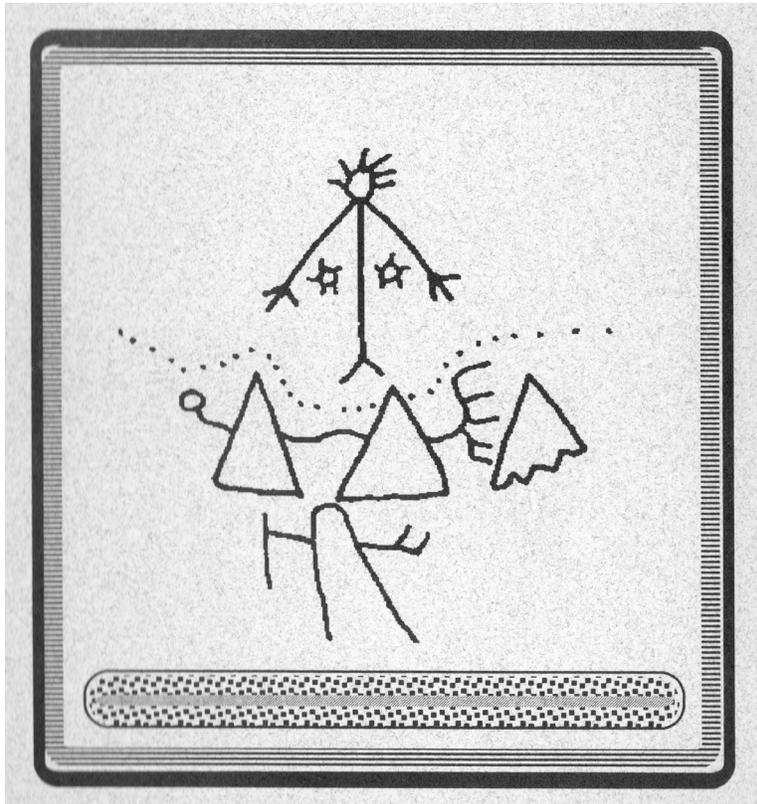


Jonjonata

JONJONATA

*Rebuilding, Academic Politics
And Chumash Ethnohistory*



By
John M. Anderson

Native American History

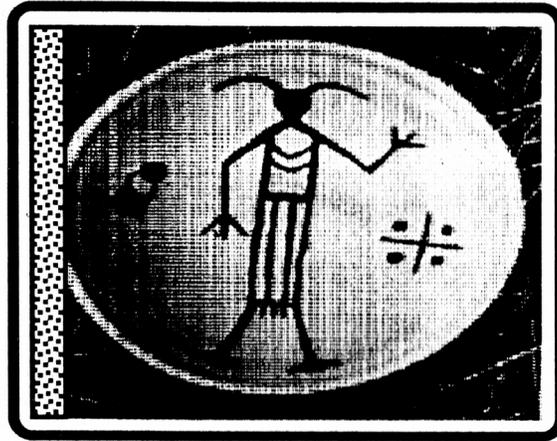
Jonjonata

Dr. Anderson is a New Western historian, who also writes about the mythology of native Americans. He joins a growing number of scholars who are reassessing the history of the western United States, offering fresh viewpoints on events which shaped public policy in the past century. In this volume, he focuses on the Chumash Indians who lived along the California coast north of Los Angeles.¹⁴



Native American history: Chumash, California history,
California Indians, Santa Ynez Mission, Purisima
Mission, Jonjonata, Zaca Lake, Archaeology: salvage,
Caltrans, history, anthropology, archaeology, religion.

© 2002, fourth edition
Third 2001, Second 2000,
First edition 1998



Jonjonata

This text provides an overview of the Chumash town site called Jonjonata, which is located in the Santa Ynez valley west of Santa Barbara, California.

A road construction project in the area of the ancient Jonjonata townsite generated a good deal of controversy, due to public concerns over widespread impact on Chumash sites by developers in previous decades. The author uses the 1998 study of the Jonjonata site as a springboard for discussing the proper relationship of the Chumash Indians with Caltrans and other government agencies responsible for protecting such sites.

In his discussion, Anderson proposes a number of needed changes in California policies for developing ethnohistories of native sites. Too often, he argues, the existing state policies have failed to present a wide spectrum of views on native heritage.

The Back Cover of the 1998 edition
of the Jonjonata book

Forward

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Chumash Traditionalism

This paper by Dr. John Anderson provides information about the Chumash town site called *Jonjonata*. But its significance goes beyond the ethnohistory of *Jonjonata*.

Anderson draws his readers' attention to problems in existing policies governing city, county, and state construction at or near known native sites. He also provides a thoughtful review of the field of Chumash Studies, at a time when there is much public confusion over the proper role of academics and native Californians in the protection of archaeological and religious sites.

^ ^ ^ ^

“On the next page you will find a list of names of people active in the social and spiritual activities of various Chumash bands. We urge you to read this text and carefully consider the issues being discussed.

Not all of us agree with each and every statement by the author, but all of us do agree with his timely call for an expansion of the role of Chumash and other native peoples in public decision-making about salvage archaeology and in the development of public ethnohistories.

We commend the author for questioning the track record of academics hired to serve as arbiters of Chumash heritage, especially given recent denunciations of Chumash Traditionalism which have appeared in national journals. Academic neutrality has become a lost art, or perhaps we should describe it more accurately as a discarded myth.

It is time for all segments of the Chumash people to be

Jonjonata

welcomed into the consulting process for 'salvage' studies on Chumash sites, including representatives from all segments of the rich and complex social fabric of the contemporary Chumash people.

Pay special attention to the introduction and chapter four of the text for they are of timely interest. If you would like to learn more about the issues raised by the author, see his related article called "Will the Aerospace Industry Promote Destabilization of the Chumash Indians." This paper places the *Jonjonata* case in a wider perspective, one that is both thought provoking and disturbing to many Chumash people who are trying to preserve their cultural heritage against persistent and well-financed development projects in their ancestral homeland in Southern California."

March 1998

Mary Pierce (Coastal Band)
Raquel Hall (Coastal Band)
Mike Khus (Coastal Band)
James Leon (Bakersfield Band)
Elmer Castro (Bakersfield Band)
Pilulauw Khus (Coastal Band)
John Zarate Khus (Coastal Band)

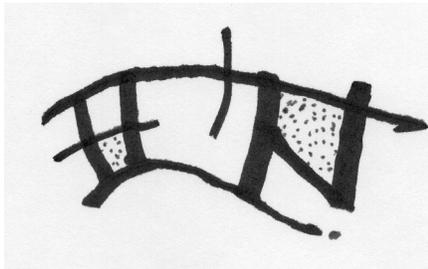


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Introduction



This second edition of the text provides historical information on a Chumash Indian town called Jonjonata. It also features commentary on government policies regulating the study of archaeological and religious sites belonging to native Californians.

A news release about these issues was originally disseminated March 8, 1998. It focused on the politics of developing an ethnohistory for Jonjonata, which is located in the Santa Ynez river valley west of Santa Barbara. This news release was issued during a period when Jonjonata was being studied by the State of California for 'salvage' archaeological and ethnohistorical reports.

This release was entitled "Controversy Over the Chumash Archaeological Site Called Jonjonata." It addressed many of the substantive issues involved, as the state government concluded hearings on the fate of this important Chumash Indian site. It read as follows:

"Dr. John Anderson, an ethnohistorian who has published a number of books on the Chumash Indians of California, disagrees with the findings of many California scholars on the history of the archaeological site called *Jonjonata*. Anderson submitted a controversial report today to the California transportation agency called Caltrans, on *Jonjonata*. This site is located in Santa Barbara County, near the contemporary town of Buellton.

Anderson's report provided an overview of Jonjonata and proposed significant changes in Caltrans' policies governing public historical reports on native American sites. Anderson acknowledged his misgivings about the ability of Caltrans, or any other state agency, to properly represent the history of native California sites without changes in its operating procedures.

Anderson cites a recent article by Larry Wilcoxon and Brian Haley, published by the *Journal of Current Anthropology*, as a pivotal influence on his thinking about Jonjonata and other Chumash sites scheduled for 'salvage' study. The field of Chumash Studies, Anderson argues, is currently in a state of turmoil. One has only to read the Wilcoxon/Haley complaints against a long list of

Jonjonata

anthropologists, archaeologists, and Chumash groups to identify some of the rival factions active in the various fields of Chumash Studies. Wilcoxon/Haley do not resolve any of the problems, because their article only 'mirrors' a long-standing dysfunctionality that persists in Chumash anthropology and archaeology. If the reader believes even half of Wilcoxon/Haley's charges against their colleagues, then common sense tells us that no single source of analysis should be favored in such a contentious arena.

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

With new pressures for rapid growth in the Santa Ynez Valley, Anderson comments, it is essential that the public understand the declining role of University trained anthropologists and archaeologists as disinterested arbiters of Chumash authenticity. The policies established by the Department of the Interior for evaluating Chumash cultural heritage have too often proved unworkable. Instead of neutral judges, academics have become spokespersons for various interest groups and frequently express conflicting views on public policy issues.

Given this disunity, Anderson concludes that the State of California should revise its existing policies for selecting a neutral arbitrator. The procedural role of native Americans should be upgraded, and government needs to find someone without close ties to the academics and the native Californians testifying on Chumash culture, to referee between these conflicting parties.

A public hearing will represent the full spectrum of opinions on native California issues, Anderson argues, if it includes not only the views of commercial developers and government agencies but also reservation, non-reservation, Catholic, Protestant, and Traditional Chumash, as well as dissenting Chumash families who don't associate with any particular contemporary group.

In the latter section of his report, Anderson proposed not only the preservation of the *Jonjonata* town site from future county road building activities but also asks Caltrans to consider whether Zaca lake, located upstream from *Jonjonata*, should be set aside as a tribal park or monument assigned to the nearby Santa Ynez Indian Reservation.

Zaca lake was a 'doorway' into the heavenly realm for the ancient Chumash, according to the testimony of two Chumash traditionalists named M. Qiliqutayiwit and L. Garcia. In one myth, a Chumash islander used the lake as a pathway to follow the soul of a drowned girl to the celestial realm of the souls. He brought her

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back through the gateway located at the bottom of the lake. Sites with similar religious associations often warrant special protection under state laws protecting native California religions.

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

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



Since the publication of the first edition, readers have expressed interest in a new release of the booklet. They suggested that it focus on historical and social policy issues.

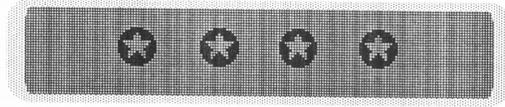
This second edition begins, therefore, with introductory commentary offering a summary of the first three chapters. It then cites the full text of selected chapters of the 1998 edition.*

John Anderson
March 8, 2000

* See *Tecuya* in the glossary.

► *Readers interested in the full texts of the first three chapters of the 1998 edition should turn to Appendix C.*





The Jonjonata Controversy

Commentary

*The Indian community called Jonjonata
is now in ruins. It is located north of
Santa Barbara, California.*

Caltrans, the State of California's transportation agency, began evaluating this Chumash site in the late 1990's because it lay in the path of a proposed freeway overpass.

My interest in the *Jonjonata* construction project was sparked by a Chumash Traditionalist who contacted me by email. He inquired whether my research files contained any information on this site. I made a quick check of my records, and uncovered a curious citation about *Jonjonata*. It showed that C.H. Merriam studied native Californian place names in the early part of the twentieth century. In his notes on *Jonjonata*, Merriam reported that the *Jonjonata* community had "moved" by 1806.

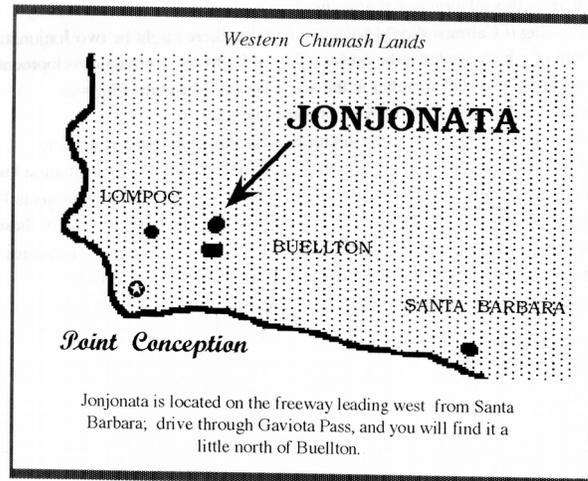
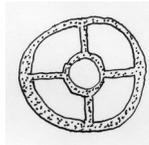
I thought this citation was worth checking on, and contacted a university scholar asking if Caltrans should be concerned that there might be two *Jonjonata* sites, both of which needed to be preserved from highway overpass development. He directed me to a staff member at the Santa Barbara Museum, who was commissioned to write the official report on *Jonjonata*.

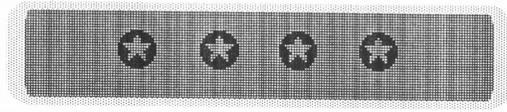
From the beginning of my consultations with this

Jonjonata

individual, it became evident that we disagreed not only on the significance of the Merriam citation but also on a wide spectrum of issues impacting California public history projects.¹⁸ As a result, I submitted a separate report on *Jonjonata* addressing some of these broader policy issues. Feedback from readers over the last two years indicates that the wellspring of debate over *Jonjonata* and other Chumash salvage archaeological sites continues to be of special interest to the general public.

*John Anderson
February, '2000*

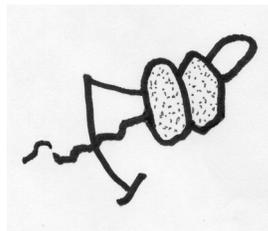




Expanding The Historical Record

The proposed highway developments at the *Jonjonata* archaeological site provide a unique opportunity for the State of California to fund public roadside signs featuring the fascinating history of this area of Chumashia. These displays, if properly designed, would stimulate public interest in the little known history of the western Chumash. Since the State has not previously presented a comprehensive public education program on Traditionalism among the western Chumash, the road construction at the *Jonjonata* site provides an ideal opportunity to address this important subject.

I would suggest, therefore, construction of a rest stop or a historical sign at the intersection of highway 101 & 154 dedicated to a historical discussion of Chumash Traditionalism. But what could such a rest stop present, you might ask? What possibly could be said about Traditionalism, *Jonjonata*, and its neighboring Chumash towns?



There are many fascinating stories yet untold about this part of the old Chumash nation. The public should be told, for example, how the Chumash people who lived in the

Jonjonata archaeological site were located close to the Santa Inez Mission, and their reduction presents an interesting study of Chumash Traditionalism because this community remained on the periphery of mission influence. Zaca Creek was in a separate drainage from the mission, and the trail along Zaca Creek led from the present Jonjonata archaeological site to nearby Zaca Lake which was a documented 'doorway' into the supernatural realm.¹³ Even after the Santa Inez Mission seized the grazing lands near the lake and set up a cattle station, Chumash families living in the area never fully abandoned Traditional beliefs. Thus, I think it important for the Far Western ethnohistory on Jonjonata to explore whether Zaca lake is still a sacred site to contemporary Chumash living on the Santa Ynez reservation. Do any other Chumash groups consider it sacred site? Is it protected under state law as a native California religious site? Should we consider it for purchase and transfer to the Santa Ynez Reservation as a tribal park or monument, in recognition of the need to expand this tiny reservation's land base? And should any of the surrounding national forest be added to such a park, for the same purposes?

What is interesting about the trail up Zaca Creek is that it had always been easy for the Chumash to use the creek trail to travel unobserved by mission priests. A traveler did not have to stop at Zaca Lake, but could proceed further into the Chumash mountains. Until the final reduction of Soxtonoxmu, for example, the trail up Zaca creek was undoubtedly used by Traditionalists living west of the Santa Ines mission to also visit Soxtonoxmu, a center of Samala Traditionalism.* And a short distance into the

* See Soxtonoxmu in the glossary.



What Is Civilization?

"Open-minded study of another culture is difficult. In the past, many Euro-American scholars have not been equal to the great sensitivity demanded of the endeavor. The Chumash, for example, have been repeatedly described as "uncivilized" by Euro-Christian scholars. One of the meanings of the term civilization is to act civilly, that is to serve an ethics greater than one's own narrow self interests.

In this sense, both Chumash and Europeans demonstrated civilized behavior when they elevated their ethics beyond individual selfishness. But the term has a broader meaning which includes simple decency- a respect for fairness and courtesy. Given these criteria, it has been white Americans who have acted as uncivilized people...

Almost everything you read about Chumash religion is written by non-natives, and presents a Euro-Christian critique of Chumash philosophy. This is unfortunate, since a balanced analysis can only be obtained if Chumash traditionalist are also allowed to present their views. Too often we assume a great separation between the two traditions, when a wider dialogue would reveal a significant common ground" (Anderson, *No Brave Champion*, 14).

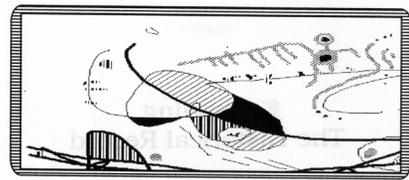
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Jonjonata

mountains north of *Zaca* Lake and *Soxtonoxmu*, a traveler came upon Hurricane Deck and Sunset Valley. Both were known centers of Traditional religious use, far into the modern era. And both led by obscure mountain trails to shrines on the *Sisquoc* River, and the hidden mountain refuges used by earlier generations of 'free' Chumash hostile to European colonialism.

The *Jonjonata* ethnohistory should not be considered complete until we better understand the attitudes and actions of the Chumash Traditionalists living at *Jonjonata* and their family members and allies living in the general area. How many *Jonjonata* citizens were so disheartened by the prospect of being forced into servitude at the missions that they migrated into the Chumash mountains before the mission priests could have recorded their names in the colonial records? How many *Jonjonata* citizens were reduced into La Purisima mission, and how many of these joined in the mass exodus into the Chumash mountains following the 1812 earthquake? And how many *Jonjonata* citizens who stayed behind fought in the 1824 Chumash War of Liberation? Were any hung that year by the Mexicans in reprisal against the La Purisima nationalist leaders?

If *Jonjonata* citizens did migrate into the Chumash



“It is time for the people of California to insist on justice for the region’s native peoples. By pressuring their political representatives to support legal recognition, title to an environmentally viable land base, and economic development aid, they can reach out to the state’s first citizens in brotherhood.

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 coexist so should the Chumash be welcomed back into public life in California as an independent people. It is not only morally right, but to everyone’s benefit.”

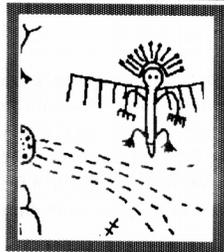
(Anderson, Chumash Nation, third edition page 24, 1996)

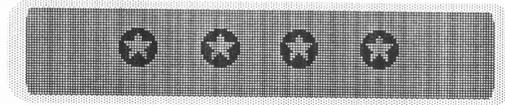
Jonjonata

mountains, they undoubtedly suffered numerous relocations as the ebb and tide flow of warfare washed through this mountainous region. The Spanish and Mexicans sent numerous expeditions to punish the Mountain Chumash and their Penutian and Uto-Aztecan allies who joined them in raids and harbored them in times of stress. And the native towns organized numerous counter-attacks against the colonial ranches and missions. Eventually, the Mountain Chumash were pressed deeper and deeper into the highlands by disease and warfare, until they were concentrated in the far northeastern Chumash mountains.

Chumash refugees who left the missions during the later decades of Mexican rule would have been welcomed into the Tecuya Chumash community, a militantly anticolonial coalition of coastal refugee families who relocated primarily from the lower Santa Ynez valley. Here they allied themselves with the nearby Yokuts and Uto-Aztecan in a military alliance called the *Tejon* by the Mexicans and Americans.

Any comprehensive history of *Jonjonata* would need to include an assessment of this interesting pattern of out-migration by Chumash towns of the lower Santa Ynez Valley and its impact on *Jonjonata* social life.





Conclusion

Further historical and archaeological study is warranted to determine what Merriam meant by his assertion that Jonjonata "moved". If there are indeed two Jonjonata town sites, then this rare duality offers historians an important opportunity for comparative studies.

On the other hand, if there was only one Jonjonata town site, and Merriam intended to report a significant population shift to another town, then this *Jonjonata* population shift needs to be explained in the ethnohistory submitted to local governments in Santa Barbara county and to the authorized California State reporting agency (Caltrans). In particular, if Dr. Johnson's *Jonjonata-to-Zaca* explanation is correct, Far Western's final ethnological report should include a careful assessment of the relationship between *Jonjonata* and the *Zaca* community and their common relationship to nearby *Zaca* lake.

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

Jonjonata

respond to the negativity generated by the Wilcoxon/Haley article by inviting the Santa Ynez Reservation and the numerous non-reservation Chumash groups to submit separate commentary on Far Western's ethnological report. And other commentary should be judiciously sought from both non-native and native Americans interested in the academic politics of the western Chumash region.

The final *Jonjonata* report will not be complete, therefore, unless it presents a wide spectrum of views on *Jonjonata* and the role played by its citizens in the volatile post-invasion politics of the Santa Ynez (*Samala*) Valley.¹⁵ In addition to other objectives, the *Jonjonata* report should include a discussion of the sacred role of Zaca Lake (as documented by Chumash Traditionalists), grievances by the citizens of *Jonjonata* and their neighbors against the California mission system, and (perhaps most importantly) a frank discussion of the inhumanity of both Spanish and Mexican colonialism which caused the out-migration of Chumash peoples from the Santa Ynez Valley into the relative safety of the Chumash Mountains.

John Anderson
March 26, 1998

***The California Spaceport
And the Chumash Indians***

While studying the ethnohistory of Jonjonata, the author became increasingly concerned about the contentious relationship of the academic community in California and the Traditional Chumash.

In the spring of 1998, he decided to research growing economic ties between university trained academics (primarily archaeologists and anthropologists) and the aerospace industry which is building a commercial spaceport on the western Chumash coast. Anderson's findings, led him to write a follow-up to this Jonjonata report called *The Moon, Mars, and Chumash Traditionalism: The California Spaceport Controversy* (1998) He also published two related articles on the spaceport, in *Earth Island Journal* (fall 1998) and in *Shaman's Drum* (fall 1999).

(For further information, see page 44)

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Postscript

My 1998 commentary in the first edition of this report led some readers to believe that relatively youthful anthropologists and archaeologists are responsible for the dysfunctionality I attributed to California public history projects dealing with native sites.¹⁶

This is clearly not the case. As documented in my other writings, I believe that older anthropologists and archaeologists carry just as much responsibility for the inadequacies of California public history as newer graduates.¹⁷ Nor are anthropologists and archaeologists singularly accountable, whether young or old. Historians, sociologists, mythologists, theologians, and even musicologists have their own unique responsibility for challenging racism and Euro-centrism.

^ ^ ^ ^

In *No Brave Champion* (Anderson) the subject of accommodation to popular prejudice by American researchers studying native California cultures, is explored in some depth. I wrote: "I do not believe that scholars can write morally neutral texts in the humanities. The problem explored in this book, therefore, is not that ethical values have crept into the articles and books of University of California professors. What is important is that we clearly understand the explicit and implicit judgments intertwined with facts and figures presented in our classrooms, and that we take responsibility for the impact of these judgments on the lives of people for both the living and future generations" (*No Brave*, introduction, page 7).

This same argument applies to practical archaeology and anthropology. For those of us 'outside' of these two collegial circles, it seems evident that their engagement with the state and federal governments and industry has too often been one of accommodation.

Great effort is made to document the physical materials at native California sites proposed for destruction by development, but too seldom are the developers (whether public or private) asked to fund public history projects which acknowledge and highlight

blatantly controversial social and religious issues important to native peoples.

The California Holocaust

From my perspective as a student of philosophy, the proper context of writing public history for native sites should be the California Holocaust which I see as the overriding ethical issue of recent state history.

But the general public continues to be uncomfortable facing this painful legacy. Many people prefer to focus on the present, and adamantly oppose efforts to have highway signs, museum displays, or school textbooks present frank information on the Holocaust. When they look out over the beautiful foothills behind *Jonjonata*, they want to observe the natural beauty and find it depressing to think of the mass deaths or of religious and cultural repression imposed by their Christian forebears.

Studying, recording, and preserving the material culture of the past is a vital and legitimate public goal. But I join many others, including Chumash Traditionalists, who believe that California needs to do much more in its public history programs. Each time another native site is disturbed, it should become an opportunity to seek remediation and education of the public about the socio/religious history associated with a particular site. It is also an opportunity to examine the problems of living descendants of a particular culture.

Do they have adequate land and natural resources? Are they recognized by local, state, and the federal government? How can one contact these living descendants, and how do they feel about this particular site? Do they have resources adequate to house the artifacts found at the site, and to publish books and film documentaries on their history? Are there traditional families living in these contemporary groups, and are their views adequately represented in both tribal and public history projects?

Yes, it is a reality that state and federal guidelines mandate less, focus on material culture, and often treat individual sites as if they are isolated phenomenon. The recent state election revealed an increasingly conservative public sentiment in California. But each scholar working on a given site continues to have a moral responsibility to broaden the discourse.

*John Anderson
October 12, 2001*

Marginalizing

Excerpt

In 2007, nine years after publishing the first edition of *Jonjonata*, Anderson released *Marginalizing the Chumash People In Southern California*. The concluding remarks included the following observation: "the process of marginalization of indigenous people continues in California, though there is some progress being made (page 28).

Academic Nihilism

Excerpt

"There is a strong need for including sociologists, linguists, philosophers, historians, musicologists, and other scholars in the debate [over 'gatekeepers' of native California lore], as well as many more Chumash voices.

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

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

(Nihilism, 2011, page 38)



Appendix B

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The 1998 Edition of *Jonjonata*

Full Texts of Chapters 1-3

Sidebox Information on C.H. Merriam "Merriam died in Berkeley California in 1942, after working from 1910-1939 as a research associate with the Smithsonian Institution. As a result of his Smithsonian employment, he published in leading American journals of his era.⁴

Merriam did important research on the mountain Chumash, through his tribal and place name study called "Mountain Tribes At Or Near the Tejon".⁵ He also did important research on California native culture generally, including "Studies of California Indians".⁶ The Smithsonian Institution obviously considered Merriam a competent field researcher, or they would not have paid him as a staff member until almost the end of his life.

In consideration of the Smithsonian's role as a leading federal repository of data on native Americans, the County of Santa Barbara has an obligation to carefully weigh Merriam's statement about Jonjonata before it decides to initiate new road construction in the Zaca Creek area. In the discussion that follows I have focused on two interpretations of Merriam's Jonjonata 'moved' statement, both of which are feasible and offer interesting potentials for future research."

Chapter One

Title: "Merriam Identifies Two *Jonjonatas*"

Text: C.Hart Merriam studied Chumash place names in the early part of this century. He published *Chumash Tribes, Bands, and Rancherias* to educate the public about important Chumash archaeological sites in southern California. Under the place name "*Hoon-hoon-na-tan*" he wrote:

Jonjonata

"In 1796 Jonjonata was located 3 leagues N of Santa Inez Mission, but by 1806 it had been moved."

(Zalvidea, Tapis)

There are more than one possible interpretation of this passage about *Jonjonata*.¹ The purpose of this article is to discuss the ethnohistorical implications of two of these interpretations.²

The Parentheses Text: Merriam's references in parentheses are rather straightforward, so let us start our discussion with this data. 'Zalvidea' refers to Jose M. Zalvidea, who was a Catholic priest. Zalvidea recorded Chumash town names and their distances from one another when he visited the Chumash towns of the Santa Ynez valley, after leaving the Santa Barbara garrison. 'Tapis' refers to Estevan Tapis who, as the new mission president in 1804, chose the *Zulapu* site for the Santa Inez mission.

The Main Text The main statement preceding the parentheses is less straightforward. Merriam clearly states here that *Jonjonata* "had been moved." We do not know for certain what he meant by being "moved" but clearly he intended to record some event of importance concerning movement and *Jonjonata*. Yet I could find no discussion of this reported change in *Jonjonata's* status in contemporary scholarly, government, or newspaper reports about the site".³

Chapter Two

Title: "Two *Jonjonata* Town Sites: Option One"

Text: "A common sense interpretation of Merriam's statement is that the town called *Jonjonata* was in one location in 1796 but had moved to a second location by 1806. I favor this interpretation of Merriam's statement.⁷ By implication, the archaeological site located at the junction of Highway 101 and Highway 154 is the second of two separate town sites called *Jonjonata* by the Chumash. There is no question about the location of the archaeological site. It lies downstream from the old Chumash town of *Zaca* (also known as *Saca*) which was located in the area now known as *Zaca Ranch*. *Zaca Lake* is located upstream from both sites.

In the commentary that follows, I describe the highway 101 and 154 site as the (New) *Jonjonata*. The location of a hypothetical (Old) *Jonjonata* is, according to this model, as yet undetermined.

Discussion: If there were two different town sites called *Jonjonata* by the Chumash, then we have a unique opportunity to study the archaeological site at the junction of highways 101 and 154. If we could identify the older town site, we would be able to do comparative studies on the impact on a single population group as it occupied two known sites near a California mission and yet outside of direct mission control.

We would want to determine if the material and social life of *Jonjonata* families changed, as a result of this hypothetical relocation. We would want to know what caused them to abandon the town site of their ancestors. Might we find evidence of plague at

Jonjonata

the older site, if it could be located? Or perhaps evidence of drought, or warfare, or some other unexpected calamity? How much was the material culture of the *Jonjonata* families living in the older site influenced by the La Purisima and Santa Inez missions? How many *Jonjonata* residents were reduced by the nearby La Purisima mission founded in 1787, during the 17 years before the Santa Inez mission took over the reduction of *Jonjonata* in 1804? Did divisions of families, split between the two missions, destabilize *Jonjonata's* social order? Did a sudden loss of population to Santa Inez in the years after 1804 fatally disrupt the town's economic balance, forcing a move? Did the *Jonjonata* families experience a sudden introduction of new technologies and food sources after they moved? Did the marriage patterns recorded in the missions indicate a pivotal year of rapid change, and if so what does this suggest about the date of relocation and what does it tell us about the history of the Chumash peoples living in the lower Santa Ynez valley at that time?

These and many more interesting questions confront the twelve member body of city council members and county supervisors who will help decide the fate of the highway 101 & 154 *Jonjonata* site. Hopefully, a full examination of scholarly evidence for hypothesis 1 will help the Santa Barbara County Association of Governments to carefully assess what might be a unique scholarly opportunity before voting on any final road construction plan for the site.

How to Locate The Existing Archaeological Site Called *Jonjonata*

Merriam *Jonjonata* is located "near present Zaca Station on RR about 3 mi. W or NW of Los Olivos." This presumably is the archaeological site presently threatened by new road construction at the junction of highway 101 and highway 154.

Harrington In 1910, John Harrington from the Smithsonian Institution, went to the San Carlos *Jonjonata* ranch where he reported that the surface features of a town site he identified as *Jonjonata* were still visible. Presumably, he was looking at the archaeological site at the current intersection of highways 101 and 154.

Wilcoxon A survey plat for Rancho San Carlos de Jonata shows the location of *Jonjonata* at the highway junctions of 101 and 154 ("phase 1" report on the archaeological site).

Can We Identify Possible Sites for a hypothetical Second *Jonjonata*

Merriam's Citation: the old town site is "located three leagues N of Santa Inez Mission." This suggests that it was somewhere in the area of upper Zaca Creek or somewhat to the east near *Soxtonoxmu*.

Other than the Merriam citation of the dual nature (it 'moved') of the *Jonjonata* town site, I have no specific information

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about a second site. This does not mean, however, that it did not exist nor that it cannot be found.

Without any other clues to begin a search, I would look upstream from the New *Jonjonata* site. Searching downstream from the archaeological site would seem to contradict the instructions that the old *Jonjonata* was north of the Santa Inez Mission. Going downstream would place the archaeologist increasingly west of the mission as one descended the creek.

The town name suggests that it was located at or near a productive grove of valley oak trees on Zaca Creek.⁸ The valley oak (*Ta'*) is well-known as the most impressive of the oak group. It is deciduous, dropping its leaves in winter. They are also known as white oaks and are typically found in stream courses of broad valleys and in nearby foothills. But the most likely site would be an area where the water table is relatively high from seasonal flooding. It seems unlikely that the original site would have been as far upstream as Zaca Lake, but possibly the small flatlands in the Zaca land grant could be a candidate.

Past Surveys of Zaca Creek

Dr. John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History provided me the following summary of past surveys in Zaca Creek: (1) Cessac's initial dig in the 1870's with Rafael Solares [a leader of the Santa Inez mission Chumash], (2) Clarence ("Pop") Ruth's dig on the other side of Zaca Creek, (3) my own survey to relocate Ruth's site when I was a grad student about 18 years ago (I assumed that Ruth's site was *Jonjonata* and it may indeed have been part of the site complex, although not the principal residential area), (4) a survey I made about 12 years or so ago to visit several sites along the creek shown to me by a person who had found some surface artifacts (we visited the Zaca [*'asaka*] Rancheria site at that time, (5) Wilcoxon's recent survey for the County Association of Governments that led to the rediscovery of the *Jonjonata* site. As this summary indicates, no systematic survey has been undertaken along the length of the creek. This is partly because private landowners in the area are wary of archaeologists and partly because no archaeologist has made the survey of that canyon a high priority project.⁹

Chapter Three

Title: "One *Jonjonata* Town Site: Option Two"

Text: "This interpretation of Merriam's *Jonjonata* citation assumes that there was only one town named *Jonjonata*. Merriam used the term "moved" to mean that the *Jonjonata* townspeople "moved" in some significant numbers to a second town site of unstated identity.

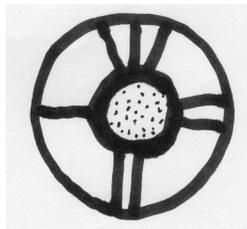
Discussion: After consideration of a preliminary draft of this report (dated February 2, 1998) Dr. John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History informed me that he remained convinced of the existence of only one town site named *Jonjonata*. Johnson stated that: "*Jonjonata* did not move at all." He conclude

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that Merriam used the term 'moved' because he misunderstood Zalvidea's commentary. Zalvidea only meant to record the movement of "some of the former residents" from *Jonjonata* to the nearby town of *Zaca*, three leagues further upstream.¹⁰ I find Johnson's explanation interesting and plausible, but not as straightforward as the two town site explanation (implied in Merriam's 'moved' notation). Dr. Johnson has informed me that he plans to write a separate paper putting forth his arguments for a single *Jonjonata* town site. I do not know when this paper will be released, so I will take the time here to comment briefly on the *Jonjonata*-to-*Zaca* explanation of Merriam's statement. It seems to me that if Merriam intended to record the 'movement' of *Jonjonata* people en masse to the *Zaca* ranch, he would have said so in direct terms. Merriam would have said, in straightforward and natural speech, that the people of *Jonjonata* 'moved' to *Zaca*. But he never mentioned *Zaca* in his citation. It is possible that Merriam neglected to cite *Zaca* because the *Jonjonata* place name was brought ("moved") to *Zaca*, when some significant number of *Jonjonata* people moved there by 1804. But this does not seem likely. First of all, Merriam was aware of *Zaca* as a unique Chumash town site. In his list of Chumash town names, for example, Merriam recorded a number of variants of *Zaca* including *Saca*, *Sajcaya*, *Sacaiya*, *Sajcaia*, *Saccaya*.¹¹

Secondly, it was not Merriam's practice to change a town name after a large influx of immigrants changed its population mix. Normally, when a Chumash population moves en masse from a traditional town into an existing town, the name of the recipient town remains the same. Certainly, the recipient town is not normally renamed after the abandoned town! This would especially be the case in the mission records of nineteenth century California, when the abandoned town was Traditional and the recipient town was recognized as Christian by the mission.¹²

And finally, I am aware of no evidence in Merriam's writings or any other source, even if renaming was a possibility, that *Zaca* Ranch was renamed *Jonjonata* as a result of massive immigration in this period."



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Endnotes

1 At least four interpretations of Merriam's statement about *Jonjonata* present themselves: (1) When Merriam reported that *Jonjonata* had "moved" he meant that *Jonjonata* residents left their original town site and moved en masse to a new site which they renamed *Jonjonata* after the abandoned town. Or (2) when Merriam reported that *Jonjonata* 'moved' he meant that the *Jonjonata* residents left their original town site and moved en masse to a different site which was not renamed *Jonjonata*. Or (3) the majority of the residents of *Jonjonata* never left their town en masse, but rather 'moved' (migrated) a few family members at a time until *Jonjonata* was abandoned by its last residents. Or (4) the town site magically 'moved' from one physical location to another physical location, perhaps upstream on Zaca Creek for example.

2 I am not interested in this report with interpretations four and three. I reject interpretation four because it is inconsistent with all of Merriam's previous commentary about Chumash town sites. No other town was cited by him as having 'moved', nor does he indicate anywhere in his writings that he believed that such magical relocation of an entire town (or town population) was even a possibility!

I reject interpretation 3 because it is inconsistent with Merriam's previous commentary about Chumash towns. All of the rest of the Chumash towns in Merriam's list presumably followed a pattern of piecemeal population decline. And Merriam did not single out any other Chumash town as having 'moved' as a result of piecemeal reduction. And yet this explanation, according to the information available to me, has been favored in previous reports submitted by archaeologists and anthropologists working with the government agencies responsible for approval of road construction in Santa Barbara county. Since this option has presumably been extensively examined by the County board and the local press, most of my commentary in the body of this report focuses on the hitherto unexplored first option, i.e. that there were two closely related Chumash town sites named *Jonjonata*.

3 "To my knowledge, a single *Jonjonata* town site has been exclusively discussed, in public hearings and newspaper articles about *Jonjonata* up to the date of my first draft of this paper. I

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did not attend any of these meetings. Nor was I asked by any faction (whether Chumash, commercial, county, state or federal) to comment, either confidentially or publicly, on the site.

I first became interested in the *Jonjonata* archaeology site after reading newspaper articles sent to me. They implied that government officials and news reporters have relied solely on incomplete data from publicly funded archaeological and historical studies of the highway 101 and 154 site. These studies have not, to my knowledge, discussed the Merriam citation.

I decided to draft a quick summary of my findings on *Jonjonata* and sent a copy of this draft report, dated January 7 1998, to the Santa Inez Elder's Council, the Brotherhood of the Tomol, and Dr. John Johnson who is the Director of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. I did not hear back from the two Chumash groups but corresponded with Johnson through a series of e-mail letters on the internet. Dr. Johnson provided me with a number of helpful suggestions for editing the first draft, including an overview of archaeological studies already conducted in the Zaca Creek drainage" (*Jonjonata*, Anderson, 1998 edition).

4 Merriam published articles in the journal of *American Anthropology* (1905, 1907), *Science* (1914), *Sierra Club Bulletin* (1917). Heizer and Whipple included one of his articles in *The California Indians*, University of California Press, 1971 ("The Mourning Ceremony of the Miwok", 1906).

5 This text is available in hand-typed format in the Bancroft Library. It remains one of the most important sources of information on Mountain Chumash place names and town names. It also includes important Yokuts (Penutian) and Uto-Aztecan data.

6 This text was published by the University of California Press in 1962. Merriam was also the editor of an excellent study of the cosmology of the Achumawi Indians of northern California, called *An-nik-a-del*, Boston, 1928. Though not widely known, *Annikadel* remains one of Merriam's most important writings.

7 Merriam's pattern in "Chumash Tribes, Bands, and Rancherias" is to list a single town site, and discuss variants of its Chumash name. He does not normally mention that a town had moved. An exception to this pattern is Merriam's citations on Old and New *Cojo*, which were two Chumash seaports located on *Cojo Bay*. New *Cojo* is listed by Merriam under *Upop* (located at *El Cojo Nueva*, Henshaw, 1884). Old *Cojo* is listed by Merriam under *Shi-sho-lop* (called *El Cojo Viejo*). The point in mentioning these two *Cojo* citations is to draw the readers attention to the fact that *Jonjonata* and *Cojo* citations are exceptions, not the rule in Merriam's document. Merriam clearly meant to single out the unusual duality of these two towns.

8 If an Old *Jonjonata* exists, it could be in a different drainage from *Zaca Creek*. But it is not likely that it would be in the same drainage as *Soxtonoxmu* (a very large town indeed, using large amounts of food resources in its immediate vicinity and not wanting another population center too close).

9 Dr. John Johnson's e-mail response (1/28/98) to my request for a summary of archaeological surveys on *Zaca Creek*.

10 Dr. John Johnson, Director of the Santa Barbara Museum, emailed me the following explanation: I understand now why Merriam

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stated that the village had been moved by 1806, because in July of that year Zalvidea mentions that the site had been abandoned and a new settlement of Christian Indians existed at *Saca* (*Zaca*) three leagues further upstream. This has caused the confusion. *Jonjonata* did not move at all. Its location was described as being three leagues north of the Santa Ines Mission site in both 1796 and 1806. The mission registers indicate that its populace had virtually all been baptized by July 1806 (except for three individuals who appear to have been living elsewhere). By 1806 the missionaries and neophytes at Santa Ines founded an outlying ranch at *Zaca* where some of the former residents of *Jonjonata* undoubtedly lived and worked (indeed an elderly woman, mother of a *Jonjonata* woman, was baptized "*in periculo mortis*" at "*Azaca*": on May 31, 1807; email response sent 1/28/98).

One of the problems involved in Johnson's explanation (and all other arguments based on Spanish and Mexican town location citations) is that the length of a 'California league' varied from time to time and from individual to individual. Thus when one Mexican observer says one site is three leagues from another, four decades later another individual might record it at two or four leagues.

The other problem with Johnson's explanation is that the Chumash mission records are incomplete in detail and continuously compel guesswork in interpretation. A repeated frustration for scholars, for example, is that these reports often neglect to give details of the route used to determine the distance from say the Santa Ines mission to *Jonjonata*. Therefore, if the town site was moved lets say one or two miles upstream or downstream the distance cited in the mission records might change but it also might stay the same. This may be due to inaccurate measuring or perhaps to the failure of the travelers to give enough information for the historian to recognize that one visitor, for example, took a shortcut over a hill which was not used by the first visitor.

The distance from the Santa Ines Mission to *Jonjonata*, if one travels up Alamo Pintada Creek to Los Olivos and then directly west to *Jonjonata* is approximately eight miles. Merriam reports this distance as three leagues. Johnson cites the "new settlement of Christian Indians" at *Zaca* as three leagues distance from *Jonjonata*, but located it north instead of south. This suggests that three leagues were approximately eight miles. But the site of *Zaca* is less than eight miles from *Jonjonata*. The *Quati* Corral site is approximately 4 miles upstream from *Jonjonata* and thus clearly too close to be *Zaca*. the site of the *Zaca* ranch is only seven miles from *Jonjonata*. But if one travels eight miles upstream, one is already outside of the *Zaca* land grant. Clearly the distances being recorded in the mission records were only approximations.

Dr. Johnson indicated to me in a later email that he planned to write a separate report featuring his interpretations of the Merriam citation (quoted on page 3 above). Johnson's report has not been released to date, but should be referenced for further understanding of the Merriam materials.

11 Merriam listed the following town names under the town site of *Saca*: *Saca*, *Sajcaya*, *Sacaiya*, *Sajcaia*, *Saccaya* (Heizer, 1975). And he specifically described them as the Chumash town located "at or near place of same name a few miles NW of Los Olivos, Santa

Barbara Co." ("Chumash Tribes, Bands and Rancherias 1790-1818", page 58, in Heizer's "Chumash Place Name Lists").

Merriam's town name list is not without contradictions, since Merriam suggested *Saccaya* and *Sajcaya* under the listing for the town called *Aah-ha* where he cites *Saja*, *Sajcay*, *Xaqua*, *Saccaya*, *Sajcaya*, *Sacaiya*, *Sajcaia* as variant town names. At the end of this list, Merriam referred his reader to *Xagua* (Chumash Tribes, 59). *Xague*, Merriam concluded, is a Chumash island place name (72).

12 See footnote three where *Zaca* Ranch is identified by Dr. Johnson as a community "of Christian Indians" at the time of *Jonjonata*'s hypothetical abandonment in 1806.

13 *Zaca* appears in Chumash narratives by Chumash M.S. Piliqutayiwit and Lucrecia Garcia. Piliqutayiwit describes how *Zaca* Lake served as a doorway (opening, portal, gateway) into the supernatural realm. An island religious leader used this pathway to follow the soul of a drowned girl to the Chumash celestial realm of the souls. He brought her back through the gateway in the bottom of the lake, but she died soon afterwards in Santa Inez mission. Garcia describes how Thunder created *Zaca* Lake where a water "monster" lived in her story called "Thunder Makes *Zaca* Lake" (December's Child, Blackburn, 248). The water monster is a guardian of the doorway located at the bottom of the lake ("there is no bottom to the lake").

14 In the spirit of freedom of information about scholarly funding, I confirm that this report (entitled "Identifying The Old and New *Jonjonata* Town Sites") and the preceding discussion papers on which it is based were funded solely by my wife and myself. In short, it was written and disseminated without financial support from any of the competing government, commercial, native American, or private parties involved in current 'salvage' ethnohistories or archaeological studies of *Jonjonata*.

15 Given the fractious state of surviving Chumash communities described in the Wilcoxon/Haley article called "Anthropology and the Making of Chumash Tradition" (Current Anthropology), I have no confidence in the long-standing policy of the the State of California (through Caltrans) to hire a single company, a tribe, or single scholar to prepare ethno-histories for native California sites selected for 'salvage' study.

One has only to read Wilcoxon/Haley complaints against a long list of anthropologists, archaeologists, and Chumash groups to identify some of the rival factions active in the various fields of Chumash Studies. Wilcoxon/Haley do not resolve any of these problems, because their article only 'mirrors' a long-standing dysfunctionality that persists in Chumash anthropology and archaeology. If the reader believes even half of Wilcoxon/Haley's charges against their colleagues, then common sense tells us that no single source of analysis should be favored in such a contentious arena.

In future state contracts for ethnohistories, I would suggest that the State carefully select a judicious neutral party outside of California who is not involved in the scholarly discord described by Wilcoxon and Haley. This individual should be assigned the role of referee between the natural and inevitable conflicting parties.

And regardless of which scholars are chosen to present papers,

the final report submitted to the public should always include viewpoints from a diversity of Chumash sources including: reservation and non-reservation Chumash, Catholic, Protestant, and Traditionalist Chumash, dissenting Chumash individuals who don't speak for any group, as well as views from all contemporary Chumash groups that chose to comment on a specific site.¹⁶ One paragraph of a 1998 news release was omitted from the introduction of this second edition (year 2000).

This paragraph read: "One of the most important statements Anderson makes in this report is that he no longer has confidence in the state practice of hiring a single company or individual scholar to write ethnohistories of sites selected for 'salvage' studies.

The traditional role of university trained researchers has changed dramatically in recent decades, Anderson argues, as a large number of graduates from anthropology and archaeology departments have been unable to find teaching jobs in universities and colleges. A growing segment of these scholars have turned to industry and government for employment.

Many of these practical anthropologists have become spokesmen for corporate and government interests, increasingly conflicting with their university and college colleagues who have been traditional advocates of preservation of native California sites identified for destruction by developers" (Anderson, 1998, page 8-9).

Soon after the publication of these remarks, I was contacted by dissenting Chumash Traditionalist. They pointed out that while I was correct that some of the most dedicated advocates for preserving native California archaeological and heritage sites were academics, many of their colleagues have proven notoriously accommodating to development interests and racial bias in public history.

The problem is not a simple one, these Traditionalists correctly pointed out, but is a result of widespread racism and ethcentrism in the broader American society.

16 It is the case that many young archaeologists and anthropologists are producing industry 'standard' reports for Caltrans and other state and federal agencies. And it is the case that many of these young entrepreneurial academics are careful not offend or challenge the economic interests of developers who want salvage sites removed quickly and inexpensively. But in following these trends, younger scholars are often repeating the ethical choices of their mentors [established academics]. They focus on compliance with existing laws regulating disturbances to native American sites, rather than on human rights issues.

Chumash Traditionalists continue to be concerned that many state and federally funded 'salvage' reports focus only on material objects and culturally non-controversial subjects, such as the clothing styles or evidence of trade beads in the higher levels of a particular dig. Too seldom, they argue, do these reports feature the broader social/historical trauma faced by the Chumash or other native Californians who were 'reduced' by the Spanish, Mexicans, and American seizures of their land and natural resources.

I stand corrected. And I proceed with an increased awareness of the distrust of many Chumash Traditionalists for what they call the Santa Barbara Circle. This is one of the nicknames Chumash

Jonjonata

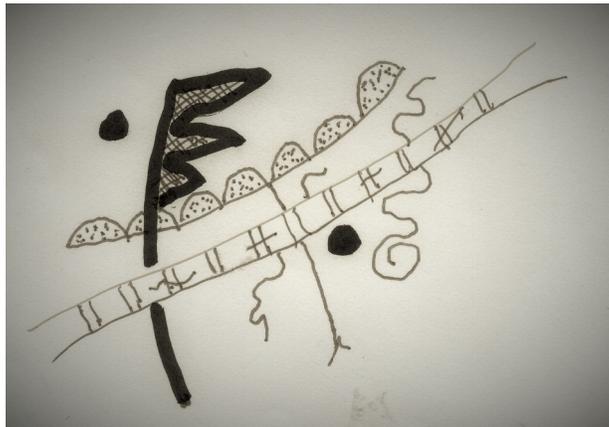
people use for a closely linked group of [mainstream] scholars working at the University of Santa Barbara, the Santa Barbara Museum, and regional state and federal programs with Chumash components.

Many landless (and non-federally recognized) Chumash continue to be deeply alienated from the Santa Barbara Circle. They blame its members for accommodating the interests of the Santa Ynez reservation, public and private development interests, and a small number of 'mission certified' (non-reservation) Chumash descendants who have facilitated development projects.

University of Santa Barbara academics are often dismissed as inept guardians of Chumash heritage sites. I am concerned that as long as compliance with existing laws takes precedence over human rights issues, the academic community will continue to be unprepared to take on the tougher issues involved in educating the public about the California Holocaust (John Anderson, March 15, 2000).

17 See *No Brave Champion* (Anderson, 1997) for discussion of the racism and ethnocentrism of early University of California scholars.

18 The researcher commissioned to write the state funded report was Dr. John Johnson, Curator of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.





Glossary

This text uses Indian self-names whenever known, rather than Spanish or American names for towns, rivers, mountains, and tribes. I also use the phrase Production Center rather than mission when describing the colonial economic facilities built in Chumashia.

My nomenclatural purpose is two-fold. First, to narrate my historical writings from the perspective of traditional native peoples, not the invading Europeans. Secondly, to remind readers that a primary socio-political purpose of the so-called missions was to feed and supply foreign troops occupying and repressing the freedoms of the California natives. You will find the term mission used frequently in this glossary, but it is used only to simplify communication with readers unfamiliar with alternative nomenclature.

Alajulapu Production Center The residents of *Jonjonata* and nearby towns were 'reduced' into the *Alajulapu* center.

Terms: The Chumash town seized to build this production center was called '*Alaxulalpul* (Samala, 37; the root *Axul-ulpul* means 'to go around the inside corner'). One root is *Alpul* which means 'to go around inside' (Samala, 48). *Alajulapu* is an Anglicized version.

The Spanish named the production center (built at '*Alaxulalpul*) *Santa Ynez*.

Discussion of terms: In 1998 the translation of *Alajulapu* was not properly defined. As a result, the first edition of *Jonjonata* (Anderson) used the term *Zulapu* for this center. *Zulapu* was to identify the surrounding *Santa Ynez* valley. The mistaken translation read: "*Zulapu* is a variant of *Xulapu*, meaning 'green' (it also means 'verdant', and has the connotation of medicinal herbs, which I suspect is the appropriate translation for this place name). *Xulapshan* means 'green' (but also refers to a medicinal herb ; Tsmuwich, 41; *Axulapshan* means 'a herb', 'medicine' in the Samala language)."

• The *Santa Ynez* Indian Reservation is located a few miles to the east of *Alajulapu* production center. The American town of *Solvang* also grew up near the *Alajulapu* center.

California State: Department of Transportation See [Caltrans](#).

Caltrans The California State agency, headquartered in Sacramento, which is ultimately responsible for preserving archaeological sites such as *Jonjonata*.

- Caltrans operates California state transportation, including highways, aeronautics, rail, and mass transit. As of March 1998, the agency webpage cites a budget of three billion dollars for projects like *Jonjonata* which are "under construction." This agency has more than 16,000 employees, and has an annual budget of six billion dollars! The regional office of Caltrans is located in San Luis Obispo: 50 Higuera Street, San Luis Obispo, Ca 93401-5415.

- Caltrans contracted with Far Western, a private company, for completion of archaeological and ethnohistorical studies of the highway 101 & 154 intersection site (which the agency recognizes as *Jonjonata*). See Far Western for further discussion.

Carlos See San Carlos for discussion.

Chumash The largest native American cultural group in the western United States, prior to the intrusion of the Europeans into the coastal region now known as California.

Chumash Vineyards: Western Coast The vineyards grown on the western coast of Chumashia are known as the South Central Coast Vineyards.

- This region includes numerous prosperous Zaca Creek vineyards located near *Jonjonata*. The Zaca Mesa vineyard, for example, produces a Chardonnay wine celebrated by the California wine industry. A number of large contemporary vineyards are also located downstream from *Jonjonata*, in the Buellton area.

Chumashia The term used in this text to designate all of the territory occupied by Chumash speaking people.

Corral de Quati See Quati.

Department of Transportation See Caltrans.

Far Western The company which contracted Dr. John Johnson, from the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, to write an ethnohistory on the Chumash town called *Jonjonata*.

- This history is to serve as an adjunct to Far Western's archaeological report on the site. Both studies are meant to educate the public and public decision-makers (see Caltrans) about the site and its importance in Chumash history.

Ines See Zulapu production center (Santa Inez mission) and Caltrans.

Garcia, Lucia See L. Tumyalatset.

Ineseno See Samala.

Johnson, John Dr. Johnson is the head of the Anthropology Department in the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. His Ph.D. dissertation included diagraming *Jonjonata* family relationships with other Chumash people who were baptized in the local missions. See Far Western.

Jonjonata: New Hypothesis one (featlured in this text) assumes that the whole population of the ancient Chumash town of *Jonjonata* was relocated en masse to a new site which eventually came to be known as (New) *Jonjonata*.

- Presumably, the mission records used the *Jonjonata* name for this new village, since it was occupied by *Jonjonata* people. This 'new' town site is presumably the archaeological site located at the junction of highway 101 and highway 154.

Jonjonata

Jonjonata: Old Hypothesis One (featured in this text) assumes the existence of an older *Jonjonata* town site, other than the presumably (New) *Jonjonata* site located at the intersection of highway 101 and 154.

Terms: *Jonjonata*, *Jonatas*, *Junata*, *Huhunata*, *Ionata* (Merriam). Also *Jonatas* (Gatschet 1876). And possibly *Ionata* (Taylor in *Cal. Farmer*, October 18, 1861).

- The exact location of this hypothetical Old *Jonjonata* is not determined at this time. Merriam located it "three leagues" north of Santa Inez Mission.

- The reader should note that it is always possible that I and John Johnson are both wrong. The highway 101 and 154 intersection site might just be the (Old) *Jonjonata*, and the (New) *Jonjonata* site may be located downstream (even though this hypothetical location places it more west of the Santa Inez mission than north as indicated by Merriam).

Kahismuwas The assigned name for the Chumash people who lived downriver from the *Samala* (Santa Ynez) Chumash.

- Some of the *Jonjonata* townspeople were probably 'reduced' at the *Sacupi* (Old Purisima) and the *Muwu* (New Purisima) missions. Compare *Samala* for the Chumash living upriver from the Kahismuwas.

- The Vandenberg Air Force Base now occupies much of the ancient Kahismuwas province.

Laguna Land Grant A Mexican land grant located immediately south of *Zaca* Lake and *Zaca* Peak.

Los Olivos A contemporary American town located near the Santa Inez mission. Merriam located (New) *Jonjonata* about three miles west or northwest of Los Olivos.

Mission The Catholic Church (and both the Spanish and Mexican governments) used the term *Mission* to describe the production centers built on lands seized from the Chumash.

Discussion of terms: A mission, in the context of California history, means 'a group of persons sent by a church or other organization to spread a specific religion (ideology)'. The Latin root of *Mission* is *Missio* meaning 'a sending', as in 'a sending away'. *Missionization* is paternalistic by definition, since it is a 'sending' by one party rather than a sharing by equals. Joined with European feudalism, the California mission system served imperialist interests, rather than those of the natives brought into the mission system. By definition, all of the California missions suffered from European ethnocentrism and religious dogmatism, practiced by missionaries 'sent out' from Christian Europe to destroy traditional native cultures.

In this sense, the exclusive use of the term *Mission* by many historians writing about the foreign production centers 'sugar coats' Chumash mission history and ignores the brutal socioeconomic impact of these institutions on native Californians such as the Chumash.

- Without the food, shelter, clothing and weapons produced in these colonial centers, imperialist planners in Mexico and Spain would have failed in their objective of occupying coastal Chumashia. The American troops who invaded California, in contrast, never had to depend on the Mexican production centers for support. These American mobile troops enjoyed the strategic advantage of an

independent supply network, relying on overland and ocean shipping of weapons and other supplies from the American heartland on the Atlantic Coast.

Monster A water 'monster' lived in Zaca lake (December's Child, 248, Tummyalatset). See Portal for related commentary.

Portal Zaca lake was venerated as sacred waters because it served as a portal to the supernatural realm. Also see Zaca Lake and Zaca Creek.

- L. Tummyalatset confirmed that Zaca lake has "no bottom" (December's Child, 248).

Production Center The phrase used in this text for the economic facilities built to supply the invading Spanish military and collaborating civilians.

Terms: Spanish historians cloaked the primary military purpose of the production centers by calling them *Missions*, elevating them as if their primary purpose was religious.

- *Jonjonata* and its allied towns were 'reduced' by the Spanish and Mexican military for the purpose of supplying labor at the nearby *Alajulapu* production center. The colonials called this center *Santa Inez*. The nearby Kahismuwas towns were reduced to supply labor for the *Sacupi* (later *Amuwu*) center. The colonials called this center *Purissima*.

Quati A Chumash site located north of (New) *Jonjonata*.

Terms: also *Quate*, *Quatal*, *Quato*; and *Cuate* (Gudde), *Cuati*. The meaning of *Quati* is undetermined, but it may be a variant of Yaqui, referring to A. Paljalchet who apparently was the labor boss at *Quati* and received the *Zaca* land grant as a reward for helping the *Alajulapu* cattle production program.

- *Quati* became a cattle ranch, associated with the Santa Ines mission. When the Mexican government seized the lands associated with this area of *Zaca Creek*, they gave it to a colonial man and named the related 13,322 acre land grant *Corral de Quati*. The *Quati* ranch house was located on *Zaca Creek*, next to the *Zaca* oil field (See *Zaca Oil Field*).

- The *Jonjonata* archaeological site, located at the junction of highway 101 & 154, lies on the southern border of the *Quati* land grant.

Saca See Zaca.

Samala The self-name for the Chumash people who lived in the vicinity of the Santa Inez mission (located in the contemporary town of Solvang). See Alajulapu Production Center for related discussion of the Santa Ines 'mission'.

Terms: *Shamala* is a variant of *Samala*, thus the term *Shamalan* meaning 'to speak the *Shamala* (Ineseno) language'; also *Tsmala*. Compare Kahismuwas.

Discussion of terms: The author uses this name for the Santa Ynez river and the associated river valley and for the nearby mountains to the north which are now part of the Los Padres National Forest.

San Carlos The Mexican name assigned to the town of *Jonjonata*.

- When the Mexicans seized the lands of (New) *Jonjonata*, they called the 26,634 acre land grant *San Carlos de Jonata*. The town of Buellton lies within this land grant.

Santa Barbara Circle A nickname used by some Chumash

Traditionalists, referring to a group of academics with whom they have a long-standing and disputatious relationship.

- Many of these academics have been associated with the University of California, especially the Santa Barbara campus. Chumash critics have charged that members of this group served as an 'old-boy network' protecting professional privilege rather than fostering the interests of the majority of contemporary Chumash. Members have been admonished for maintaining self-serving ties to a small number of Chumash families, those closely affiliated with state and federal park services, the regional museums, the Catholic missions, and the Santa Ynez reservation.

- The Chumash association called the Coastal Band was especially vocal in criticizing these academics from the 1970's through the 1980's. They include influential faculty from archaeology and anthropology departments, plus staff at the Marine Science Institute [at the University of Santa Barbara], the Santa Barbara Museum, and many closely tied regional programs run by the state and federal governments.

Santa Barbara Museum See Santa Barbara Circle.

Santa Inez Mission See Alajulapu, Samala.

Santa Ynez Indian Reservation This tiny Indian reservation is the only Chumash homeland formally recognized by the federal government. It is located a few miles east of the Santa Ines Mission. See Samala for further discussion.

Santa Ynez Valley See Samala.

Solvang See Zulapu.

Soxtonoxmu A Chumash town, located near *Jonjonata* but clearly a distinct community.

Terms: also Saw'taw'nahch'mo, Saw'taw'noch'mo, *Sohtonokmu* (Merriam). Also *Suk-t-na-ka-mu* (Henshaw).

- Hudson located the town of *Soxtonoxmu* on the north side of Alamo Pintada creek, at or near the junction of Birabent creek and the creek flowing south from the mountains near Zaca Lake.

- *Soxtonoxmu* was the largest town in the area of *Jonjonata*. Thus to reconstruct the history of *Jonjonata*, one would have to take into account the drama of the *Soxtonoxmu* struggles to preserve its independence from the Santa Inez mission.

Tecuya A militantly anti-colonial band of coastal Chumash refugees, which lived on *Tecuya* creek, a side canyon located immediately west of the modern Tejon pass, which was called *Uvas* or 'grapevine' by the Spanish (Anderson, *Tejon Chumash*, 42).

Terms: Merriam lists *Tocia* as a Tejon area tribe (Handbook of American Indians). *Tocia* is a variant of *Tecuya*. The canyon immediately east of *Tecuya* creek was called *Moowaykuk* (*Uvas*).

- At first, Chumash families fleeing colonial repression in the lower Santa Ynez (*Samala*) river valley (the area of *Jonjonata*) took refuge in the relatively remote mountains north of the Cuyama river valley. Here, they lived for decades in easy contact with their relatives in the Santa Ynez valley, yet free of harassment. Eventually they were forced eastward, by labor (runaway) raids organized by Mexican ranchers and the five Catholic missions controlling coastal Chumashia.

- By the time of the Tejon Treaty of 1851, the *Tecuya* families had suffered so many deaths from plagues and warfare against the

colonials that they were described as a remnant population.

Supernatural Zaca lake, and perhaps the associated creek flowing past *Jonjonata*, was a significant supernatural site in Chumash lore.

Terms: 'Alulkuw means 'to be supernatural' (Samala, 388, also means 'to be otherwordly; the root *Ulkuw* means 'night').

- The bottom of Zaca lake was a portal into the supernatural, associated with drowning and the inability of drowned souls to walk the path of the dead and become reincarnated.

Tejon A Spanish name used in the early invasion era for the strategic Kitanemuk trading town called *Hunamatser*.

Terms: *Tejon* means 'badger' in Spanish.

'A'lus'es means 'a badger' in Samala(49, literally means 'one who digs a lot'; the root is *Us'e* meaning 'to dig'). 'A'lalush'esh means 'a badger'(Tsmuwich, 36; the root *Ush'e* means 'to dig').

'Apuls also means 'badger' in Samala (59; means 'the digger'; root term in *Pul* meaning 'to dig').

Discussion of terms: In time, the *Tejon* nomenclature began to be used for a larger native alliance of Mountain Chumash, Kitanemuk, and neighboring Yokuts. This alliance was anti-colonial and resisted the Spanish and Mexican armies until signing the Tejon treaty of 1851.

Thunder Zaca lake is associated in Chumash lore with Thunder.

Terms: 'Asqsk'aps means 'thunder' (Samala, 80, literally means 'to make a clapping noise as in the phrase 'thunder clap'; the root *Sqk'ap'* means 'to clap').

- Zaca lake drains south through the Zaca creek which flows past *Jonjonata*. It is undetermined whether the section of this creek near *Jonjonata* was also associated with thunder lore.

Tumyalatset, Lucia A Tsmuwich mythologist and linguist, born in 1877.

Names: *Tumyalatset* is her native name. She used the colonial name *Lucrecia Garcia*.

- She was the daughter of L. Nutu and Xuse (Jose) Tumyalatset.
- *Lucrecia* used John Harrington as a consultant in her efforts to preserve the Tsmuwich language and traditional folk tales. Her narrative called "Thunder Makes Zaca Lake" (December's Child, 248) is important for its citation of a water monster on this lake and the lake's infinite depth.

University of California: Santa Barbara See [Santa Barbara Circle](#).

Ynez See [Zulapu valley](#). Compare [Santa Inez Mission](#).

Zaca The name used in this text for the Samala community in the mountains upstream from *Jonjonata*. The Chumash town of Zaca was located on Zaca Creek, a short distance below Zaca Lake in the area of the canyon which became the Zaca land grant.

Terms: 'As'aka (Samala, 78, means 'in the bed'; root term is 'Aka meaning 'bed', 32).

Discussion of terms: Merriam lists this town as *Saca* and assumed it is the same town site (*Rancheria*) as *Sajcaya*, *Sacaiya*, *Sajcaia*, *Saccaya* (names he also listed under *Sah-ha*. He identified it vaguely with a town located "near Santa Barbara Mission" citing Taylor). Also see [Zaca: Lake](#).

Zaca: Creek The (New) *Jonjonata* town site is located on Zaca

Creek, and the hypothetical (Old) *Jonjonata* town site could also be in this drainage.

- It is not determined whether the water monster in Zaca lake also inhabited the creek and therefore impacted *Jonjonata*.

- The creek stops where it joins with the Santa Ynez river, just a half mile south of Buellton.

Zaca: Vineyards See Chumash Vineyards: Western Coast.

Zaca: Lake A small mountain lake which feeds the watercourse of Zaca Creek. Zaca Ridge and Zaca Peak are immediately to the south.

Terms: Harrington concluded that Zaca is based on the Chumash term *As'aka* which means 'in the bed' (cited in Samala dictionary as 'in the bed'; same meaning in Kahismuwas with the root 'Aka meaning 'bed', 78). The name probably has the connotation of 'containing something' as in the lake bed of Zaca Lake.

Akayish means 'bed' in Tsmuwich (1); in the Samala term *Akay-us*, meaning 'to make a bed'. *Akayish* probably has the same root as *Ax'ukuy* meaning 'to contain' (6), with the connotation of a bed being a place of containment.

Zaca: Land Grant When the Mexicans seized the rich Chumash cattle grazing lands three miles downstream from Zaca Lake, they named the small 4,458 acre land title *La Zaca* after the town of Zaca (*Saca*) which was located there.

- Mexican authorities gave the town's lands to the Yaqui cattle foreman named Antonino Pajalchet, who worked for the Santa Inez Mission. The title was awarded by Governor Alvarado in 1838. See Quati for a nearby land grant also on Zaca Creek.

Zaca: Oil Field A major Samala Chumash oil field, which is located just three miles upstream from the highway 101 & 154 *Jonjonata* archaeological site.

- This field lies mostly in the Quati land grant and partially in the Laguna land grant to the northwest. The Gato Ridge and Cat Canyon oil fields are western extensions of the Zaca field.

Zaca: Peak The contemporary American name for the mountain peak located immediately south of Zaca Lake.

Zaca: Railroad Station. Merriam located (New) *Jonjonata* "near present Zaca station" on the railroad about three miles west or northwest of Los Olives.

Zaca: Ranch The Chumash town of Zaca became a ranch, where many colonial cattle were grazed for the Santa Inez mission. See Zaca Land Grant for further discussion.

- As an official subsidiary of the mission, Zaca Ranch was listed in mission records as a "Christian" community. But traditionalist families at Zaca maintained close ties to the Traditionalist stronghold of nearby *Soxtonoxmu*. Traditionalists from both communities probably continued to use remote mountain shrines in Hurricane Deck and Sunset Valley, into the Mexican and early American periods.

Zaca Vineyards See Chumash Vineyards: Western Coast.

Zaca: Winery See Chumash Vineyards: Western Coast.

Zulapu Production Center See Alajulapu Production Center.



Other Books by the Author

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