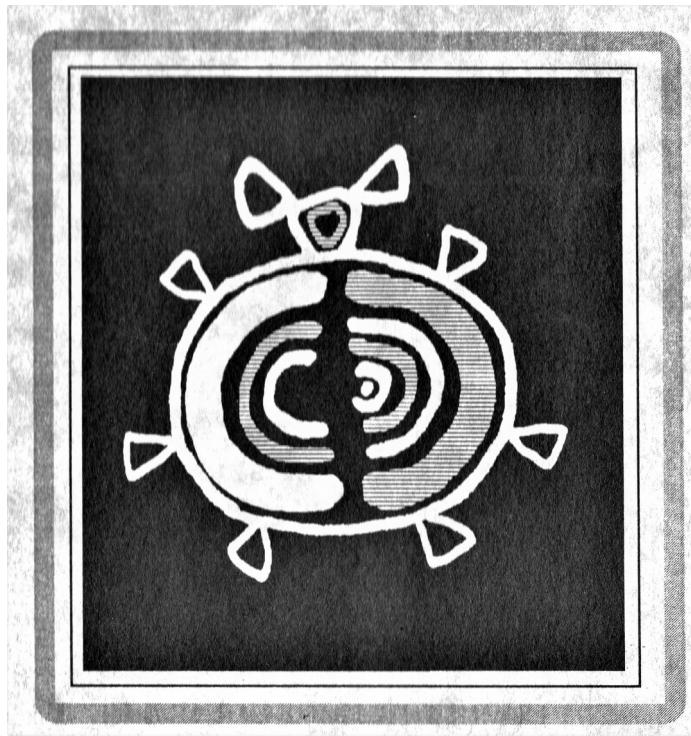


The Chumash Nation

The Chumash Nation

Part I: 1770's to 1996

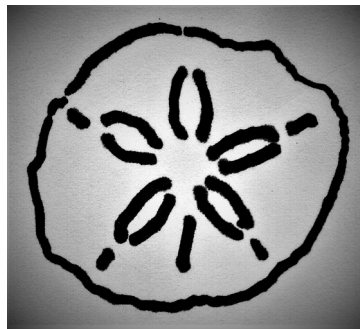


By John M. Anderson

Southern California Indian Politics

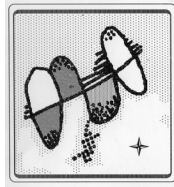
John M. Anderson is an ethnohistorian whose research focuses on the Chumash Indians of California and the Salish Indians of Canada and the American Northwest. His publication, *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield*, will be of special interest to readers of this book. It is a history of events leading to the signing of the 1851 Tejon treaty by the Chumash Indians and their allies.

*Part II of 'The Chumash Nation'
will cover the years 1997-2021.*



History: Native American, Indians of California,
California Native, Chumash, federal recognition,
sovereignty, John Anderson, Victor Lopez, Greg Schaaf,
Mike Khus.

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5th 2003, 4th 1999, 1st 1997



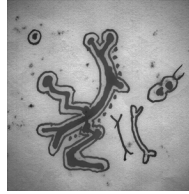
The Chumash Indians

The state with the largest Native American population in the country, is California. Prior to European contact, the state's most populous cultural group was the Chumash, who lived along the coast north of Los Angeles.

After generations of missionization these people were greatly reduced in population; and they lost all of their lands with the exception of a 99-acre 'postage stamp' reservation. This booklet provides a brief history of how their reduction came about, and explores some of the social and economic issues that impacted Chumash culture in the 1990's as California experiences rapid social change.

The author uses the phrase Chumash Nation to refer collectively to the descendants of Chumash-speaking peoples of Southern California. Contemporary Chumash are organized into a number of subgroups, including band associations in Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Kern counties. Influences causing these diverse groups to see themselves as having common purpose include languages, religion, shared material culture, trade, and intermarriage. The Chumash continue to cooperate on a number of issues, but enter the twenty-first century with diverse goals and pride in regional differences.

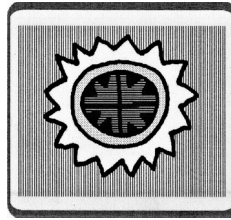
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Earlier Editions

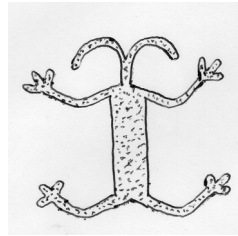
The first edition of this text was entitled "Chumash Nationalism and Its Recognition By American Governments." It was released as a discussion paper on July 25, 1992. This text was an expansion of a March 5, 1986 paper written for Chumash tribal leaders studying American federal recognition procedures. Mike Khus, historian for the Coastal Band, and Dr. Greg Schaaf were primary sources of background information for this issuance. Khus is a specialist in the history of the Stishni Chumash of San Luis Obispo county and their ties to neighboring tribes including the Mountain Chumash [Tejon]. Schaaf had served as the tribal historian for the Coastal Band in the later 1970's, built the band's tribal library, and wrote the seminal history of the nineteenth and twentieth century Santa Barbara Chumash when he published his study of the Santa Barbara reservation at *Kashwa*.

Victor Lopez, a Tsmuwich tribal historian who lived in Montecito near Santa Barbara, also contributed to this publication project when he met with Dr. Anderson and Dr. Schaaf in the late 1970's, to discuss ties between the Santa Barbara Chumash and the Mountain Chumash. Lopez had a family member at the Tejon reservation and was knowledgeable about the retreat of the Santa Barbara Chumash to sacred *Iwihinmu* mountain during the 1824 revolt.



Contents

Introduction.....	. 8
A Brief History of the Chumash Struggle for Independence.....	12
The Chumash As One Nation.....	. 18
Strengthening the Chumash Cultural base.....	. 24
How Do We know Who is a Chumash? Appendix A.....	. 28
How can we Begin Returning Land to the Chumash? Appendix B.....	. 30
Federal Recognition Appendix C.....	. 32
Chumash Organizations Appendix D.....	35
Bibliography.....	. 36
Endnotes.....	. 37
Glossary.....	. 51



One Sole Shadow



One of the most important surviving Chumash orations on the theme of social unity was presented in a speech given by the nationalist leader I. Suluwish. All of humanity lives in the Shadow of the Sun, which is the realm where Coyote is so influential. But the wise man, he taught, listened to Coyote tales discerningly.

"Coyote tales emphasized the punishment that selfish Coyote suffered as a result of his greed and willingness to break the rules of society. Coyote was a pathetic and hungry outcast, deserving of his fate and feared by decent people for his alluring personality and ability to resurrect himself over and over. He symbolized male sexuality and aggression, which brought discord but was an essential component to the pregenitive process of the natural world.

Persistently, the Chumash religious leaders advised their followers to reject the bad example of Coyote and instead embrace communal values, brotherhood, and peace. Thus Shuluwish exhorted: "Have courage! Always remain united." His audience undoubtedly responded as a united spiritual community, which cast what Shuluwish extolled as "one sole shadow."

Chumash Autumn Equinox
(Anderson, 2001, page 6)

Introduction

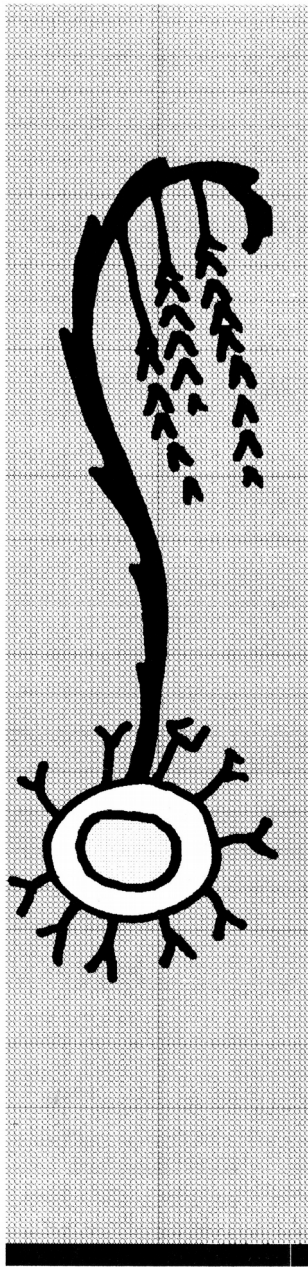


Prior to the Spanish invasion of California, the Chumash people were a densely populated nation on the California coast, occupying a country larger than the American state of Rhode island.

If you read a newspaper, or watch television in Southern California you have been exposed in recent decades to stories about the Chumash Indians. Seeking to protect their ancestors' religious and archaeological sites, the Santa Ynez Reservation Chumash and the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation have emerged as well-known players in regional politics.

Other Chumash groups (in the San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, and Bakersfield areas) are less familiar to the public but are also key participants in an ongoing debate over the preservation of Chumash culture. A number of these lesser-known groups are currently considering applying for formal federal recognition. Many of their members want a federal status separate from the Santa Ynez, who are the only formally recognized subdivision from what was once the largest cultural group in the western states.

For many observers, recent press coverage of these newly 'public' Chumash groups has been a rather puzzling phenomenon. Many of us went to local schools, where we were taught that all of the Chumash were extinct.¹ Such misinformation was also presented to us in histories of California, in spite of the fact that the Santa Ynez reservation has always been Chumash and thousands of other people with Chumash ancestry still lived in the region.



The Chumash Indians are playing an increasingly important role in the politics of southern California.

^ ^ ^ ^

Who were the Chumash? Why are there so many subdivisions, and why is their relationship to the federal government an issue at this time? Once the largest native group in California, the Chumash occupied a large territory northwest of Los Angeles. They experienced tremendous population declines, dispersal, impoverishment, and denial of civil rights under Spanish and Mexican colonialism. When the American army first occupied their lands, the federal government signed only one treaty with the Chumash. This treaty was negotiated with the northeastern Chumash, who were allied with neighboring bands at Tejon.² Under the so-called 'protection' of the federal government, all of the Tejon reservation was eventually stripped away from the Indians. The Tejon Chumash were forcibly driven from their homes, dispersing to nearby Bakersfield, Tule River, coastal Chumash communities, Los Angeles, and eventually throughout the west.

The federal government failed to intervene on behalf of the Chumash in the second half of the nineteenth century, as part of a generally negligent policy toward all California Indians. The Santa Barbara Chumash, for example, were driven from their homes at *Cienegitas* by local citizens, and a federal agent gained title to their lands. Other groups, such as the Ventura Chumash, also lost their land and were harassed by locals. They continued to be denied federal recognition, which might have helped them preserve a permanent land base where they could live peacefully and maintain their local customs. The

State of California did not intervene when it became evident that the federals would not protect their civil rights. In fact, the state and local governments acted at a generally dishonorable level, knowing that the federal government would stay neutral rather than challenge powerful economic and political forces in the state.

The Chumash remained a people without territory until a Catholic Bishop, responsible for church policy in the Chumash region, deeded to the Samala band a 99-acre tract near the Santa Ynez mission. The Samala adopted the name Santa Ynez and eventually were able to have their tiny 'homeland' designated a federal reservation. In the meantime, the rest of the Chumash bands remained landless and relied upon the heads of large families to keep them together as cultural groups. Quietly, they gathered in private homes and public parks to maintain social ties and preserve a unique heritage. For most of the public, they blended into the Mexican American community and their activities were generally ignored.

^ ^ ^ ^

Media coverage of Chumash activities did not really begin in earnest until the 1960's and '70's. Suddenly, people were reading about the Santa Ynez Indians making improvements on reservation housing and speaking out on destruction of Chumash archaeological sites. The Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation also attracted media attention, drawing support from Chumash families from Los Angeles to San Luis Obispo. Many of its members participated in an Indian encampment at Point Conception, whose purpose was to protect this spiritual area from destruction by a liquefied gas facility.

By the 1990's San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura and Tejon groups were also in the news. Each community has had its unique history and local priorities, and there have been numerous times when debate over public policy has grown heated. Traditionalists and Catholics do not always see eye-to-eye on religious issues, and landless groups often expressed different views on economic development than reservation residents at Santa Ynez. Yet all of the Chumash families have a common goal, to work cooperatively to preserve their language and cultural heritage.

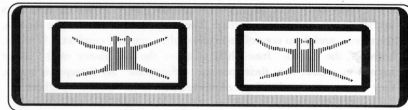
A major obstacle to the resurgence of Chumash culture remains the lack of a land base for the many groups living away from the Santa Ynez reservation. With the exception of the Santa Ynez, all of the Chumash groups continue to be denied federal recognition. This makes it very difficult to obtain title for land where they could build a community center to host communal gatherings. As their memberships swell, it is

increasingly difficult to meet in private homes and to continue to rely on informal relations with local, state, and federal bureaucracies.

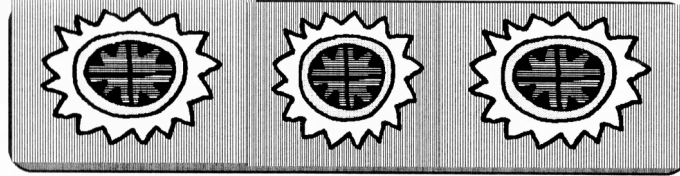
In 1998 the State of California will commemorate a century and a half of American rule. As this date approaches, many people find themselves increasingly sympathetic with their Chumash neighbors. What can they do, as individuals and as members of various civic groups, to help the landless Chumash gain federal recognition? How can they overcome the hostile stereotyping of Indians which they may have learned in school? And how can they make sense of newspaper articles identifying various groups as Chumash? Does anyone speak for all Chumash, and how could we possibly find land for these people during times of fiscal restraint?

In the passages which follow, I have attempted to answer these questions, from my own perspective as a non-Indian historian. I am particularly interested in the work of the California Indian Advisory Council, which is currently studying federal policies toward non-recognized and landless California Indian communities. I conclude that all of the Chumash have a great deal to gain through federal recognition, but there are many pitfalls along this path.

*John Anderson
Second Edition
September 1995*



Chapter 1

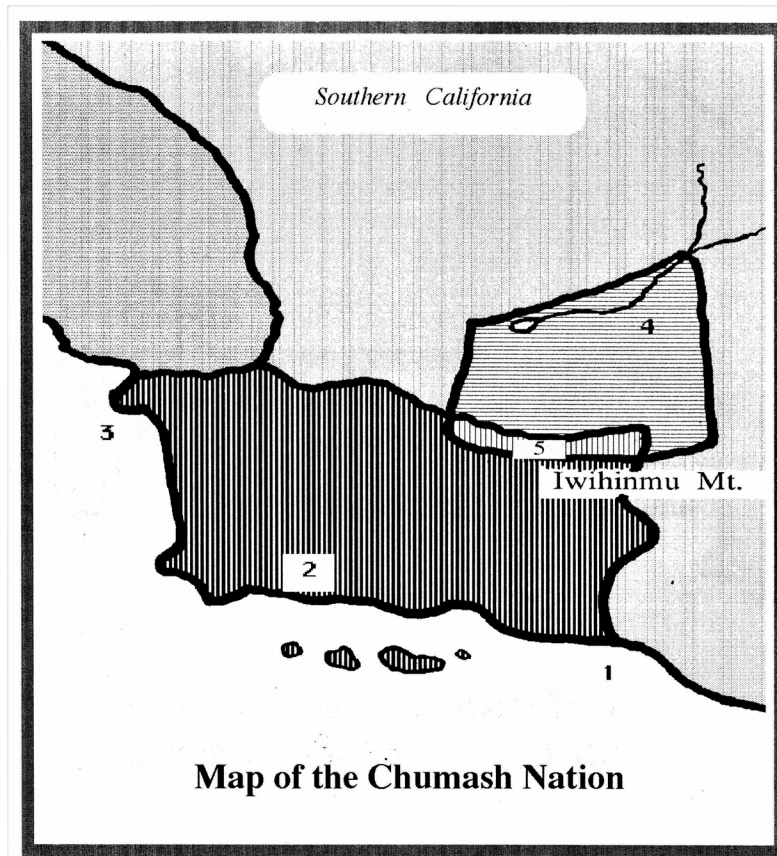


A Brief History of the Chumash Struggles For Independence

The Chumash Indians, after generations of struggle, continue to debate the benefits of legal recognition by the American federal government. Some Chumash leaders argue in favor of federal recognition, hoping that it will help them obtain land as well as assistance with educational, economic, and cultural development.³ Those opposed to recognition fear that Washington, in a cycle of Republican budget cutting, is not only unsympathetic to funding but may try to use the procedural language of an agreement to deny future sovereignty to the Chumash.⁴

Why are California Indians still trying to get the federal archaeological and sociological scholars documented enough of their heritage to make their role as major participants in California history perfectly clear? The answers to these questions are often surprising. Many people are puzzled when they learn that majority of the Chumash Indians, aboriginal residents of the Santa Barbara Channel and surrounding mountains, have been denied legal recognition ever since the

first American officials began negotiating treaty rights in the 1850's. Only three Chumash groups gained legal title to their lands and promises of federal protection from invading American



Prior to the Spanish conquest, the Chumash were the largest population group in California. A string of prosperous Chumash seaports stretched from Malibu (1), past San Luis Obispo (3) in the north. The Chumash territory in the 1800's is shown above in bold vertical stripes (at the center of the map). Further north are the lands of the Salinan and Esselen Indians, who are Hokan-speaking neighbors of the Chumash.

Δ Δ Δ Δ

In 1851 the Tejon Chumash bands signed a treaty with the federal government, protecting a 1.2 million acre pantribal homeland (shown in horizontal stripes). The Chumash lands protected by this treaty are shown in light vertical stripes. Bakersfield (4) lies near the northern border of the Tejon homeland. Iwihinmu peak (5), the Central Mountain of the Chumash nation, is located on the southern border of the 1851 reservation. The Santa Ynez reservation (2) is located just inland from the coastal town of Santa Barbara (Shyuxtun).

settlers. These were the Tsmuwich of the Santa Barbara coast, the Samala of the Santa Ynez valley, and the Tejon Chumash who controlled the interior mountains. This latter group served as the guardian of the sacred Chumash shrines near *Iwihinmu*

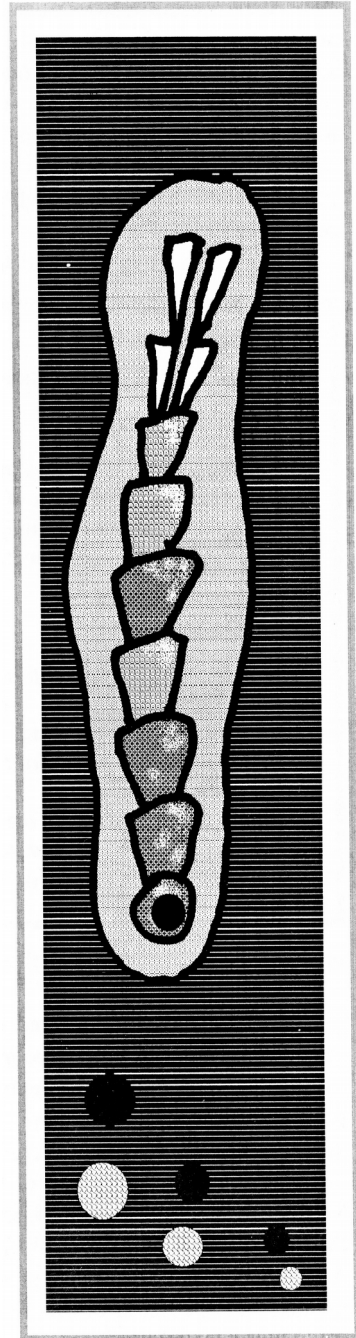
mountain.⁵

In 1851 the Mountain Chumash signed a treaty with the federal government, guaranteeing their territory within the Tejon Reservation as well as other protections.⁶ The American government also took on legal obligations toward the other Chumash as a result of a peace treaty signed with Mexico, and through various legal protections guaranteed to the five missions which belonged to the Chumash.⁷

^ ^ ^ ^

The only surviving Chumash land base currently recognized by the federal government for native residency is the tiny Tsmala homeland called Santa Ynez.⁸ The bulk of Chumash economic wealth is now in the hands of non-natives. Most was seized by unscrupulous bureaucrats and businessmen. Both the Tsmuwich coastal homeland (called Cieneguitas) and the mountain homeland (called Tejon) were 'stolen', for example, by American administrators of economic aid programs which were supposedly set up to assist the Chumash during a post-war economic recovery in the mid-1800's.⁹ One of the State of California's most unconscionable abuses during this period was the successful use of well-financed Washington lobbyists, to influence federal politicians to block all new treaties with California natives. White voters approved of this effort and consistently elected politicians to state office who supported confiscation of native economic resources.¹⁰

Chumash leaders found little solace in the guarantees written into the Mexican/American treaty to protect native Californians' rights.¹¹ When state and local governments repeatedly broke the agreements of this treaty, in a rush to illegally transfer the economic wealth of the region into American hands, they left the majority of the Chumash shielded only by the extremely weak legal status of their missions. The Americans refused to recognize Chumash title to even the



economic assets of the five Chumash missions. Instead, they transferred ownership either to individual colonial businessmen, Christian churches, or to local, state, or federal agencies.

As a result of continued legal deprivation, the Chumash nation was stripped of almost all of its economic wealth. Possessing only minimal civil rights, the Chumash had no recourse except to hide their social, religious, and political ties from the invaders. Their coastal unification government, called the Antap Council, went underground. Its daring political leaders managed to preserve the muted support of traditional families among the Samala (Santa Ynez), *Kagismuwas* (Purisimento), *Tsmuwich* (Santa Barbara), *Lulapin* (Ventura), *Humaliwu* (Malibu), and island Chumash. The underground Antap network extended over all of the southern coastal provinces, and remained active even after this region came under the control of the American army (see Saticoy in the glossary for further discussion).

Theft of Chumash Lands

Edward Beale, the federal agent sent to protect the land rights of the Tejon Indians, ended up owning much of their treaty lands.

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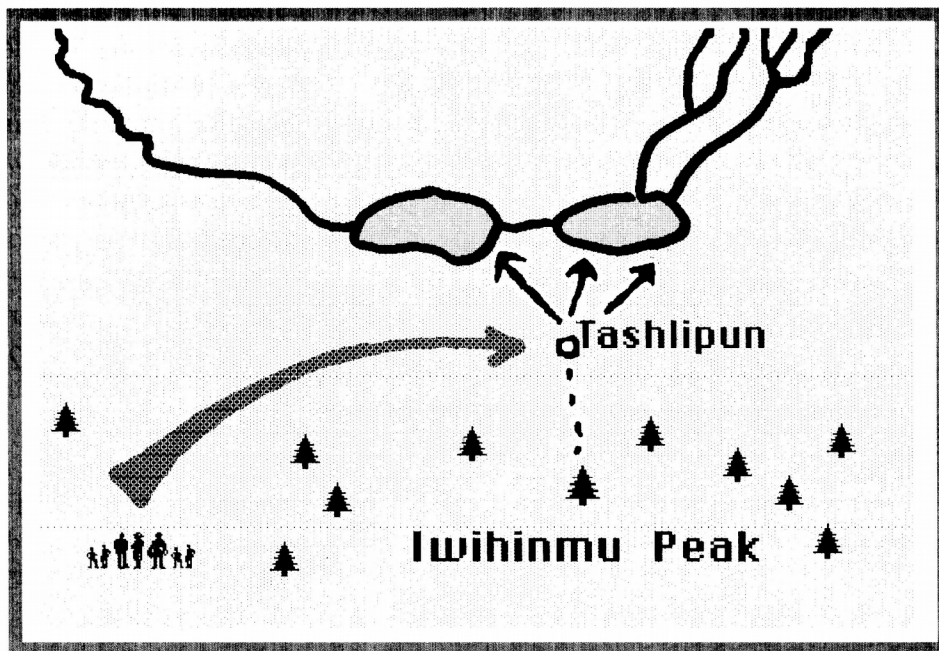
The federal government failed utterly as a watchdog of Indian rights in this period, so similar land titles were stripped from the Santa Barbara Chumash band. Dr. Greg Schaaf describes in his writings on Cieneguitas how the American agent seized title to the Santa Barbara Chumash lands.

Chumash groups in the interior mountains generally remained friendly but independent of coastal politics, in the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods. But in a number of strategic cases, they worked together in successful alliances. Some of the Mountain Chumash bands, for example, reputedly cooperated with the *Antap* and *Stishni* governments in a gold smuggling pact with the Catholic church. The mountain Chumash, under this clandestine arrangement, strengthened their independence as a sovereign peoples.¹²

The mountain Chumash successfully defended their territory against Mexican intrusions, while the Antap Council had to accommodate itself to a permanent colonial occupation of the islands and along much of the coast. Encouraged by the persistent military resistance of the mountain towns, the *Antap* rebelled numerous times and covertly aided interior raiders whenever they attacked Mexican cattle ranches for cattle and horses. Coastal politicians recognized that it was to their advantage that the free towns of the interior remained fiercely nationalistic. They also knew that the threat of future raids kept the Mexican priests and ranch owners from repeating the

human rights abuses of earlier days.

The Mexicans feared the Tejon.¹⁴ They knew that the mountain Chumash militia included large numbers of runaway workers from the missions, as well as coastal leaders whose lives had been made miserable for their outspoken patriotism.¹⁵ As a result of their presence in the interior, and clandestine visits back to the coastal production centers, Tejon militancy grew from decade to decade.¹⁶ The lure of freedom in the mountains helped spark the Chumash War of Liberation. This uprising was soon crushed by the Mexican army, however, and large numbers of escaped workers were driven back to the



Escape to Iwihinmu Mt.

The 'national' character of Chumash religion was demonstrated by the Chumash revolt of 1824. Led by the Antap islanders, in cooperation with the Tejon bands, the Chumash rebels sought refuge at the town of Tashlipun (located immediately downstream from Iwihinmu peak, the Central Mountain in Chumash cosmology).¹³

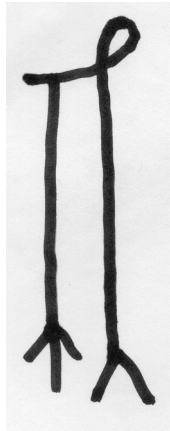
The refugees were soon driven from Tashlipun by attacking colonial troops. They fled into the nearby wetlands, where many were killed and the rest captured and forced back into slavery. Some of these families later escaped and joined the Tecuya, Tashlipun, Kastac, and other free Chumash towns in the Tejon area.

colonial production centers.¹⁷

After the bitter defeat near Tulamni lake, a number of rebellious Chumash avoided capture by hiding in the Yokut swamplands. They remained behind because they were determined to fight with the Tejon militia.¹⁸ Their fate is not documented. Some probably joined Yokut, and Kitanemuk relatives, but most surely allied themselves with the coastal militants living on Tecuya creek, where they fought fiercely in opposition to foreign rule.¹⁹ Faced with overwhelming military superiority at the time of the American invasion of California, this mixed band of coastal refugees joined the mountain Chumash to sign an 1851 Tejon peace treaty, in return for recognition of a large homeland in the southern San Joaquin valley and foothills. **

* See footnote 44, for further discussion

** For a map of the treaty lands, see page 13



Chapter 2



The Chumash As One Nation?

Chumash debate over internal and foreign policy was an inescapable result of the Spanish occupation of their coastal provinces. In spite of colonial repression of their human rights, religious and cultural ties kept the Chumash peoples in continual cultural and physical contact.

After studying the intrepid resistance of Chumash nationalists against a series of European oppressors, it is easier for the reader to appreciate the complexity of issues facing modern Chumash groups asking for federal recognition. Should they band together under one national government (like the Zuni, for example), or should they apply for separate recognition (like the Apache)? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each option, and is unity or diversity more likely to gain sympathy from American agencies responsible for future federal negotiations?

Cultural Continuity

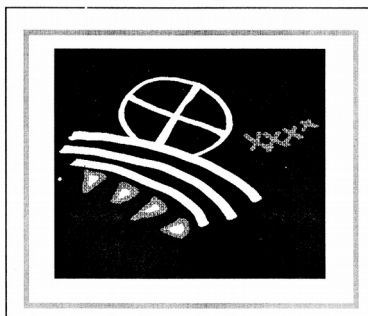
One of the complexities of negotiating federal recognition for California native groups has been the long era of 'underground' cultural activities . Through generations of white hostility, many native families shunned public documentation of their 'Indianess.' To avoid trouble from the authorities, they chose to blend in with their Mexican neighbors.

Now, the Chumash are being told by the federal government that they need to submit proof of cultural continuity, and [paradoxically] the *right kind* of proof consists of OVERT cultural behavior. Since public speech and demonstrations have been used as excuses to harass natives in the past, California Indians are caught in a catch-22 logic. This injustice will continue until public pressure on the Bureau of Indian Affairs leads to revision of these guidelines.

To answer these questions, we need to look at forces that bind together contemporary Chumash. The deepest unification influences in the pre-invasion era were linguistic and theological. The religious ties between the Chumash apparently were of a national scope, with each province participating in quite similar ceremonial cycles established in antiquity. It was their underground religious networks which proved the strength of the traditionalist struggle to preserve Chumash history, arts, language, government, and civil rights.

Throughout the world, repressive governments have found religious movements the most difficult to fully eradicate.²⁰

This proved true not only for the early Spanish conquerors in



California but also for the later invaders. American institutions such as the courts, churches, schools, and state and local governments sought to destroy the Chumash way of life along with all other native cultures in California. They not only refused to cooperate with native efforts to preserve their heritage but established programs actively dedicated toward cultural extinction.²¹

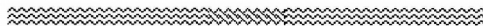
The overwhelming propensity of American institutions was to enforce integration into the newly imposed colonial economy and culture, even if this necessitated abuses of basic human

rights. As a result, when Chumash individuals succeeded in gaining educational or job opportunities in the American system, they could do so only if they put on the appearance of having converted completely to the colonial culture. For native peoples, this typically meant assuming the disguise of Mexican laborers who were accepted into the lowest levels of the American economy.

In response to wholesale repression, the Chumash disappeared into the Mexican-American sub-community where they remained for generations. This was true, however, only in public. In private, the Chumash maintained inter-family and inter-provincial ties with other native peoples.²² Obviously such ties could not take place openly, nor could they be acknowledged to professionals from colonial colleges and universities, government bureaucracies, nor church officials.

Formal documentation could have been used against Chumash civil rights leaders, by American authorities who would have jailed them or deprived them of their jobs, land, or freedom in punishment for defying colonial law.²³ Use of datura, as a sacrament in religious services, for example, was suppressed by dogmatic Christian leaders intent on destroying the roots of Chumash mysticism.²⁴ Loss of both the Tejon and Santa Barbara homelands testifies to the severity of these times, as well as the willingness of the white public to tolerate great abuses against natives who tried to preserve a distinctive cultural base.²⁵

***The Uncooperative
Federal Government***



The Director of the Association of American Indian Affairs, Allogan Slagel, warned in 1994 that it "remains probable" that the federal government will rule many petitioning California Indian groups *ineligible* for formal recognition.

Slagel reported that federal regulations continue to force Indian groups to spend excessive time and money to submit a federal recognition petition. The average petition, for example, costs between \$300,000-500,000, and some have cost over a million dollars. The Interior Department's recent policy statements, Slagel concluded, are a "certain threat to the sovereignty of every tribe in the country."

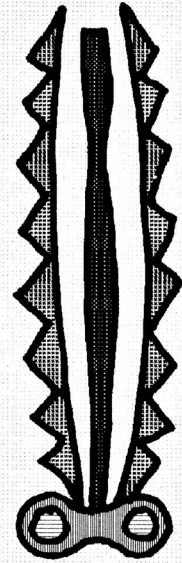
Allogan Slagel, *Native Californian*, 1994. ²⁷

It has been over one hundred years since the American invasion of California. The repressive laws imposed by the newcomers succeeded in stifling the vitality of most native languages, arts, and religion in the region. Fluent speakers of the Chumash language, for example, have not survived. Most Chumash art from the Mexican era is now owned by white museums and private collectors. The Chumash have preserved only a tiny land base in the Santa Ynez valley, while many of their religious and archaeological sites continue to be bulldozed without effective opposition.²⁶

^ ^ ^ ^

California demographics have shifted radically in the last two decades to a majority of non-white residents. Does this development portend a revitalization of Chumash culture? As Asians, Blacks, and Mexican immigrants succeed in using the political system to diversify the state's public culture (legitimizing pluralism) will a door of opportunity also be opened for California natives? Some social critics doubt that the transition will be easy, given that the 1990's have been dominated by conservative coalitions opposed to such a future. This reactive electoral pattern is hopefully temporary and many observers expect it to be followed by an era of increased public support for multiculturalism in California.²⁸

The path of Chumash cultural resurgence will not be without pitfalls. Tremendous barriers still exist in our state bureaucracies, making progress dependent upon persistent evidence of public support. But California politicians have remained rather indifferent to the region's native heritage and the need for



Since federal agencies continue to drag their feet over legal recognition of California tribes, it is now time for city, county, and state governments to take the lead in this important area of human rights.

If this level of government decided to negotiate in good faith, no further loss of Chumash freedoms will ensue.

The Size of Chumash Landholdings

*What percentage of the Chumash vast aboriginal territory
should be returned to them?*

*If a citizen in California has property taken away at
gunpoint, our laws return all the stolen property. If an army
takes away land at gunpoint, should the defeated population
have any avenue for regaining some of its assets?*

*The Chumash nation was much larger than a million
acres. One percent of a million acres is ten thousand acres.
The Santa Ynez reservation is less than a hundred acres. Is
this just?*

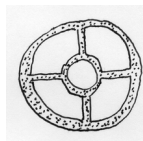
native cultural reconstruction.²⁹ Ongoing abuses in other regions of America give evidence of the dangers of relying too heavily on public sympathy at the state level where some of the worst hostility toward native treaty rights have been expressed in the 1990's.³⁰ Future efforts on the part of the Chumash to obtain legal recognition through the auspices of the State of California, should therefore be tempered with cautious prudence.³¹

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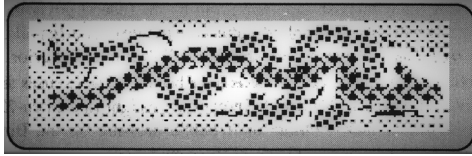
In spite of the current problems involved in negotiating recognition from the federal government, it is highly likely that the next generation of Chumash will continue to seek formal ties with Washington. Their goal will be to gain federal recognition without accepting catch-22 type clauses, which the federals have tried to impose so as to compromise Native American sovereignty. If sympathetic state administrations come to power in the next decade, the Chumash might strengthen their federal bid by first negotiating recognition at the city, county, and state levels. Whatever route is chosen, efforts to gain legal recognition must be moderated by an awareness of the dangers of sacrificing fundamental liberties for short-term economic benefits or modest land gains.

The bottom line for traditionalists continues to be maintaining a community base, without signing agreements giving ultimate control to federal bureaucracies. If the federal or state governments choose to negotiate legal recognition in good

faith, then loss of freedoms will not ensue. The point of such negotiations should be to right past wrongs and begin compensations for economic losses including confiscation of almost all the natural wealth of the region.³² Good faith negotiations will aid the surviving Chumash in cultural and economic reconstruction and land acquisitions.



Chapter 3



Strengthening the Chumash Cultural Base

*Do non-Indians have anything to gain from
better relations with the Chumash?*

Our contemporary society is often characterized as excessively stressed. Sociologists warn that American political and social systems are changing so rapidly that people feel discontented and distrustful of their future security. We focus through television and newspapers on current events, seldom looking deeply into our history for guidance for future actions. With the exception of platitudes about the 1776 war of independence, thrown around by both political parties during election campaigns, Americans still suffer from an a-historical world view.³³

Californians suffer from historical myopia because we find an honest appraisal of our past too painful. In spite of all the indoctrination of American school children about our glorious past, anyone who knows how to dig around in a public library soon realizes that European immigrants to America have an appalling history of racism, militarism, colonialism, capitalistic exploitation of labor, and extreme ecological abuse. Thousands and thousands of books have been written documenting these sociological patterns, yet we continue to live in a television culture focused on a different reality—uncontrolled consumerism soured by fear of increasing antisocial violence.

American violence is not unique, however. All over the world, expanding cultures have abused their neighbors. It is historically normal for a dominant culture to suppress information about its abuses of human rights, and to encourage a vigilance against public disclosure through schools and mass media. The State of California, for example, published racist textbooks which taught generations of school children that the Chumash Indians were extinct.³⁴ These texts encouraged the non-native majority to ignore the Indians who did survive into the modern era.

Non-native Californians continue to brush aside or even abuse native peoples to our own detriment. To maintain a facade of a pure Euro-Christian heritage, we cannot look honestly into our past. You can see this for yourself by examining how many books on California history in the last hundred years give no data or only cursory data on events taking place prior to the first European intrusion. As a result our collective memory is effectively two hundred years old, instead of tens of thousands. And even within this two hundred year span, we do not take history seriously but bend it to appease our conscience.

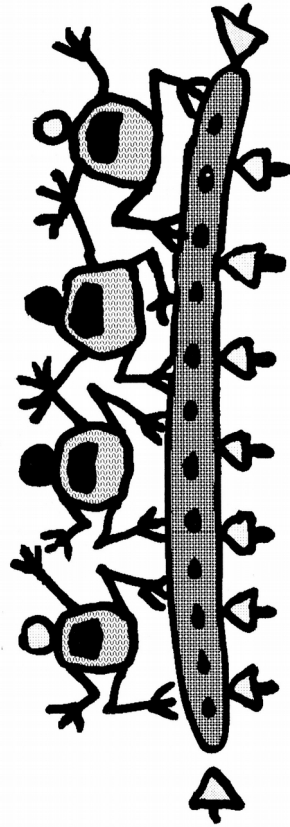
It is possible, and in fact is a necessity, for us to engage in honest historical analysis. It is thus expedient for Christian descendants of European immigrants to America to admit that their ancestors were abusive of non-Europeans.³⁵ In the case of African, Asian, and other immigrants much has been done to address the abuses of the past. But this has not been the case with the native peoples, who suffered the greatest losses. Their cause is especially poignant because they were the original peoples, pushed aside to make way for the immigrants.³⁶

It is time for the people of California to insist on justice for the region's native peoples. By pressuring our political representatives to support legal recognition, title to an environmentally viable land base, and economic development aid, we can reach out to the state's first citizens in brotherhood. Yes, this will mean less land and less natural resources for the non-Indian majority, but it will also give us a great deal in return. One very significant change would be to revitalize our public history and legitimize a ten thousand year curiosity about events in our region. Such a perspective is essential if California is to avoid sinking lower and lower into a degraded environment.³⁷

Non-natives in California have been unable to control environmental degradation, primarily because they have not been willing to adequately limit immigration or to regulate urban and suburban expansion. If the landless Indian bands of California had significant acres of their lands returned to them, their borders could serve as buffer zones against unregulated development. As sovereign nations, they would not be forced to develop their lands against their community interests.

Let us take the Chumash as an example. If each of their subgroups regained title to some of their traditional lands, their new communities could serve as effective barriers to uncontrolled growth.³⁸ But why, one might ask, wouldn't they simply join the non-Indians in irresponsible short-term capital development? The answer lies in two main areas: (1) they alone have an ancestral tradition of living in this region for thousands of years, in sustained balance with the environment, and (2) their community base would be uniquely independent of local and state taxes designed to facilitate capital development.

It will take the Chumash generations to regain the rich communal traditions which sustained them prior to the European intrusions. In the meantime, their concern for their children's heritage is as good a guarantee as one can hope for - that they will not destroy any newly won homelands. Simply by living outside of the legal-



Historical Myopia

Americans live obsessively in the present and future.

Californians suffer from this disorder, because we find an honest appraisal of our past too painful to face.

economic monopoly of corporate capitalism, they will have an opportunity denied to the rest of the residents of California. For generations now, California voters have approved an endless list of legislation legalizing excessive development and over-population. As a spiritual guide for business ethics, I can only conclude from such behavior that non-Indian voters have failed to regulate amoral corporate capitalism. Few reasonable observers would deny that the California 'paradise' has diminished, and (as the natives would say) Coyote is loose in the land.

Sociologists and futurists would surely find 'alternative' reservation communities an invaluable source of information on life styles which might be adopted by sympathetic neighbors. In the best of all possible worlds, the new Chumash homelands would serve as living experiments, demonstrating the advantages of small scale community over mass society which is the norm in much of the rest of the state.³⁹

^ ^ ^ ^

The Chumash can be (and have already demonstrated a capacity to act, as) viable players in contemporary California's 'democratic' style of government. Just as the Zuni call themselves a nation, and the State of New Mexico and the federal government honor their right to co-exist, so should all of the Chumash groups be welcomed back into public life in California as independent peoples. It is not only morally right, but to everyone's benefit.

*The analysis featured in this text is that of the author,
and does not necessarily represent the views of
any Chumash individual or group.*



Appendix A

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How Do We Know Who is a Chumash Indian?

One of the most important powers of any cultural group is its ability to define its own membership. If outsiders usurp this function, then the group's self-identity is fundamentally compromised. The California Indians are no different.

Greg Rudder, a reporter covering the Ventura area Chumash, provided an interesting review of the problems facing contemporary Chumash as they struggle with non-native institutions over the issue of their Chumash identity. Rudder interviewed Paul Varela, of Thousand Oaks in 1994, and learned that he had visited John Johnson, the curator of anthropology at the Santa Barbara Natural History Museum, to ask for assistance in documenting his Chumash ancestry.⁴⁰

As the executive director of the Chumash interpretative center at Oakbrook Park near Thousand Oaks, Varela explained that: "We may not have the Chumash ceremonies or the language anymore. Yet, we survived. We're still trying to reclaim the past" (Rudder, Culture Connection, 1). Although a member of the local Chumash community, he apparently felt pressure from non-natives to 'prove' his genealogy beyond challenge. Thus, he decided to investigate the mission archives and early American census information for evidence supporting his genealogical claims.

As a result of Varela's inquiries, Johnson found records which confirmed his Chumash genealogy back to the 1750's. This was wonderful news for the Varela family, but Rudder began to look deeper into the issue of Chumash genealogy. "Who is and who isn't [a Chumash Indian] matters in the 1990 American Indian repatriation act," he wrote, "under which verified Chumash may go after acquiring historic Chumash artifacts and writings." Rudder learned that the story became complicated as he explored more deeply into repatriation regulations and learned that numerous traditional Chumash fundamentally oppose federal policies governing this sensitive human rights area.

Seeking an alternative viewpoint, Rudder interviewed Kote Lotah, a traditional Chumash from Ventura who was a member of

the Owl Clan.⁴¹ Lotah "scoffs at Johnson's work on genealogy" Rudder told his readers. Lotah apparently did not object to Varela's use of colonial documents to confirm his Chumash identity, but what bothered him was the American practice of relying solely on European documents when discussing Chumash citizenship. European records are sufficient but not necessary to many traditional Chumash for documenting membership claims in the Chumash nation. Much went on in Chumash society, some traditionalists logically point out, which was not seen by mission staff. "There is no way in hell," Lotah complains against John Johnson that he "can be accountable for everybody [i.e. that Catholic records used by Johnson can account for all the people living in the Chumash Nation]. ... He doesn't know Indian stuff except what he reads in books. There are people like us who have been raised in the culture. Being a native doesn't mean blood. It means being a participant in your culture"(A-9). Cultural anthropologist Phil Holmes, of the National Park Service, is cited as agreeing with Lotah's claim that the Catholic missions recorded only part of the aboriginal Chumash population. "The mission records are not the end all or be all for what Chumash are all about. There's no evidence [that] all of the Chumash are incorporated into the mission system" (A-9).

The 1990 American Indian Repatriation Act currently governs all federal policies toward the landless Chumash and other Native American groups seeking federal help in this area. Like most federal legislation, it is biased toward eastern and mid-western models of Indian culture. As a result, the California Indian Advisory Council faces a fundamental dilemma in trying to negotiate with the federal government. It wants to procure federal recognition for all California groups, but to achieve this goal it faces arbitrary and unjust federal guidelines for recognition. These regulations were drawn up in an earlier era, when many of the native cultures familiar to most Americans were tribally organized, enjoying long-standing diplomatic experience with the federal government, and maintained a collective land base even after federal relocation.

The California Indians survived a genocidal holocaust, initiated by a brutal Spanish invasion of the California coast, continued under Mexican rule, and intensified in the early American era.⁴² The native peoples, including the Chumash, were decimated, impoverished, and dispersed. Whether they were tribally organized (one nation) or regionally organized (two or more nations) should not hinder federal recognition. It is time now to help them rebuild, to bring together the surviving family members and assist them in cultural reconstruction.

Appendix B

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How Could We Begin Returning Land to the Chumash?

Even if one were persuaded of the justice and advantages of returning land to the landless Chumash and other California natives, how could we begin? After more than a decade of observing state politics, I have become convinced that the answer lies in NOT waiting any longer for the federal government to initiate the process. To open a small hole in the wall of opposition put up by all previous American government agencies, local and state governments can and should legally recognize their local Indian groups and help them gain title to land and facilities necessary for their cultural preservation. The City of Santa Barbara, for example, could become an advocate for the Tsmuwich descendants. They could offer immediate legal recognition to the surviving Tsmuwich families. Moreover, they could use city revenues and private donations to support Tsmuwich cultural preservation programs.

* * * *

At the state level, California should become an advocate of the landless Indians, reversing its historical hostilities and lobbying the federal government on the Indians' behalf. The California legislature could, for example, legally recognize the landless Chumash and (join city and county governments in helping to) fund cultural preservation programs. It could make state lands available to the Chumash, including 'mission' lands and facilities which once belonged to their ancestors. It could lobby the Catholic Church to do likewise. Educational opportunities could be made available to the Chumash in the specifics of running public museums, parks, and other tourist attractions.⁴³

Fort Tejon is located in the Chumash mountains, between Los Angeles and Bakersfield. It is proposed, in *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield*, as a potential pan-tribal cultural center run by the Tejon Indians.⁴⁴ The Kern County Chumash Council could play

a significant role in such a pan-tribal center.

Chumash Terms

- When the Chumash nationalists revolted against Spanish imperialism, they fought in the name of *Shup* (a female divinity, akin to the European concept of Mother Earth).

For the Chumash, possession of their ancestral lands is essential to their spiritual relations to the earth. *Shup* means 'earth'; it also means 'land', 'soil' (Tsmuwich, 68). The Samala variant *Sup* is translated as 'the Earth Mother' (348, also '[a] god', '[a] spirit'.

The land confiscated by the colonials would be called by the Chumash *Makihikhikiwas*, meaning 'that which once belonged to a group'. The root of this term is *Hik* meaning 'to own', also means 'possessions' (Tsmuwich, 9); thus 'an owner', 'to be the master of' (Samala, 125); *Hik* is also the root of *Hik'e*, meaning 'a tool' (Samala, 126), and thus *Hiken* meaning 'to use' (Tsmuwich, 9).



Appendix C

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Federal Recognition And the Chumash

1986 Correspondence

The various subdivisions of the Chumash people were actively debating tribal recognition issues long before the author met any of their members. Greg Schaaf, the Chumash tribal historian while a doctoral student in the late 1970's, first drew Anderson's attention to this process while he was working at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Over the next decade, John became increasingly interested in Chumash history and wrote a number of papers discussing federal recognition in the context of Chumash social organization and historical experiences with federal bureaucracies. On March 16, 1986, John sent the following commentary on federal recognition to Chumash colleagues with whom he was corresponding at the time.

Chumash Self-definition

"...recognition of the Chumash people is not contingent on American cooperation. The Chumash did exist whether the American legal system chooses to acknowledge legal status for them or not. The descendants of the Chumash are in fact Chumash, and those who are considered by the Chumash as participants in their own community are in fact participants (whether Americans choose to acknowledge that process or not).

The point is that the Chumash (not Americans) have and will determine their long-term future loyalty to one another. Recognition is desirable from the Americans not to legitimize the Chumash community, but to gain various types of economic,

medical, and legal aid. This aid is necessitated because the Americans confiscated almost all of the vast natural resources and human capital of the Chumash nation, and as a consequence it needs assistance to reconstruct an economic base for long-term preservation of its culture. If the Americans offer aid in good faith, it will not be attached to debilitating legal arrangements but instead be given in the spirit of reconciliation.

...I think it is vital for the Chumash to declare without hesitation that they consider themselves a unique people with a unique culture and destiny. This should be the opening statement in every document that they publish. At the same time, the Chumash should not hesitate to declare their strong democratic traditions which have resulted in a dynamic diversity of opinions and strong local autonomy in governmental decision-making. Strong central governments are a reality of American culture, and the Chumash should refrain from temptations to please the American bureaucracies by rewriting Chumash history to overemphasize the role of such inter-provincial governments as the Antap. Though the Antap government was indeed the most famous of the Chumash inter-provincial governments, it was not identical [structurally equivalent] to the authoritarian American models with their clear hierarchies of domination which lead from city, county, state, and federal levels. Democracy was far more a reality in free Chumashia than it is under American rule today. The Chumash religion and culture were the primary unifying influences, along with family ties [which linked peoples] throughout the provinces.

Cultural Continuity

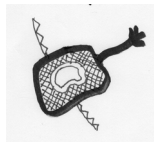
The [Chumash] recognition project is attempting to document a continuity of political, social, and religious activities among the surviving Chumash. The continuity of Chumash identity cannot be a static model, whereby one could expect today's Chumash to show the same traits as their ancestors. If this was imposed on the Americans, they would have lost their heritage by their own legal definitions. The Americans very clearly changed dramatically over the last one hundred years, just as the Chumash evolved. The Chumash, therefore, need not prove an identity with their ancestors but rather a continuum of an evolving culture.

... the most important sociological changes that took place after the American invasion [of California] were [dominated by] the absolute necessity of all surviving Chumash peoples to abandon public demonstrations of cultural diversity from the colonial norm. Therefore the important evidence of the

continuity of the evolving Chumash cultural matrix resides in family histories. The decision [of some Chumash groups] to rely on Chumash elders for documenting this history is a valid one therefore.

I suggest that the history submitted to the American federal bureaucracy briefly show the changing economic emphasis of each colonial system and how the Chumash were forced to adjust to new working opportunities. The work environment (agricultural fieldwork, cattle workers) influenced the socio/religious networks. Every documented secret meeting of religious purpose and every general gathering of the Chumash (even [gatherings at] Christian churches, where many of the important inter-family and inter-provincial ties were maintained secretly) is significant"

John Anderson, to Mike Khus
March 6, 1986



Appendix D

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Chumash Organizations A Partial List

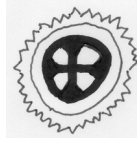
*The Internet has many sources of information
on the Chumash. For a quick guide to
Chumash sites, see:
<http://expage.com/page/chumash44>.*

1. **Santa Ynez Reservation** General Council, Box 517, Santa Ynez, CA 93460. 805-688-7997.
2. **Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation** Executive Board, Hutash Inc, 604. E. Ocean Ave, Lompoc, CA 95436, 805-735-3693.
3. **Barbareno Chumash Council** Paul Pommier or Marcus Lopez.
4. **The Kern County Chumash Council** James Leon, 1028 Q Street, Bakersfield, CA.
5. **San Luis Obispo Chumash Council** email at: tlclaw@fix.net.
6. **Ventura Chumash** *Ish Panesh* Band, Paul Varela, 2060-D, Avenida de los Arboles 317, Thousand Oaks, CA 913626

Other Associations with Chumash links

Candalaria American Indian Council (Ventura), Satwiwa (Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area), Hutash Pow Wow (Live Oak Park, Lake Cachuma, October). Also see the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 2800 Cottage Way, Rm. W-2550, Sacramento, CA 95825).

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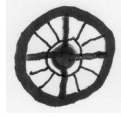
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Endnotes



1 For commentary on racism in California curricula, see footnote 21.

2 The Chumash participation in the Tejon treaty of 1851 is discussed in *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield* (Anderson, 1994). See page 44 for more information.

3 "Many Chumash have dedicated a great deal of time and effort in recent years as participants on the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy (ACC). It is hoped that the State of California will assist non-recognized groups (like the landless Chumash) in negotiating federal recognition.

I attended a conference of the ACC in 1994, and was favorably impressed with the federal recognition sessions presented by native leaders. But whether state officials will come through with meaningful support in light of rapidly changing Washington politics is questionable" (Anderson, 1996 edition).

4 Can Native Americans such as the Chumash be sovereign while living in the United States? The answer is yes, if the federal government officially recognizes them. The Zuni nation, for example, is recognized by the federals and thus functions as a sovereign country-with-a-country under American law.

5 *Iwihinmu* is the Central Mountain of Chumash cosmology. The traditional Chumash consider it the center of their world, and therefore a most holy shrine.

6 The Chumash bands signing the Tejon treaty included two local mountain groups, plus two coastal refugee groups. They were confederated by this date, fighting together against Mexican and later American intrusions.

The local [Tejon area] Chumash bands had withdrawn from much of their traditional mountain territory by this date. Due to constant Mexican harassments, they were living near each other in the Moowaykuk drainage. They were the *Kastak* (Castake Lake) and the *Moowaykuk* (called the *Uvas* by the American negotiators in 1851, referring to Grapevine canyon where they lived at that time. The towns of *Tecuya* and *Matapkwelkwel* were

located at this time at the bottom of the canyon).

The coastal refugee bands signing the 1851 Tejon treaty included the Tsmuwich (Santa Barbara) living at *Tashlipun* (San Iminio or *Emigdio*) and the western Chumash (from Santa Ynez, Purisima, and probably small numbers from Santa Barbara and *Tixlini*). Many of these people came to Tejon after the 1812 earthquake and during the 1824 Chumash war of liberation. A significant number settled on *Tecuya* creek and signed the 1851 treaty as the *Tecuya* (*Tocia*).

Humalibu and *Lulapin* (Ventura area) Chumash refugees apparently integrated mostly with the *Kastac* and *Moowaykuk* bands of the Tejon Chumash.

7 The Mexican /American treaty provided little protection for the native peoples of California. "This point must be strongly made: that the Indian, after conquest, existed at the complete and absolute mercy of whatever sympathy or barbarity existed in the white population" (Forbes, *Native*, 61). Forbes does not hesitate to classify the white response as "genocide" (59).

8 The original Catholic church title transferred under one hundred acres to the Tsmala band of the Chumash (the Santa Ynez). This is only a tiny fragment of their aboriginal territorial claims, which measured in the millions of acres.

9 Edward Beale, the federal agents sent to protect the Tejon Indians rights, ended up owning much of their land. The federal government failed utterly as a watchdog of Indian rights during this period, so the same pattern of confiscation happened to the Tsmuwich Chumash of Santa Barbara.

Dr. Greg Schaaf wrote a number of articles describing how the American agents at *Kashwa* [Cieneguitas] ended up owning the Tsmuwich lands. The best research on the history of *Kashwa* was done in 1981 by Schaaf while he was completing his graduate studies in Native American Studies at Santa Barbara. I first met Greg in the late 1970's when I was working as an administrator at the University. He approached me to ask about an obscure map I found in the university map room, documenting the location and size of the Tejon Indian Reservation. In time, Greg delved further and further into the intrigue of the 'missing' Tejon Reservation history, which he had partially uncovered through his archival research but still did not fully understand. Over the next year, Greg came to me often to share information he was discovering through his research effort as the local [Coastal Band] Chumash tribal historian. Schaaf's "Kaswaa At Cieneguitas (Little Marsh:) The Chumash Indian Village of Hope Ranch" soon appeared in the *Solstice Journal*.

10 Robert Kenny, Attorney General of California, orchestrated the grand theft of native resources in 1944.

Attorney Kenney assured the California natives that he was doing everything in his power to help them, when his solution provided only \$1,000 per native in exchange for billions of

dollars of assets and what Kenney hoped would be a permanent end to their title to land. Not many white residents of the state would have accepted one thousand dollars per person, let us say from a foreign government, in exchange for quieting their claims to California.

Kenney's report is entitled: "History and Proposed Settlement; Claims of California Indians." California native intellectuals often cite this settlement as a classic example of behavioral duplicity by a federal agent, betraying the California natives while serving as their legal advisor.

Critics charge that Kenney's 'final' solution was so riddled with questionable legal maneuvers, that it remains wide open to challenges. Among many dubious practices was the denial of independent legal advice for the Indians. Kenney and his staff were in fundamental conflict of interest throughout all of the proceedings, for they worked for the very institutions which were scheduled to benefit from denial of Indian rights and underpayment.

11 "In 1848, when the United States asserted its claim to the Far West, the coastal zone of California included numerous villages or settlements of ex-mission Indians. These villages possessed property rights under Mexican law, which rights the United States was required to respect by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo " (Forbes, Native, 61).

12 In an October 1994 letter to M. Khus of the Coastal Chumash band, I commented on the status of 'free' Chumash and their relations with their coastal relatives: "It is important that the reader understand that the Spanish and Mexicans conquered a coastal strip of the state [the state did not even exist at this point]. Natives thus often made secret trips to free towns in the interior, to consult with physicians, prophets, mystics, etc., concerning plagues and remedies. In many cases, these trips took a day or less to complete and the contacts were very important in consolidating native resistance to colonization (including establishing contacts in free towns of the interior, where runaways were hidden from pursuing priests and colonial military escorts " (p.1).

I also explained my use of the phrase "free Chumash" in my recent book called *The Fox Jumps* (footnote 4, page 32). "I use the term 'free' to refer to the mixed Chumash group that defended the Tejon region against direct colonial intrusion as late as the 1850's. By this date, the rest of the Chumash were suffering under European intrusion ."

13 It is very significant that the coastal Chumash bands fled to *Iwihinmu* Mountain, the religious center of the Chumash Nation, at the time of the 1824 civil war. This strongly suggests the existence of a 'national' religious system, honored by all of the regional bands.

Given the diversity of subgroups within Chumash society in

contemporary times, some non-Indian historians have neglected evidence of traditional religious unity among the Chumash provinces. Ethnographic data is incomplete and open to varied interpretations. But it suggests that *Toshololo* and *Wasna* mountains were important shrines, recognized by the Chumash speaking peoples as pan-Chumash mountains of the east and west.

14 The *Tecuya* were the most militant of the coastal immigrant groups living at Tejon. Their fighting men were greatly feared by the Mexican soldiers whenever they came into periodic conflict.

Chumash traditionalists, escaping the abuses of colonialism in the coastal provinces, congregated in the town site located in *Tecuya* canyon. By the mid 1820's, most of this town's residents were civil war refugees from Purisima, Santa Ynez, and Santa Barbara. When Mexican soldiers recaptured the rebellious Tsmuwich during their 1824 War of Liberation, the colonial army drove the defeated families back from the inland mountains to be enslaved in the coastal missions. But the most determined nationalists escaped again, and fled inland to join relatives living in the *Tecuya* creek community.

[Note 2003] The author no longer uses the term "slave" to describe the mission Indians. Chumash historians Mike Khus and Paul Pommier helped him understand how this term has been used by American historians to the detriment of Native Californians.

15 "When Mexico declared its independence from Spain, conditions for Californians improved very little. Mexico continued to exploit the coastal peoples, ruthlessly repressing their efforts to regain political freedom and economic self-rule. The democratic towns of central California, therefore, took in runaway slaves from the coast. The presence of these outspoken exiles constantly fueled the determination of the interior to drive the foreigners from the coast." (Anderson, 1994, Piercing, 6).

16 Maria Solares of the Santa Ynez Chumash tells of her visits to Tejon, where her relatives were married to Chumash and non-Chumash Tejon residents. Sepakay, one of the most influential *Tinlew* Yokuts, was her uncle.

Tejon people immigrated to, and were intermarried with, all of the coastal Chumash communities. John Harrington's Tejon ethnographic studies document ties to *Stishni*, *Tsmala* [*Samala*], *Tsmuwich*, *Lulapin*, and *Humaliwu* Chumash. He also documented marriage links to numerous of their Penutian and Uto-Aztecan neighbors.

17 The militant Chumash who escaped from Santa Ynez, Purisima, and Santa Barbara missions, fled to *Tashlipun*. This Chumash town was located on a creek draining north from *Iwihinmu* Mountain. It was only when two separate Mexican military expeditions approached from the east and west, that they fled into the nearby Tulamne wetlands seeking refuge from the colonial

cavalry.

18 See footnote six for information on the Chumash groups which remained at Tejon and signed the Tejon treaty of 1851. See *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield, A Tejon Handbook* (Anderson, 1995) for more information on the Chumash groups signing this pivotal treaty.

19 The *Tecuya* suffered greatly from colonial diseases, probably because they took in many coastal refugees right into the American period. A small number of *Tecuya* survived, to sign the 1851 Tejon treaty with other Chumash bands.

20 The Catholic Church had a very difficult time (as documented in its own records) in repressing the religious leaders of native California. The aboriginal citizens of the California coast remained loyal to their ancient metaphysics. My (unpublished) book called *Junipero Serra and Iwihinmu Mountain*, will discuss the fundamental importance of Spanish religious intolerance in codifying repressive laws in the early California colonial era.

21 After almost two decades of writing and speaking about Chumash history, I still find it very difficult to convince a California audience of the full extent of systemic racism which previously characterized state and federal funded programs in their region.

I eventually discovered that one of the most effective examples [of the unexamined negative impacts of racism] that I could present was a personal story of my experiences as a teenage student at Hueneme high school in the 1960's. This school was named after a nearby Chumash seaport. But we were never told that *Hueneme* was an Indian name (it was just the name of the local white town), and the administration and teaching staff avoided any praiseworthy tales about the local Chumash. Instead of identifying with the admirable Chumash sailors, who routinely used *Hueneme* beach as a camping place after rowing from the islands to the mainland, we were encouraged instead to identify with the Vikings who were characterized as valiant European sailors.

My teachers at *Hueneme* told me that the local Indians were extinct, even though there was a Chumash reservation less than an hours drive from our school. We took field trips to Disneyland and museums of European art, but we never went to the Santa Ynez reservation.

You might think this example is a case of bad luck. I just didn't get a good history or civics teacher, one might argue. But this isn't the case. I actually liked my civics and history teachers. But the curriculum mitigated against their teaching about the local Chumash. Racism against aboriginal cultures was the norm in California society in the 1960's. This was not only true for secondary education, but was prevalent in the most prestigious museums and public history facilities in

the state.

Is this an extreme opinion, exaggerating perhaps the extent of the problem? I don't think so. Let me cite just one institution in southern California, to illustrate my point. The Southwest Museum is located in Los Angeles. Its board of directors was responsible in the 1960's for presenting non-biased displays and historically truthful publications. Thus in 1965 it published a book on the Chumash (Southwest Museum Papers 19. by L. C. Landberg). In this museum approved text the Chumash are classified as an extinct people. One of the Tsmuwich spiritual leaders is featured in a photograph at the beginning of the book. He is described erroneously as the "last survivor of the Chumash Indians." How can this be, since the Santa Ynez reservation was filled with federally recognized Chumash? Well, the author explains away this problem by dismissing the Santa Ynez residents as "Mexicanized Indians" (5). Anyone who has ever visited Santa Ynez knows that these people are not Mexican Americans.

Now it is always possible that the Southwest Museum let this text slide by without noticing the damaging extinction claim, but I do not think so. Carl Dentzel, Director of the Southwest Museum, wrote the forward to Landberg's text. He spoke of a renaissance of interest in the Chumash and praised the ancient Chumash as a "friendly and intelligent" people (vii). But he also went on to deny the existence of contemporary Chumash, describing them as an "extinct people" (x). See Appendix B for a related discussion.

22 The Chumash were a well-traveled peoples even prior to the first intrusion of Europeans. In the American period, they maintained contacts and intermarriage between bands. Numerous Tejon Chumash, for example, kept close ties with the Ventura area Chumash, through the *Mutah* Flat trail which led from Tejon to the Santa Clara river.

23 In March 1986, I sent a consulting report to Mike Khus-Zarate and other Chumash working on federal recognition. This report was entitled "Chumash Underground and Repression by American Governments". It was inspired by an article in the Chumash's June 1986 newsletter and it discussed a number of incidents where Chumash were denied basic human rights.

Early American violence against the Chumash was pervasive and persistent. Each province has its tales of woe. At Tejon, for example, Chumash traditionalists were killed for continuing to express their religious beliefs in the American period. John Harrington's Smithsonian papers document ongoing abuses against the Chumash during this era while the federal government looked the other way. Chumash children, with the cooperation of numerous Protestant churches, were taken away from their families for education in Indian schools, and the Americans systematically denigrated their religion and culture in public

school texts.

Stories of harassment of traditionalists living at *Saticoy* provide numerous examples of repression in the American era. A number of the *Saticoy* Chumash, and some of their relatives living in the Ventura river drainage, were accused of witchcraft and poisonings. In response, the Americans also hung two Chumash traditionalists in front of the Ventura mission.

Harassment of Tsmuwich Chumash (in the Santa Barbara area) became so bad in this period that most traditionalists preferred to live at *Kashwa* (*Cieneguitas*) and travel long distances to work, rather than subject their families to the abuses of white neighbors. Those who suffered most moved further into the countryside, either to the foothills above Goleta, the traditionalist headquarters at the mouth of the Goleta slough, or even further west to *Mikiw* (Dos Pueblos). Others were so discouraged that they left the province completely, such as J. J. Olivas who became an exile at Tejon and F. L. Kitsepawit who went into exile as a sheep herder in the remote *Kagismuwas* hills.

24 Datura and other psychotropic drugs were banned by the American authorities, in spite of the fact that they were part of Chumash spiritual traditions which dated back thousands of year. On the other hand, Christian Americans permitted extensive use of drugs, especially alcohol, without punishment. They abused tea, coffee, salt, and sugar without considering their effects on their health. Despising Native American herbal traditions, American immigrants ignored local foods, drinks, and medicines which would have been much better for their health.

25 White immigrants were never subjected to the abuses endured routinely by Tejon Chumash. For example, Harrington complained that many Tejon Indian homes were razed by the Tejon ranch, without recourse in the courts. Their orchards were cut down and their lands ploughed under and taken for ranch grazing use.

The local sheriff and courts looked the other way, while the Indians civil rights were being violated. In case after case, the American courts proved overtly hostile to the Tejon residents whom they saw as unworthy of full legal protection as state citizens.

26 In June of 1984, I wrote to the Chumash Tribal Recognition Project, urging the Chumash to begin to compete with the University of California for grant monies for studying tribal archaeological and religious sites. "Recent research has led me to suspect the locations of three primary sites linked to the oldest religious traditions of the Chumash people. Each site is affiliated with the *Liyikshup* ceremonial cycle and would be a prime archaeological dig if its significance were understood by Anglo specialists in the field.

... It seems to me that the anthropology departments of the University of California, for example, have historically

placed tribal priorities second behind their own priorities. As a result many major sites have been excavated without proper Chumash participation and their contents have been confiscated from the Chumash people....

I would also like to see the Tribal Council gain protection for a number of historical Chumash sites in the Tejon ranch and Pine Mountain areas before American economic expansion destroys them forever... The staff of the National Forest headquarters in Santa Barbara has site maps for all known archaeological sites in the National Forest. They recently refused me access to these maps, on the grounds that they are not available to the public. I was satisfied with this explanation since the Chumash have the right to determine who gains access to these maps. When I went to the Chumash for permission to use their copies of these maps, however, I discovered that they had no copies.

If it is the case that the Chumash Tribal Council lacks this documentation, I would strongly urge acquisition as a top priority (as well as similar documentation from the University of California archives, plus state, and local governments). Without such information, it will be impossible for the Chumash to analyze the adequacy of the [existing state and federal] programs to protect such sites. It is my understanding that there are thousands of designated sites, if one includes all rock art sites plus towns and other categories. Yet the National Forest recognizes only three sites for protection according to my [recent] conversations. If this is the case, then it is my contention that the American programs for protection of the Chumash cultural and religious heritage is fundamentally inadequate. The Tribal Council [of the Coastal Band] would have every reason to investigate in detail the specifics of this situation....

If the Council wants to protect its tribal heritage it cannot any longer rely on federal, state, and local governments which have a very poor track record to date.... As long as the National Forest drags its feet in establishing real protection for Chumash sites, they will continue to be destroyed.

27 (Slagle, Native California, winter 1994-95).

28 Multiculturalism still raises the hackles of many doctrinaire Christians, including fringe groups who remain radically opposed to freedom of religion for non-Christians. Although California in the last decade of the twentieth century is caught up in a reactionary political trend (clinging to the privilege of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Christians), demographic changes in America suggest an increased tolerance for religious and political diversity will manifest itself in the next century.

Even as I write these words (February 1995) California voters are being asked to consider a series of reactionary

initiatives which would be detrimental to the Chumash, as well as all other non-European residents of the region. Proposition 187 has already sent shock waves throughout the rest of America, with its provisions denying use of public services to illegal immigrants and their children. Supporters of the California Civil Rights Initiative propose to reverse decades of affirmative action programs in the state. This 'white backlash' in California has encouraged extremists in the Republican party to propose similar reversals of civil rights legislation at the federal level.

29 The Ventura City Council provided a recent example of the insensitivity of local governments toward the contemporary Chumash. In 1994, the city council made plans to destroy an important Chumash site in *Saticoy*. *Saticoy* was the seat of the last *Antap* government, which inherited leadership of coastal traditional families from *Muwu* (Mugu slough).

The city approved plans for a \$30 million dollar vetrans' retirement home on this *Saticoy* site. Instead of consulting with the local Chumash prior to their decision, they voted for routine bulldozing of the site until they met stiff opposition by the Chumash. Their testimony led to a state task force recommending against development. A local newspaper reporter summarized the white/Indian debate with the observation: "Mayor Tom Buford believes he can work out the issue with local Chumash. Many Chumash don't think so" (Rudder, Chumash Honor, A-12). Options offered to the Chumash include continued political opposition to the development scheme, or paying for the land title and taking over the site themselves, or else having their artifacts and bones unearthed by the government and taken to another site.

It should be noted that Ventura county governments also have a long-standing record of voting to destroy Chumash sites to facilitate public and private development. I wrote a guest editorial in the *Press Courier* newspaper, for example, when the government destroyed a cemetery at *Muwu* a number of years ago for a water control project. *Muwu* was the seat of the *Antap* government, before *Saticoy*. Surely, both these sites are significant enough to warrant respect and full preservation status from local governments. If they were important white historical sites, it is probable that they would be left in place.

"If the [Mugu slough] site were insignificant, I could sympathize with their conclusions [to destroy it]. But the facts clearly indicate that the county is dealing with a rich heritage of Chumash tradition. It is my opinion that the graveyard and its affiliated town sites deserve immediate classification for priority protection." ... Contrary to newspaper reports, these towns were significant - they were important centers of Chumash resistance to a brutal colonialism

which followed the European military conquest of California. ... I am concerned that the Coastal Chumash Council, which brought an unsuccessful lawsuit to prevent the county from implementing its plan, is being ignored by the politics of expediency. I sense that the Calleguas Creek debate has been dominated by political attitudes which have for two hundred years put profits ahead of reconciliation with the native peoples of California.

...Will the voters look the other way when so much could be done to turn the situation around, to bring the Chumash respectably back into our official embrace as recognized actors in our public history? I urge government agencies and local politicians involved to carefully assess the importance of these sites. California can have a strong and thriving economy and at the same time spend the funds necessary to preserve its rich heritage. The *Mugu* cemetery is worthy of our concern."

[Unfortunately, such abuses have not stopped. See the *Independent*, April 13, 1995, page 19, for an article on ongoing destruction of Chumash sites].

30 When the Republicans began to shift 'Indian' issues to the state level, in the 1980's, they often left native American communities worse off than before. Under international law, native tribes with treaties are of equal status with the federal government. In case after case, thereafter, tribes have found themselves pushed into a corner to negotiate issues which should be settled at a federal level. They should not have to enter into agreements with states, especially where state governments are significantly more hostile than the federal government.

31 My criticisms of state and local government policies toward native Californians is far from a wholesale endorsement of federal policies. Unfortunately, no level of American government has distinguished itself to date in the area of native affairs. The federal disrepute is simply less ignoble than that of the states and local governments. In a letter to Mike Khus-Zarate, [Coastal Band tribal historian] I cautioned. "Too often the embrace of the American federal government has been the kiss of death for native peoples..."

If, however, the effort [of landless Chumash bands seeking federal recognition] resulted in the permanent loss of independence for the Chumash peoples, then it will have been a failure. My primary advice is to enter all negotiations with a careful assessment of the exact words in any federal agreements. You would be better off without any aid than aid with legal ties which might be used against you" (Anderson, personal correspondence of March 16, 1986, p. 1).

[Note] I reiterated this theme of prudence when I participated in discussions of federal recognition at a 1994 conference of the Advisory Council On California Indian Policy.

32 Many white Americans still believe that the natives of California were treated fairly by the federal government, which

'gave' them reservations.

The truth is that many California Indian groups never obtained American title to any of their aboriginal lands, and life on the few reservations which were established were brutal. Dolan Eargle describes their situation as follows: "The reservations turned out to be concentration camps of the worst sort - the inhabitants fell victim to fraud, appropriation of supplies, maltreatment, and gross neglect by the administrators. Furthermore, the Army lacked protective control - even inside the reservations" (Eargle, Earth, 24).

Eargle goes on to document crisis after crisis for native Californians living under early American rule. He does not spare his reader the hard facts, and he openly praises native California communities which survive today in spite of what he characterizes as the "uncaring nature" of non-native Californians. "If these last several pages seem to the reader to be a chronicle of unmitigated grief and struggle," he concludes, "I have but one thing to say: It is so" (28).

33 Among many recent publications on Native American culture (and its relevance to contemporary American society) J. Mander's *In The Absence of the Sacred* deserves our special recognition.

34 The State of California has such a long history of publishing racist textbooks (through the State Department of Education) that an attempt to analyze this sordid publishing history would fill a text ten times longer than this booklet. See *No Brave Champion* (Anderson, 32) for examples of unsavory racism in California textbooks.

35 An interesting contemporary example [of the federal government admitting past mistakes] is the native peoples of Hawaii, many of whose leaders have declared openly for sovereignty from the United States. President Clinton officially apologized to them for the American conquest of Hawaii, and proposals to return one or more of the Hawaiian islands as a sovereign Hawaiian territory are currently under consideration.

The obvious question is why the federal government isn't moving forward with a similar plan for the many Chumash bands and their neighbors who have asked for protected California homeland?

On June 20, 1995, the Southern Baptist Church passed a resolution lamenting its slave-holding roots and repenting for lingering racism. This church is the largest Protestant denomination in the United States, with 15.6 million members. Is it not time for the Catholic Church to show equal contrition for its management role over Chumash workers during the Spanish and Mexican genocide eras?

[Note: Since this footnote was first drafted in 1995, the Catholic Pope has taken the initiative in drafting formal

apologies for this church, including its participation in genocide against the Jews and other non-Christians. This is a major breakthrough, which may impact the relationship of Chumash and other native California traditionalists with the Catholic Church. Hopefully, it will also result in the Catholic Church taking a more aggressive public role in advocating return of land and natural resources to the native Californians].

36 The American political system has a long record of accepting non-Europeans into the socio-political order, as long as they abandon their ancestral ethnic heritage. Thus in California, life has been easier for reservation Chumash and Mexican immigrants who practice Christianity than for traditional Chumash families who live off of reservations and try to preserve religious practices with thousands of years of local continuity.

37 Contemporary California residents (both natives and non-natives) need a sustainable economy. But this is not what capitalist politicians in the Republican or Democratic parties are currently promoting. Overpopulation, overgrazing, and unregulated commercial and residential developments weaken the cause of native homeland advocates, because they continue to add to the debilitating costs of public services in California.

How can the Chumash contribute, in this context of ongoing environmental degradation, to the non-native residents of California? The Inter-Tribal Fish Commission in the Northwest provides an attractive political solution. Leaders of northwestern tribes joined with the President's Council On Sustainable Development, to explore cooperative ventures. "Our vision is a life-sustaining earth. We are committed to the achievement of a dignified, peaceful and equitable existence." The policies proposed by this workshop "will form the basis for recommendations for a native strategy to achieve sustainability in the west."

38 Each of the Chumash subdivisions deserves a land base. I addressed this question in 1994, in *The Piercing of the Yokut Shield*. "Because I also research Chumash Indian history, I am frequently asked whether land claims of the landless Chumash groups should be restricted to the Tejon treaty area. My research shows that coastal and island Chumash were represented at Tejon and lived at Tejon for generations afterward. It is important that Chumash groups should be included in future Tejon land claims, but I think their participation in Tejon issues should not exclude the Chumash from seeking title to some of their historical lands along the coast and the islands" (Anderson, Piercing, Appendix A).

39 An example of Chumash participation in land acquisition proposals can be found in the author's 1994 publication on the Tejon treaty (Anderson, Piercing, appendix A). The state park called Fort Tejon is identified as an ideal facility for a pan-

tribal Tejon Indian museum. Such a land transfer would cost the public nothing, and a conversion of its displays to emphasize local Indian history would lead to a major increase in tourism to the site.

Another land transfer proposal which would be cost-free to the public, would be for the Catholic church to return the Santa Barbara mission to the Tsmuwich Chumash whose ancestors built it. The state could follow up with similar title transfers of state-owned missions built by the Chumash.

40 The Museum of Natural History is located next to the mission in Santa Barbara, California. Museum staff have specialized in the Catholic church records stored at the mission. Their assessments of mission records has often been helpful to Chumash families trying to find written evidence of their tribal ties. But negative assessments by museum staff, commenting on one leading family within the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation, contributed to a serious alienation of many non-reservation Chumash families from the Santa Barbara museum in the 1980's and 1990's.

Brian Haley and Larry Wilcoxon renewed public curiosity over the issue of authentic Chumash group membership in a 1997 article which they published in the journal called *Current Anthropology*, entitled "The Making of Chumash Tradition." Haley and Wilcoxon not only repeated denials of the Chumash credentials of a number of leaders of the Coastal Band but also charged them with use of physical violence in pursuing their goals: "Non-traditionalist were held at bay for years by threats of violence by Traditionalists, and local anthropological responses that included indifference to and open promotion of the Traditionalists" (page 767).

Regardless of who is right or wrong in this decades-long dispute, the Santa Barbara museum needs to put aside its standing discord with the Coastal Band and other Chumash organizations. But this will only come about, in my opinion, after the museum places less emphasis on mission records, DNA, and white academic publications as evidence of proper Chumash identification.

Use of DNA studies, mission records, state and federal archival materials, and reservation roles are all useful and legitimate sources of information about Chumash ancestry. But a large number of Traditional Chumash continue to believe that none of these sources, either singly or collectively, can provide a final and absolute judgment on the legitimacy of membership in contemporary Chumash organizations.

Participation in an ongoing cultural process is in itself a criteria of membership. Thus many Chumash Traditionalists believe that someone who is one-fourth DNA certified Chumash, but who has never participated in Chumash cultural activities, could be less eligible for membership in a contemporary Chumash

group than someone who can prove one-eighth or one-thirty-second certification through colonial record-keeping. DNA evidence, Spanish, Mexican, and American government and military records, and/or mission records provide only preliminary evidence. Someone riding in the Santa Barbara Mission Festival parade might be a Chumash descendant [have a DNA certifiable Chumash ancestor] but remain sympathetic to their elders who for generations identified with their Spanish or Mexican heritage and kept hidden their Chumash ancestry. In the end, only the Traditional Chumash themselves can define their membership.

41 Kote Lotah is cited by the authors in appendix B of *Piercing The Yokut Shield*. Lotah had testified at a court hearing against the development of Point Conception [a major Chumash religious site] for a proposed natural gas facility. Lotah interpreted Point Conception as being located within the 1851 Tejon treaty reservation, and thus lands belonging to all the Chumash bands signing this treaty [which included coastal refugee groups with immigrants from all of the Chumash missions].

Lotah identified Point Conception as the southwest corner of the Tejon reservation, causing quite a stir in the natural gas company which wanted clear title to the area.

42 Words like *Holocaust* and *Genocide* have been avoided by generations of mainstream [white] historians writing about California history. More recent writers, like Dolan Eargle of San Francisco State, however, have begun to speak openly of the genocidal roots of our modern California culture. "The observer can be easily deceived when most of the histories of California begin with the romanticized missions, then skip to the roaring forty-niners as the 'settlers' of the state. Few people seem to have any realization of the genocide perpetrated upon the Indian population in the last century" (Eargle, *Earth*, xv, introductory remarks)

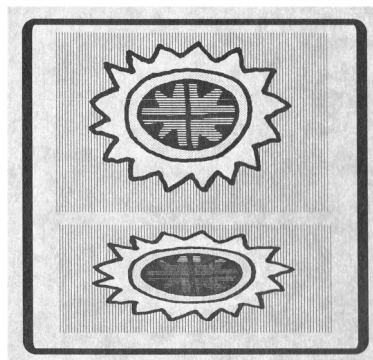
"Nothing in California history is more painful, offensive, or unforgivable," Eargle writes elsewhere, "than the invasion of California Indian lands and the slaughter of its inhabitants by the Anglos and other gold-greedy raiders" (19).

43 Capitalization is, not surprisingly, a critical issue to the Chumash Nation. If the Americans decide to honor its sovereignty, for example, then they will not be able to use taxation to regulate Chumash behavior on tribal lands.

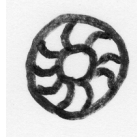
But freedom from taxation of Chumash assets is not the only interesting issue. Taxation of non-Chumash could be used as an instrument for building a capital base for Chumash land acquisition as well as cultural program. The Catholic and Mormon churches, for example, have built huge real estate assets in America through tax free donations from sympathetic Americans. Can we not imagine hundreds of thousands of Californians giving similarly to the Chumash? How many American

taxpayers, without children or with self-supporting descendants, might prefer to leave part of their assets to a local Native American non-profit foundation in partial payment for the benefits they enjoyed from living on the Indians' ancestral lands?

44 "How could the State of California and the federal government initiate the legal process of returning lands to the Tejon descendants? I can suggest a small but significant beginning. Fort Tejon State Park would make an excellent administrative base and museum center for the Tejon Indian groups, many of whom are located in the Bakersfield area. This facility lies within the 1851 Tejon treaty lands, and was intimately linked to the fate of the Tejon peoples" (Anderson, Piercing, 1994, appendix A).



Glossary



References citing Tsmuwich are from the Barbareno Chumash Dictionary (Mary Lee). References citing Samala are from the Samala Chumash Dictionary (Santa Ynez Reservation).

ALAJULAPU The Chumash production center called *Santa Ynez* by the Spanish. See Samala for the name of the local people. Also see Mission.

AMUWU The western Chumash production center ('mission') called *Purissima* by the Spanish.

- The Tecuya Chumash went into exile from the *Sacupi* production center when it was destroyed by an earthquake. The Kagismuwas who remained built the Amuwu center downriver, nearer to the ocean.

BAKERSFIELD CHUMASH Many of the Chumash families who signed the Tejon treaty of 1851 took refuge in Bakersfield after being driven from Tejon.

- In the late 1990's they were represented by the Kern County Chumash Council [previously the Bakersfield Chumash Council]. See Mountain Chumash and Tejon.

COASTAL CHUMASH See Chumash Coastal Band.

CHUMASH A southern California peoples who spoke a number of closely related Chumashan language.

- The coastal Chumash lived along the coast from Malibu, north through Ventura, Santa Barbara, and north of San Luis Obispo.

- Professor Mithun of the University of California classifies Chumash as a language isolate, unrelated to Hokan. Previously, Harrington, Sapier, and Kroeber classified Chumash as part of the larger Hokan language family.

- The northeastern Chumash (called the *Tejon* Chumash in this text) controlled the last 'free' Chumash province. The Tejon Chumash absorbed numerous coastal Chumash refugees fleeing the abuses of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonialism.

CHUMASH COASTAL BAND The Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation is a contemporary Chumash group with many members from Santa Barbara, Ventura, and San Luis Obispo counties

CHUMASH EXTINCTION See Extinct Chumash.

CHUMASH MISSIONS See Missions for related discussion.

CHUMASH NATION Some contemporary Chumash groups now describe themselves as "bands" of the Chumash Nation. Examples include the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation, the Tejon Band of the Chumash Nation.

- Chumash nationalism is a loosely applied socio-political concept, reflecting the constantly shifting alliances of the Chumashan speaking peoples as they merged and separated in a collective effort to resist European [including American] colonialism. See Extinct Chumash for further discussion.

CHUMASH UNDERGROUND See footnote 23 for further discussion.

CHUMASHIA A term used in this text to refer to the territory occupied by all the Chumash language speakers in ancient times.

EXTINCT CHUMASH For generations, elementary and secondary school textbooks in California taught that the Chumash people were extinct, perpetuating racist myths about the demise of the Chumash. See Racism, Genocide, Holocaust.

GENOCIDE A systematic program or military action designed to kill a whole nation or ethnic group.

Terms: *Genocide* is associated with race extermination, a goal which characterized the early American state government policies in California. Compare Holocaust, Racism.

HOLOCAUST The phrase 'California holocaust' is used in this text to describe the Spanish, Mexican, and American 'reduction' programs which led to deliberate and systematic destruction of native life in California. Compare Genocide, Racism.

HUMALIBU The capital of the southeastern Chumash coastal province. This seaport is now called *Malibu*.

Terms: Also called *Malibu* Chumash.

- Some of the Humalibu Chumash were 'reduced' at *Mitskanaka* (Ventura), *Pesek* (San Fernando), and *Siba* (Los Angeles) production centers. The *Humalibu* Chumash integrated into these communities, from which some families later escaped to Tejon. Others joined Tongva relatives to immigrate to the Monterey and San Francisco area, during the early American cattle drives.

INDIAN The author prefers the term *Native* (native American) to *Indian* when referring to the Chumash.

Discussion of terms: The native peoples of North America never lived in India, but the Spanish colonialists' misconception about having reached the "Indies" brought about the use of the erroneous name *Indian* which still is popular today

IWIHINMU MOUNTAIN The most sacred mountain of the Chumash people of Southern California.

Terms: *Iwihinmu* means 'a place of mystery', reflecting the mystical roots of Chumash religion. This peak was renamed *Pine* by the Americans. Compare Tejon Chumash for guardians of *Iwihinmu* Mountain.

KASHWA The Tsmuwich (Santa Barbara) Chumash preserved title

to a small reservation located around their old town site of *Kashwa* (*Kaswa'a*).

- Title to this reservation was transferred to the Indian agent named Hope, and the reservation lands are now in the real estate development called Hope Ranch. See "*Kashwa'a* at Cieneguitas" by Dr. Greg Schaaf, *Solstice Journal*, winter 1981, for further information.

KASTAK This mountain Chumash band was living on *Kastak* (*Castak*) Lake when they signed the 1851 Tejon treaty.

Terms: The Americans called them *Castac*.

KERN Most of the 1851 Tejon Treaty homeland (including the lands of participating mountain Chumash) is now located in Kern county. See Kern County Chumash Council.

LIMU ISLAND The *Antap* Council, which led the *Lulapin* [coastal Ventura County] and island Chumash in their resistance to European colonialism, was headquartered on *Limu* island by the time of the Spanish invasion of California.

- After diseases, civil war, and Russian/Aleut attacks devastated the population of *Limu* island, the *Antap* Council shifted to the mainland seaport of *Muwu* (*Mugu* slough east of Ventura).

- A Chumash claim to *Limu* island was denied by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1986.

LOS ANGELES Many contemporary Chumash live in Los Angeles.

- In the Mexican colonial era, the *Humaliwu* Chumash were 'reduced' at the *Pesek* (San Fernando) and to a lesser extent at *Siba* (San Gabriel) production centers. Numerous *Lulapin* (coastal Ventura) and *Tejon* Chumash were also forced by colonial authorities to relocate to the Los Angeles centers. See Monterey for discussion of Chumash refugees, fleeing brutal Los Angeles racism.

LULAPIN A name used by some historians to refer to the southern Chumash people and coastal province, which includes the *Mitskanaka* (Buenaventura) production center located in Ventura.

- The exact geographical limits of this Chumash self-name [*Lulapin*] is undetermined. The Spanish called them *Venturenos*.

- By the time of the Spanish invasion of California, the Mountain Chumash had expanded close to the coast, due to massive depopulation of the *Lulapin* Chumash caused by European plagues introduced by maritime contacts.

MALIBU See Humalibu.

MISSIONS The Spanish and Mexican governments maintained five Christian 'missions' in Chumashia. See Production Center for names and related discussion.

MITSKANAKA The Chumash name for the site of the southern Chumash coastal production center ('mission') called Buenaventura by the Spanish. Compare Lulapin.

MONTEREY Numerous Chumash, especially members of the Humalibu band at *Pesek* (San Fernando; and to a lesser extent other Los Angeles missions) immigrated to Monterey in the early American era.

- Smaller numbers of Chumash from other bands joined them, after driving cattle north to feed the American miners. They stayed in north

because life in the agricultural fields of Monterey was far safer for a native family than in fierce racism that thrived in Los Angeles in the early American era.

MOOWAYKUK A mountain Chumash band which withdrew into the *Moowaykuk* creek prior to 1851 when it signed the Tejon treaty.

Terms: The Spanish called these Mountain Chumash *Uvas*, referring to the grapevines growing in this drainage.

MOUNTAIN CHUMASH The phrase used in this text to refer to the northeastern Chumash, who were called the *Tejon* by the Spanish. Also see Kastac, Tashlipun, Moowaykuk, Tejon Chumash.

MUTAH FLATS A remote mountain valley, used by refugee Chumash after they were driven from the Tejon reservation in the early American era.

A number of Chumash, including the last of the *Kastak* lake Traditionalists fled to *Mutah* Flats (and nearby mountain hideouts) in the decades after the 1851 Tejon treaty.

MUWU The powerful Lulapin seaport and rival of the *Mitskanaka* 'mission'.

- *Muwu* (on Mugu slough) was allied with *Limu* island, and it served as a center of traditional Chumash resistance against Spanish, Mexican, and American abuses (Ventura county). Compare Mitskanaka, Limu, and Shisholop.

NATION The author uses the term *Nation* to refer to all of the Chumash peoples of California who spoke Chumashan languages.

- Anderson argues in the text that the 'national' identity [the socio-political matrix] of contemporary Chumash groups should be determined by the Chumash peoples, and not by American scholars, the state, or federal government.

NATIVE The author prefers the term *Native* over the term *Indian*, when referring to California aboriginal peoples such as the Chumash and their neighbors. See Indian for further discussion.

PRODUCTION CENTERS The workers 'reduced' in five Chumash production facilities were forced to support the colonial troops occupying their coastal provinces.

Terms: The Spanish and Mexicans called these facilities *Missions*. The Chumash called the sites where these facilities were built: *Mitskanaka* (Buena Ventura), *Taynayan* (Santa Barbara), *Alajulapu* (Santa Ynez), *Amuwu* (Purisima), and *Tixlini* (San Luis Obispo). See Appendix B for further discussion.

PROVINCE The Chumash were democratic people, honoring the independence of local communities. These communities allied themselves in loose and historically shifting town alliances.

Terms: In this text, the term *Province* is used to refer to areas of linguistic, cultural, social, and political continuity. Geography often played an important role in maintaining continuity as, for example, with the Samala Chumash whose towns were located on the middle Santa Ynez river.

- The Kagismuwas people spoke a distinctive Chumash language, and their towns were located on the lower Santa Ynez river. See Siliyik

for related discussion.

PURISIMA See Amuwu and Sacupi for information on the two Kagismuwas [southwestern Chumash] production centers.

RACISM Any program or practice based on racial discrimination, as in the denial of basic legal rights to native individuals and groups by the federal government and the State of California.

See footnote 42 for further discussion. Compare Genocide, Holocaust.

SACUPI The Chumash name for the site of the first Spanish production center built on Kagismuwas lands, at the town of Sacupi.

- When this center [called Purisima by the Spanish] was destroyed by earthquake, a second Kagismuwas center was build downriver at the town of Amuwu.

SAMALA The self-name of the Chumash band living in the Santa Ynez valley and associated with the Alajulapu (Santa Ynez) production center.

Terms: Also called the *Tsmala*. The Spanish called them the *Ynezeno*.

SAN IMIGDIO See Tashlipun.

SANTA BARBARA MISSION A Spanish and later Mexican religious and production facility built in Santa Barbara, California. See Tsmuwich for the Chumash band, and see Taynayan for the Chumash name for this facility.

SAN LUIS OBISPO MISSION A Spanish and later Mexican religious and production facility built in San Luis Obispo, California. See Stishni for the Chumash band and see Tixlini for the Chumash name for this facility.

SANTA YNEZ MISSION A Spanish and later Mexican religious and production facility built in Santa Ynez, California. See Samala for the Chumash band and Alajulapu for the Chumash name for this facility.

SATICOY The traditional Lulapin Chumash shifted their provincial government from the seaport called Muwu to the inland town of Saticoy. As a result, Saticoy became the center of the Traditional Lulapin 'underground' government during the early American era.

- Local American officials repressed the Saticoy Traditionalists, and recently destroyed this archaeological site for the construction of a hospital. See Mitskanaka for the rival community of Lulapin Chumash, associated with the Catholic mission called Ventura.

SILIIYIK Outdoor auditoriums used by the Chumash to hold important social/political gatherings.

Terms: The term *Siliyik* means 'to be in the middle', i.e. the ritual center of the earth. The root is *Liyik* meaning 'middle' (Tsmuwich, 16). *Liyik* means 'middle' (Samala, 199).

Discussion of terms: N. Wech, an influential Lulapin historian, used the term *Siliyik* to refer to the two provincial governments led by

Muwu and *Shisholop* (*Cojo*).

- The Chumash historian F. L. Kitsepawit described the coastal Chumash leaders who met in the *Siliyik* as a high governing body like the American Congress (Hudson, *Eye of the Flute*, 17).

STISHNI The northwestern province of the Chumash. Also see *Tixlini*. Compare *Mountain Chumash* for the interior groups where the Stishni exiles found refuge.

Terms: The Spanish renamed this region and its Chumash production center San Luis Obispo.

TASHLIPUN The mountain Chumash town which became the center of mineral smelting for the Chumash gold mining network, prior to the American invasion of California. Also see *Tsmuwich*.

- Tsmuwich refugees living at *Tashlipun* (called *San Emigdio* by the Spanish) were one of the four Chumash bands which signed the Tejon treaty of 1851.

TAYNAYAN The site of the southern coastal production center ('mission') called *Santa Barbara* by the Spanish. See *Tsmuwich* for the band.

TECUYA American name for the Chumash band [of coastal refugees living on *Tecuya* creek] which signed the 1851 Tejon treaty.

Also see *Kastac*, *Moowaykuk*, *Tejon Chumash*, and *Tashlipun*.

TEJON CHUMASH A Mexican term, used to loosely describe the Mountain Chumash living in the general region of the *Tejon* (*Kootsetahovie*) pass.

Also see *Kastac*, *Moowaykuk*, and *Tashlipun*.

- The mountain Chumash remained free of foreign dominion throughout the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods. They, and their allies, signed a formal treaty with the Americans in 1851. See *Tejon Treaty of 1851* for more information. Also see *Kern County Chumash Council* and *Mutah Flats*.

TEJON TREATY OF 1851 The only formal treaty signed between the Chumash and the American federal government.

- Two mountain Chumash bands (*Kastak* and *Moowaykuk*) signed this treaty, along with two allied bands of coastal refugees (*Tashlipun* and *Tecuya*).

TIXLINI The Stishni town which was seized by the invading Spanish army for a production center.

Also see *Stishni*.

Terms: The Spanish named the production center *San Luis Obispo*.

- This northwestern Chumash town was confiscated in 1772, by the invading Spanish, for a production center called San Luis Obispo.

- In ancient times, the northwestern [*Stishni*] Chumash remained relatively aloof from the socio-political influence of the Chumash provinces on the Santa Barbara Channel. But with the seizure of their land by the Spanish and construction of the *Tixlini* production center, they soon shared a common destiny with the other 'missionized' Chumash groups.

- Some *Stishni* Chumash fled into the interior mountains, to fight against Spanish and Mexican colonialism. At first these dissidents relocated into the Cuyama river valley, but later moved further east into the Tejon area and even further inland to join Yokut relatives. Compare *Stishni*, *Tecuya*.

TONGVA The Uto-Aztecan neighbors of the Chumash, living in the San Fernando valley, the Los Angeles basin, and on Catalina island.

- The *Humalibu* Chumash band intermarried with the Tongva community at *Pesek* (San Fernando mission). A number of Tejon and Lulapin Chumash families also had Tongva relations.

TSMUWICH The coastal Chumash peoples living in the vicinity of *Taynayan* production center.

See *Taynayan* and *Santa Barbara Mission* for discussion on the production center, and see *Tashlipun* for their mountain refugee center in the Tejon area.

Hypothesis: The Tashlipun Chumash territory was the homeland of the Tsmuwich people. The Tashlipun spread to the coast by way of the interior mountains, settling first in the upper Cuyama drainage and moving to the coast in the Santa Barbara area.

UNDERGROUND CHUMASH See *Chumash Underground*.

VENTURA See *Shisholop* for the major Lulapin seaport located on the beach of contemporary Ventura. See *Mitskanaka* for the Chumash name for the site of the Spanish production center. built in Ventura Compare *Muwu* (on Mugu slough) and *Saticoy* for nearby rivals of *Mitskanaka*.

WIMAT ISLAND The redwood (driftwood) found on this island enabled it to dominate the early Chumash plank boat industry.

- *Wimat* was closely allied to nearby *Tuqan* island and with the *Shisholop* (*Cojo*) seaport on the mainland.

- Through the Brotherhood of the *Tomol*, the Chumash islanders became political and economic leaders of the coastal Chumash. After plagues weakened the *TuqanWimat* alliance, the leadership of the islanders shifted to *Limu* [Santa Cruz] island and to its mainland ally at *Muwu*.

YOKUT The Penutian-speaking northern neighbors of the Chumash (also called Yokuts).

- Many Yokut were 'reduced' at *Tixlini* (San Luis Obispo mission) where they intermarried with the *Stishni* Chumash.

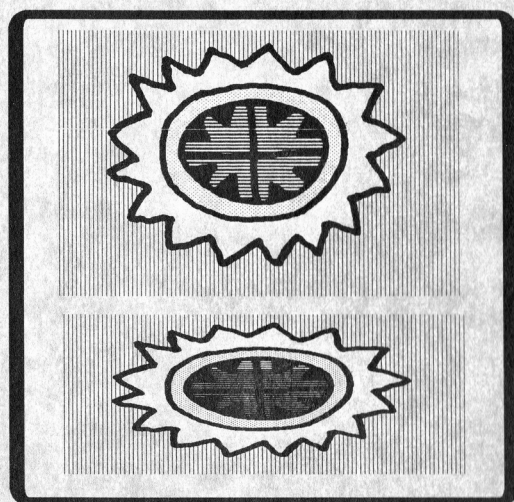
- At Tejon, the town of *Tinlew* became the center of Yokut immigration in the mid 1800's (and numerous Tejon Chumash had relatives in *Tinlew*). When *Tinlew* was razed by cowboys working for the Tejon ranch, a number of Tejon people who spoke Chumash were exiled with their Yokut relatives to the Tule River reservation.

Other Books by the Author

- The Piercing of the Yokut Shield** California's Central Valley warfare and diplomacy in 1850. Yokut and Tejon Indian history; the mountain Chumash, 44 pages, 1994.
- No Brave Champion** A critique of the writings of leading anthropologists and ethnohistorians associated with the University of California Press; Chumash culture, genocide, racism, 48 pages, third edition 1997.
- 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, 44 pages, 1997.
- A Circle Within The Abyss** Chumash Indian religion, metaphysics; covers many philosophical issues featured in The House of Fate; 40 pages, third edition 1997.
- Kuta Teachings** Reincarnation theology of the Chumash Indians, death and rebirth, recapitulation, ascent into the heavens, 56 pages, 1999.
- Chumash Indian Astrology** Prophecies From the Chumash ancient California astrology as told by F. Kitsepawit, 44 pages, 1997.
- Enememe's Friends** Chumash theology, a very complex folk tale includes cosmology and reincarnation themes, fourth edition, 32 pages, 1997.
- The Swordfish Race** Chumash & Pomo racing tales, rescuing drowned souls from the rulers of the ocean, 40 pages, 1997.

Holiday Series

- A Chumash Christmas: The Life Adventures of a Wondrous Child Born On Christmas Day**, 40 pages, 1995.
- Tales For the Christmas Season** Chumash & Mohave folk tales, the dying winter sun as depicted in the ancient mythology of California, 40 pages, 1996.
- When Demons Rule California** A glossary of Chumash demonology terms, with commentary, 52 pages, 1990.



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