-recognition The *Kashwa* reserve in Santa Barbara became the home of some 800 Chumash families, who sought refuge from American violence against native Californians in the first decade of American rule. The agent's permission for these [swelling during times of crisis to over 2,000] Chumash individuals to reside on the federally protected *Kashwa* reserve gave de facto recognition of these individuals as Chumash.

Discussion: Contemporary federal guidelines do not allow new treaties with the Chumash or other Native Americans, nor do they advocate newly constructed federal recognition for aboriginal people of California. Thus the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation and the Barbareno Council, when addressing the legal precedence of the *Kashwa* title, are seeking renewal of their prior federal recognition. The procedures for seeking re-recognition are well documented, and the Coastal Band has been busy implementing a federal re-recognition grant in the year 2002.

Greed Chumash theologians taught that life on the Middle World (mother earth, known as *Shup*) was dominated by greed.

Terms: *Aqkitwon* means 'to profit from' (Tsmuwich, 3). *Axnacnac* means 'to be greedy' (Samala,, 91; a related term is *Axnakaw-us* meaning 'to eat all of something'). *Axik*, meaning 'to be stingy' (Tsmuwich, 5) may be a related term. *Kiks* means 'the self' (Samala,m 181; as in the term *Kikike* which means 'to be alone'). *Axshik'in* means 'to dislike' (Tsmuwich. 5; also means 'to hate'). *Xawishash* means 'to be mean' (Tsmuwich, 40). It may be related to *Xiwiwash* which means 'to endeavor' (41; also means 'to try').

Discussion: Coyote is the personification of the greedy person in traditional Chumash folk tales. But moral persons learn to overcome their greed (their Coyote personality traits) and serve the common good.

Discussion: In "Gain Is All" Kitsepawit taught that "Gain is the touchstone of the human heart" (December, 253).

Greed Rules the World A common theme in surviving Chumash folk lore is the saying that: "Greed Rules the World." See Greed for related commentary.

Holocaust See California Holocaust.

Indigenous Rights The United Nations declared 1995-2004 as the decade of the World's Indigenous People. Most of the web pages and journal articles mentioned in this text were published within this time period.

Neo-Chumash See Chumash for related discussion.

Nihilism The root term of Nihilism is *Nihl*, a Latin term meaning 'nothing', as in the verb Annihilate which means 'to bring to nothing', 'to destroy wholly'.

Discussion: The philosophical schools of Nihilism are quite diverse. None of these schools are adhered to in the teachings of traditional Chumash philosophers. Compare Greed Rules the World.

Nihilism: Ethical Ethical schools adhering to Nihilistic principles typically deny all philosophical grounds for distinguishing ethical behavior from non-ethical behavior.

Discussion: Chumash theologians clearly denounced ethical nihilism, teaching instead a basic respect for community moral principles. The reincarnation of the soul back into its previous community plays a key role in Chumash argumentation for communal ethical behavior. Many Chumash Traditionalists criticize anthropologists and other American scholars for embracing ethical nihilism, selling their services to the highest bidder.

Prime This term generates chaffing ambiguity in anthropological writings because it has numerous connotations, some positive and some negative. See Primitivism and Primitivism: Contemporary for related discussions.

Terms: Prime means 'to be first'. One connotation is 'to be first in time'. Other connotations are 'to be the first' in importance and 'to possess the highest quality'.

But Prime also can have a negative connotation to anthropologists

who adhere to Social Darwinism. These scholars assume that older forms of culture, though first in time, are inferior to later culture. Many college professors from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries taught, for example, that the Chumash were inferior to American invaders because the Chumash were in an early stage of development. Such arguments often were featured in state-approved textbooks for elementary schools. They are based on the fallacy which assumes that complex modern societies are axiomatically superior to non-technological societies.

Primitivism A belief in adhering to primitive [ancient] ways, such as religious primitivism. Compare Primitivism: Contemporary, Primitivism: New, Primitivism: Religious.

Primitivism: Contemporary Haley makes the argument that "civilization's defenders on the right" consider indigenous American culture as negative, backward, and an impediment to progress. And according to Haley's contrived ethical political model, "Civilization's critics on the left" project positive values onto primitivism.

Primitivism: New See Primitivism: Contemporary.

Primitivism: Religious Religious Primitivism describes a social practice in which a population (for example, many American and European Christians and persons of the Jewish faith) adheres to the traditional theology of their ancestors.

Other Books by the author:

Marginalizing the Chumash Indians, internet commentary, 2002.

Apology to the Chumash People of Southern California, internet commentary, 56 pages.

Demonizing the Chumash Indians, internet commentary, 52 pages, 2002.

No Brave Champion, racism, the Chumash Indians, and the University of California, 48 pages, 1999.

Identifying the Old and the New Jonjonata, a case study of public history politics involving a Chumash archaeological site, third edition, 44 pages, 2001.

The Moon, Mars, and Chumash Traditionalism, a study of the commercial spaceport built on the western Chumash coast, and its impacts on contemporary Chumash, 44 pages, 2001.

The Chumash Nation, a history of the Chumash people with commentary on their role in contemporary California political life, 52 pages, 1999.

Kuta Teachings, reincarnation theology of the Chumash Indians, death and rebirth, recapitulation, 60 pages.

The Piercing of the Yokut Shield, Warfare and diplomacy in California's Central Valley in 1851, history of the Tejon reservation, 52 pages, 1999.

The Chumash House of Fate The gambling gods of ancient California, gambling, cosmic dualism, the celestial Abyss, ritual directions, the hand game, fate and free will, 56 pages, third edition, 2001.



*Gatekeepers
of Indian Identity*

The author has written numerous articles and books on the Chumash Indians of southern California. In 1997 he released *No Brave Champion*, with its critique of major University of California professors in the field of anthropology. He also wrote a series of web pages, featuring a controversial discussion with contemporary anthropologists over the cultural authenticity of the Chumash.

Who is an 'authentic' Chumash? Can academics be objective when judging native American cultural identity? Should state and federal agencies include all Chumash groups in their consultation programs? Is the American Indian Religious Freedom Act effective, and/or just? What is post-modernism, and how is it impacted by anthropological nihilism?