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## **Ethnographic Overview of the Los Padres National Forest**

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**Prepared for  
U.S. Department of Agriculture  
Southern California Province  
Angeles National Forest  
Arcadia, CA 91006**

**By  
Northwest Economic Associates  
12009 N.E. 99<sup>th</sup> Street, Suite 1410  
Vancouver, WA 98682-2497  
Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat  
Archaeological Consulting, Inc.  
Salinas, CA  
Chester King  
Topanga Anthropological Consultants  
Topanga, CA  
and  
Randall Milliken  
Davis, CA**

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# Chapter 1 - Introduction

This ethnographic overview has been prepared at the request of the Los Padres National Forest (LPNF) to assist it in meeting its land use management responsibilities. It documents the life ways of the indigenous people of the LPNF and its environs at Spanish-contact in 1770, the experiences of their descendants throughout the historic period, and the issues of concern to their modern descendants. The report has been prepared for the Forest Service by a team led by Northwest Economic Associates (NEA) under contract number 53-91Ur-2-1B104. It is the first ethnographic overview to be produced for the LPNF.

The ethnographic, historic, and contemporary information in this document provides a context for interpreting the meaning of late prehistoric and contact period archaeological resources of the forest and for identifying traditional cultural properties that may lack a physical archaeological signature. It also illuminates on-going questions, not answered by the ethnographic or historical record, which can be addressed by future studies of archaeological resources on the ground. Thus, the information reported herein will be used by the LPNF in major planning documents, including future Forest Land Management Plan revisions, and in the process of evaluating specific archaeological sites for possible inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

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## Background

The Los Padres Forest covers a large area in central and southern California (see Map 1), and is composed of two disconnected pieces of land. The northern portion of the forest is south of the city of Monterey and includes parts of the California coast, and parts of the Santa Lucia mountain range. This portion comprises the Monterey Ranger District. The southern portion is inland, just north of the city of Santa Barbara, including some of the Sierra Madre Mountains, and running from the Los Angeles County line to the city of San Luis Obispo in the north. The southern portion includes the Santa Lucia, Ojai, and Mt. Pinos, and Santa Barbara Ranger Districts.



The indigenous people living in the area that is now part of the forest were from at least three known linguistic groupings. The three groups are the Esselen in the North, the Salinan, including the southern portion of the Monterrey District and the Northern portion of the Santa Lucia Ranger District, and the Chumash and a small area attributed to the Tataviam people in the South. (The majority of Tataviam territory is on the Angeles National Forest and consequently this ethnographic group is discussed more thoroughly in that forest's ethnography.) Because the three groups are each unique, three experts have been retained by NEA to develop the ethnographic overview for the forest. Gary Breschini and Trudy Haversat have written Chapter 3, the Ethnography of the Esselen. Randall Milliken has developed the ethnography for the Salinan people, presented in Chapter 4, and Chester King has written about the Chumash, presented in Chapter 5. NEA staff led the effort to interview representatives from the present day descendents of these indigenous Native American groups, and the results are presented in Chapter 6.

Each of the authors is an expert on the linguistic group about which they write, and each has built upon their own extensive existing body of knowledge and research. Although the authors likely did not strictly adhere to this guideline, it should be remembered that the purpose of this document was not to conduct research anew, and not to prepare an in depth report on the ethnography of the area, but rather to produce an overview of the topic, and adequately describe the current status of ethnographic knowledge. To this end, Breschini and Haversat have produced a detailed discussion of what is known of the history and way of life of the Esselen people in Chapter 3. The authors cover the history, language, population, world view, culture, archeology, and prehistory of the Esselen, punctuating their discussion with over 40 photographs, maps, and figures. Milliken reviews the Salinan history, archaeology, language, worldview, etc. with particular attention to the contextual relevance of the information to the LPNF and forest management and planning activities. Milliken focuses on the locations in the forest as they relate to three tribelet groupings, and has created a map of the general boundaries of the three groups.

King has taken a two-part approach, beginning with an overview of the Chumash people that covers the population, culture, world views, and other features of Chumash life. King then focuses on the ethnogeography of the settlements that are adjacent to, or within the LPNF, and the study is organized around the locations of the settlements by Forest Service Ranger District. The analysis includes detailed maps of settlements and mission recruitment areas.

As an introduction to the common history of the Chumash, Salinan, and Esselen, Randall Milliken has written an overview of the topic in Chapter 2. This chapter covers three important historic themes that influenced the lives and cultures of people from the three groups: the period of missionization, the epidemics that devastated the Native American populations, and the influx of non Native population resulting from the California gold rush. More importantly, this section places the work of key linguists and ethnographers, the source of much of the ethnographic information, within this historical context. This historic context provides a framework for understanding the kind and extent of ethnographic information that

we have today. The historical review continues through the 20<sup>th</sup> century and concludes with a discussion of the current efforts of many tribes to gain federal recognition.

Members of the NEA staff conducted an outreach effort with the Native Americans who are currently users of the forest, and/or are descended from the Native Americans who used the forest in the past. The results of the outreach are reported in Chapter 6. The purpose of the outreach effort was to document modern Native American places of importance, uses of the forest, and issues and areas of concern with forest management. This section includes some recommendations for further research.

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## Geographic Information Systems

NEA staff worked with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) data provided by the Forest Service to facilitate the analysis conducted by Drs. King, Milliken, and Breschini, and Ms. Haversat. Much of the ethnographic information developed for this document is unfortunately not available in sufficient level of detail to be considered sensitive, so most of the ethnographic maps associated with this document are presented within this document and not retained as separate GIS coverages or exhibits. A few detailed topographic quadrangles were developed for Chapter 3, and these coverages and exhibits are submitted separately to protect the confidential location of the sites. Also, through interviews with tribal representatives and USFS personnel, locations of current Native American places of importance have been mapped within the GIS system, and are separately submitted to protect the locations of these areas.

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## Clarification

Throughout the process of developing this report, several questions were asked frequently and merited a point of clarification. These questions and clarifications are shown below:

*How does the Ethnographic Overview differ from the Forest Archaeology?*

- Archaeology is the study of the material remains of past human life.
- Ethnographers use archaeological evidence; as well as other types of evidence to say something about the way people lived.
- Some of the archaeological documentation for the forests will also be of ethnographic significance; but cultural places of importance may also have ethnographic significance without having any physical artifacts.

*How does the Ethnographic Overview fit into the Forest Plan Revision?*

- Both documents should include information and opinions from Native American communities about issues and concerns regarding forest management.
- Because both documents are being prepared at roughly the same time, information gathered for one purpose may be useful in the other.

*How does the Ethnographic Overview differ from the Forest Plan Revision?*

- The Forest Plan Revision is a process to update the management plan that allows for multiple uses of the forests. The USFS seeks input from all forest user groups including, but not limited to, tribes.
- Ethnographic Overview is a USFS document that has been commissioned to specifically report past and present Indian meaning and uses of the forest.

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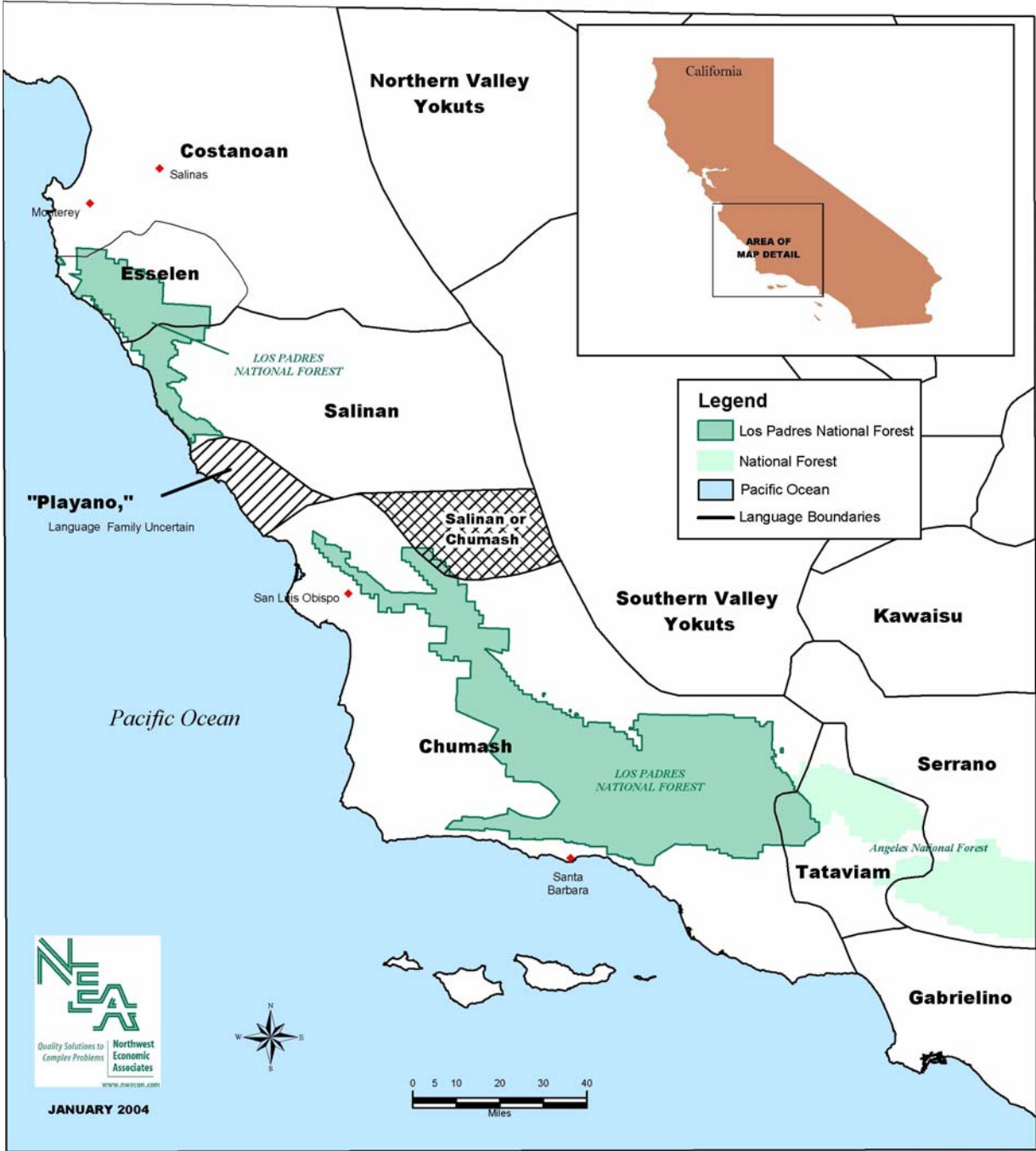
## **Notes and Citations**

In order to identify sources of information cited in the text we have included in text references. For example, a particular piece of information may be followed by a citation in the form of “Culleton (1950:205).” In this case, the work cited was written by Culleton, published in 1950, and the information is found on page 205. The reference section lists all authors cited in alphabetical order, and the individual works of each by publication date.

Archaeological sites and other cultural resources which have been formally recorded with the Regional Information Center of the California Archeological Inventory are referenced by trinomial designations. The trinomials take the form “CA-MNT-1601,” where the first two letters designate the state and the next three the county. The numbers are sequential within each county and represent the order in which the site was recorded.

The suffix “H” indicates that the resource is historic in origin, while the suffix “/H” indicates that both historical and prehistoric components are present. This designation may be used when a historic resource such as an adobe or homestead has been located on a prehistoric site.

# Map 1 Los Padres National Forest with Ethnic Language Boundaries



## **Chapter 2 – Native American History – *by Randall Milliken***

This chapter describes the historic processes that changed the Chumash, Salinan, and Esselen peoples from owners of their own lands in the year 1769 to small ethnic groups within a population of over 30 million people in California in the year 2004. It places the work of key field linguists and ethnographers within this historic context, and thus provides a framework for evaluating the uneven information regarding pre-European lifeways available today. Also, it illustrates why most descendants of the early tribes of the region are not members of federally-recognized Indian tribes.

Three key processes shaped the history of the Chumash, Salinan, and Esselen peoples since the Spanish invasion of California:

First, the Spanish missionization process dramatically changed their cultures during the Mission Period, between 1770 and 1816.

Second, epidemics caused by a series of new diseases brought by the Spaniards and other world travelers caused a dramatic reduction of their populations during the same 1770-1816 period.

Third, just as their populations and cultures were beginning to stabilize during the Mexican Rancho Period, they were completely marginalized by the rapid influx of a North American population in the 1849-1860 period.

Although many Indian-inspired and Indian-led movements for social justice have occurred since the early American period, Indian groups have only a voice in National Forest planning in California since the enactment of the National Environmental Policy Act and the National Historic Preservation Act in the 1970s.

The information in this chapter provides a brief overview of Indian history in the LPNF vicinity. Some of its elements are developed in further detail in King's chapter regarding the

Chumash of the Ojai, Mount Pinos, Santa Barbara, and Santa Lucia Ranger Districts, in Milliken's chapter on the Salinan of the southern Monterey Ranger District, and in Breschini and Haversat's chapter on the Esselen of the northern portion of the Monterey Ranger District.

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## **First Contacts, 1542 – 1769**

### **Contacts with Sailing Vessels, 1542-1603**

The first native groups of western California to meet Europeans were the Chumash speakers of the Channel Islands, some 35 miles south of the Santa Barbara District of the LPNF. They were visited by a Spanish exploratory ship under Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo in 1542. Neither that visit nor the 1602-3 Viscaino naval landings among the Island Chumash and the Costanoan-speaking neighbors of the Esselen on Monterey Bay had any lasting effect upon the local cultures of the California coast. There were no recorded visits to the California coast by Europeans between 1603 and 1769. A currently popular hypothesis, proposed by William Preston (1996), that infers the California population collapsed during this time as a result of continental-wide disease pandemics is yet unsubstantiated; it is one side in a major debate within the historical demography community (cf. Snow and Lamphear 1988).

### **Land Expeditions of 1769-1770**

Spanish missionaries and military personnel arrived in coastal California in 1769 under the leadership of Father Junipero Serra and Gaspar de Portola. The first exploratory land expedition north from San Diego, under Portola, reached a Chumash-speaking village in the present Fillmore vicinity of the Santa Clara River Valley, just south of the Ojai District of the LPNF, on August 11, 1769 (Crespi in Brown 2001:373). The party reached the Pacific Ocean in the present Ventura area, and then continued along ocean table lands below the Santa Barbara Ranger District from August 17 through 24. They passed one large Chumash village after another; villages of people whose hinterlands were in the present LPNF (see Brown 1967).

Rounding Point Concepcion, the Portola party reached the present San Luis Obispo region, just west of the Santa Lucia Ranger District, on September 7. At this time they had entered the lands of Northern Chumash speakers. At Morro Bay, or just to the north in the Estero Point vicinity, they entered the lands of the Playano, whose language is currently in doubt. The explorers entered the Monterey Ranger District on September 17, 1769, in the rugged lands of the San Carpoforo Creek watershed. Crossing the crest of the Santa Lucia, they encountered six mobile bands of Salinan-speaking people harvesting pine nuts together just to

the east of the Monterey Ranger District. By September 28 they were in the Salinas River Valley, crossing lands of Esselen speakers north of King City. On the 29<sup>th</sup> they passed into Ohlone-Costanoan territory, still in valleys to the east of the Monterey Ranger District.

The Portola party continued north to discover San Francisco Bay in November of 1769. They then returned south along the path just described, arriving in San Diego on February 11, 1770. A second northward Spanish land expedition passed through the area in April and May, 1770, on its way to found the Monterey Presidio (military garrison) and Mission San Carlos Borromeo (alias Carmel), the first European settlements adjacent to the LPNF. The missions were to become the focal points of culture change for the native Californians, places to which they migrated from their home villages to place themselves under the direction of a new set of chiefs, the Franciscan missionaries from Spain.

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## **The Path toward Hispanic Vassalage, 1770-1846**

### **The Spanish Mission Period, 1770-1821**

In 1770 it was the goal of the Spanish government to transform the Indian people of the lands it claimed into agricultural vassals within its vast empire. Tribal people whose lands included portions of the LPNF migrated to ten different Spanish missions between 1775 and 1812 (Table 1). Although Mission Carmel was the first mission established near the eventual LPNF, it was not the first mission to accept people who were actually using LPNF lands. That distinction belongs to Mission San Antonio de Padua, which first baptized people from the tribal regions of Lamaca and Lima, partially within the present Monterey Ranger District, in 1771. Salinan speakers from the Monterey Ranger District environs, continued to be baptized at Mission San Antonio through 1786. By the year 1791, all but a few resisters among the Salinan of the southern Monterey District had joined Mission San Antonio; a few individuals continued to be baptized up to the year 1806.

It was not until 1775 that the first Esselen speaker from the present northern portion of the Monterey Ranger District was baptized at Mission Carmel. No large groups of Esselen-speakers appeared at Mission Carmel until 1783; in the 1770s most of the converts at that mission were Ohlone-Costanoan speakers from the lower Carmel Valley. Esselen speakers left their mountain homes to move to Mission Carmel through the year 1808.

**Table 1 – Franciscan Mission Recruitment from LPNF Vicinities**

Franciscan Missions adjacent to the LPNF	Founding Date	Languages of Groups from LPNF Districts	Pertinent Ranger Districts	Time of Migration
San Carlos Borroeo (Carmel)	1770	Esselen	Monterey District	1775-1808
San Antonio de Padua	1771	Salinan	Monterey District	1771-1806
San Luis Obispo de Tolosa	1772	Chumash	Santa Lucia District	1773-1806
San Buenaventura	1782	Chumash Chumash	Ojai District Mt. Pinos District	1782-1804 1801-1808
Santa Barbara	1786	Chumash Chumash	Santa Barbara District Mt. Pinos District	1786-1804 1801-1808
La Purisima Concepcion	1789	Chumash Chumash	Santa Barbara District Santa Lucia District	1793-1800 1801-1804
Nuestra Señora de la Soledad	1791	Esselen	Monterey District	1775-1806
San Miguel Arcangel	1797	Salinan (perhaps) <sup>1</sup>	Santa Lucia District	1801-1804
San Fernando Rey de España	1797	Tatavium <sup>2</sup>	Ojai District	1801-1812
Santa Ines	1804	Chumash	Santa Lucia District	1804-1812

Note: <sup>1</sup> Chester King, writing in this volume, considers all of the groups adjacent to the Santa Lucia District to have been Chumash speakers. However, Milliken and Johnson (2003) suggest that Salinan-speakers utilized that part of Salinas River drainage that includes the east side of Black Mountain in the northeast portion of the Santa Lucia Ranger District; <sup>2</sup> Tatavium-speaking people lived along Piru Creek in a small portion of the Ojai Ranger District that is currently managed by the Angeles National Forest. They are documented by C. King in the most recent ethnographic overview for the Angeles National Forest.

The first Chumash people to join a mission were baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo in 1771. They were Northern Chumash from villages directly adjacent to the mission. The first Chumash people from villages that directly utilized lands further east, now in the northwest portion of the Santa Lucia District, were baptized at the same mission in 1773. No mission was founded adjacent to the large Chumash villages of the Santa Barbara Channel until 1782, when Mission San Buenaventura was established. It was soon absorbing people from villages to the north and northeast that had utilized the lands of the present Ojai Ranger District.

Mission Santa Barbara was founded in 1786, four years after Mission San Buenaventura and 16 years after Mission Carmel. It immediately began baptizing nearby coastal Chumash people, people who harvested resources and maintained religious sites in the uplands of the present southern portion of the Santa Barbara Ranger District (Table 1). When Mission La



Purísima Concepción was founded in 1789, Chumash people began moving there from the Gaviota area, the western Cuyama Valley, and Santa Maria River watershed

Mission Soledad was founded in Esselen territory east of the Monterey Ranger District in 1791. It had a ready-made founding population of Esselen-speaking neophytes (new Christians) who had been baptized at missions Carmel and San Antonio during the 1780s. The remaining Esselen-speakers of the rugged northern portion of the Monterey Ranger District moved to missions Carmel and Soledad through the year 1808, at which time Mission Carmel ceased to take in new tribal people and Mission Soledad turned its attention to the people of the inner Coast Ranges to the east.

By the year 1800, most of the coastal Chumash villagers near the present LPNF were at missions San Buenaventura, Santa Barbara, or La Purísima. Inland Chumash people from villages on and near LPNF lands began appearing at those three missions, as well as Mission San Luis Obispo, in the 1790s. The last large groups of Chumash villagers from locations south of the Carrizo Plain were baptized in 1803. Mission Santa Inez, founded in 1804, joined Mission La Purísima in bringing in the last Chumash villagers from the environs of the Santa Lucia Ranger District and Santa Barbara Ranger District. Cohesive tribal life was a thing of the past in the South Coast Ranges and most of the Transverse Ranges by the end of 1808, although remnant villages continued to exist in the mountains north and east of the Mt. Pinos District through 1816.

At the missions, the Native Americans were taught an agrarian lifestyle and Christian ceremonial practices. The mission communes had many attributes of forced labor camps; work life was organized by the missionaries, and people were punished by agents of the missionaries for behaviors that would not have been punished in tribal society (Cook 1976b). Waves of new diseases, brought by Spaniards who were part of a world-wide trading network, killed Indian people living under crowded mission conditions in large numbers (Cook 1976a). Despite the bad conditions, tribal people moved to the missions from greater and greater distances over the decades. The great majority of them were not forced into baptism under direct threat of violence by Spanish soldiers. Instead, they joined the missions when they came to believe that the victory of Spanish material and spiritual power was inevitable. Individuals and groups who changed their minds, who returned to their old practices, were hunted down and forced back to the missions by Spanish soldiers (Johnson 1989; Milliken 1995).

## **The Mexican Mission and Rancho Periods, 1821-1846**

A conservative Mexican government achieved independence from Spain in 1821. Upper California and its military government learned that it was a territory of Mexico in 1822. There was little initial change in daily life. The leader of the Mexican state, Agustín de Iturbide, was driven from power in March 1823, months after declaring himself Emperor of

Mexico. In 1824 the elected Mexican Congress declared itself a republic, modeling its constitution after that of the United States.

The greatest act of Indian resistance to Hispanic rule in the vicinity of the LPNF occurred in 1824, when Chumash and Tataviam people from missions La Purisima, Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara, and San Fernando revolted against their overseers. The reason for the revolt was ill treatment and forced labor imposed by the soldiers and priests upon neophytes in the area, but the immediate cause was a fight that broke out at the flogging of a La Purisima neophyte at Santa Ynez in February. Mission Indian men partially destroyed Mission Santa Ynez and completely took over Mission La Purisima. Others drove the Santa Barbara Presidio soldiers into their barracks and partially wrecked Mission Santa Barbara before retreating into the interior lands. Mexican troops recaptured Mission La Purisima on March 16 after a lengthy battle. Most of the rebels fled to mission ranch at San Emigdio, just north of the Mount Pinos Ranger District, and to the Yokuts-speaking villages further north on Buenavista Lake, where they negotiated a truce with Mexican soldiers at the end of May, 1824. Criminal prosecutions resulted in the execution of seven leaders of the takeover of Mission La Purisima. Some others served time in prison (see Castillo in Heizer 1978:103-104).

During the late 1820s and early 1830s, moves were afoot in the Mexican Congress to close the California missions and, ostensibly, to return mission lands to the Mission Indians. The Law of Secularization was passed in Mexico City in August of 1833. California's governor, Jose Figueroa, learned of the new law in the spring of 1834. Figueroa's *Reglamento* (Regulation), outlining steps for closing the missions, was passed by the California territorial legislature in August of 1834. By the end of 1834 most missions were in the hands of appointed government administrators and the powers of the missionaries were limited to religious affairs.

The Rancho Period developed between 1834 and 1845, as a succession of California governors granted mission ranch lands to retired Mexican military officers, other Hispanics who were well connected with the government, as well as to a few North American and English immigrants who married into Hispanic families. Large blocks of prime ranch lands in the valleys all around the LPNF came into the hands of the Mexican rancheros. Examples include: Santa Ana and Ojai ranchos just south of the Ojai Ranger District; Los Dos Pueblos and San Marcos ranchos adjacent to the Santa Barbara Ranger District; Cuyama, Sisquoc, and Santa Margarita ranchos near the Santa Lucia Ranger District; and Las Milpitas, El Sur, and Los Tularcitos ranchos along the boundaries of the Monterey Ranger District.

Only a small number of Mission Indians received tiny parcels here and there, despite the fact that the Secularization Act of 1833 called for the Mission Indians to receive one half of each mission's property (Geary 1934). Two Chumash Indians received large ranches (Rancho Saca and Rancho Alamo Pintado), both in the vicinity of Mission Santa Ynez (McLendon and Johnson 1999:33). It can be argued that half the large ranchos would have been in the

hands of Mission Indians soon after 1836, had the Indians been well and fairly represented before the Mexican government.

The 1834 Mission Indian population was less than 15 percent of the estimated population in the same lands when the Portola party had come up the California coast 65 years earlier. Epidemic diseases had taken their toll, most dramatically among the infant population. Nearly two-thirds of all children at the missions died in the first five years of life (Cook 1976b). Despite the catastrophic population decline, each mission had a core local Indian population at the end of 1834. Some of them either derived from, or were descended from, villages on or adjacent to the LPNF.

The 1834 Mission Carmel population was 188, of which approximately one-third were Esselen descendants from lands within and near the Monterey Ranger District.

The 1834 Mission San Antonio population was 557, almost all Salinan, but only a small portion from lands in the present Monterey Ranger District.

Perhaps one quarter of the 1834 populations of Missions San Luis Obispo (253 people) and La Purisima (about 400 people) were descended from tribal villages that had once utilized Santa Lucia District lands.

As much as one third of the 1834 Mission Santa Barbara population (556 people) was descended from villages that had utilized Santa Barbara and Santa Lucia District lands.

Perhaps one fifth of the 626 people at Mission San Buenaventura in 1834 derived from villages in the Ojai or Mt. Pinos Ranger districts.

During the Rancho Period, from 1834 to 1846, some of the emancipated Mission Indian people remained in small communities adjacent to their mission and did seasonal work on surrounding ranchos. Others moved onto the ranchos to work as year-round laborers. Still others became house servants in Santa Barbara and Monterey. Of interest, a few score Yokuts-speaking people from the east shore of Tulare Lake were baptized at missions San Luis Obispo and La Purisima in 1835, after secularization. Many of them stayed in the vicinities of these missions and intermarried with the local Chumash people.

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## **Marginalization in North American Society, 1847-1924**

### **U.S. Rule, Gold Rush, and Land Loss, 1847-1872**

The U.S. military invaded California in June of 1846, at the outset of the Mexican-American War. The U.S. took formal possession of the state in 1848, under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico. During the tenure of U.S. military government, from 1846 to 1849, Mission Indians continued to work in towns and on ranches, just as they had during the Mexican Rancho Period. However the Gold Rush of 1849 brought a huge influx of North Americans, many of them virulently biased against Native Americans, into California. During the 1850s, genocidal campaigns by some of the newcomers were being carried out against Indians in northern California and the Sierra Nevada region (Secret 2003).

Mission Indians, including the Indians in the vicinity of the LPNF, were better protected during the 1850s than were the tribal people to the north and east, by their association with Hispanic citizens. That is to say, they were not subjected to direct hunting expeditions. But they had no rights as citizens, and were not even allowed to testify in courts of law in California until 1872.

Under American rule, the few Indians who had Mexican land grants or allotments soon lost them. The conditions for those who had found shelter and employment on the large Coast Range ranches also worsened, as one Hispanic family after another lost its rancho to a North American family who did not want to employ Indian people (see McLendon and Johnson 1999:155 regarding the tragedy of the Cieneguita community at Santa Barbara).

Some inland Chumash people from the LPNF vicinity moved onto the first federal reservation in southern California, the Sebastian Reservation established at Tejon in 1853, but that reservation was terminated in 1864. Most continued to work in the homes of Hispanic families or gathered in small communities on the margins of the new North American civilization.

### **Surviving Communities and Land Allotments**

By the 1880s, reservations had been established for Indians in some parts of California, but none existed for the “Hispanized” Mission Indians of the LPNF vicinity. Small groups of mixed Esselen-Costanoan descendants were gathered on land tracts in the Carmel Valley north of the Monterey Ranger District. A group of Salinan descendants lived on and near the present Monterey Ranger District in the upper San Antonio River watershed. Chumash people who were descended from southern LPNF vicinity villagers were living at Zanja de Cota village near Santa Inez, at La Cieneguita near Santa Barbara, at the Indian settlement at

Ventura, at a Piru Creek settlement near Camulos, as well as at Tejon (McLendon and Johnson 1999: vii).

As the western portion of the United States became more settled, and gentrified, members of the upper and middle classes began to show concern for the poor situation of non-reservation California Indians. This concern was stimulated by publication of Helen Hunt Jackson's book *Century of Dishonor* (1881). One result was the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act), passed by Congress in 1887. It directed studies to consider assignment of private tracts to Indian families within communal Indian reservations across the United States. It also allowed non-reservation Indian people to claim unoccupied 160 acre parcels of government land, and to own such parcels if they could continue to be self-sufficient for 25 years. Some Mission Indian descendants claimed allotments on and near the LPNF in the late 1880s and 1890s.. Unfortunately, most of the parcels available by 1887 were on marginal lands. Indian people were often forced to sell their lands or to abandon them because they were unable to eke out a living on them.

Increasing concern for the Indians' welfare and the desire to assimilate Indians led, in the 1880s, to the development of boarding schools for Indians that attempted to teach them Eurocentric skills and values. School attendance, usually at the distant boarding schools, became compulsory for Indian children in 1891. Few California Mission Indian children attended the boarding schools, because they were Catholics and the boarding schools were run by Protestant denominations.

In 1891 Congress took another turn in its Indian policy for California. It passed the Mission Indians of California Relief Act on January 12, 1891, directing the commission "to select a reservation for each band or village of the Mission Indians residing within said State, which reservation shall include, as far as practicable, the lands and villages which have been in the actual occupation and possession of said Indians, and which shall be sufficient in extent to meet their just requirements." Under authority of the Act, the Santa Ynez Reservation, approximately 100 acres, was established on December 27, 1901 for the Chumash village near Santa Ynez in the Santa Ynez Valley. Santa Ynez Reservation was, and remains, the only federally-recognized reservation within the entire area neighboring the present LPNF.

## **Early Collectors of Ethnographic Information**

Beginning in the 1880s, a number of linguists and anthropologists worked among Indian people of Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Monterey counties. But ethnographic information was collected more casually from as early as 1775. In that year Pedro Fages wrote a report to the Spanish government entitled *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California* (Priestley 1937). Fages had been an officer on the first Portola expedition and subsequently the reigning military officer in Upper California. He described the people from the LPNF vicinity in three sections of the report, one for the people

from the Santa Barbara Channel north beyond Mission San Luis Obispo to the Cambria vicinity (some or all of whom were Chumash), one for the “mountaineers” around Mission San Antonio (Salinan), and one for the people in the vicinity of Mission Carmel (Ohlone-Costanoan and Esselen).

Thirty-seven years later, in 1814, the missionaries of each California mission wrote a *Respuesta* (Responses) to the ethnographic *Interrogatorio* (Questionnaire) sent out in 1812 from the Spanish Department of Overseas Colonies. The respuestas, containing answers to 36 questions, have been published in translation more than once (Geiger and Meighan 1976). Some of the answers provide valuable information about language distribution, political organization, and tribal world views; however, they are unsophisticated analyses and generally laced with deprecating remarks about tribal culture. In addition, important bits of ethnographic information can also be found in numerous diaries, letters, and reports from missionaries, travelers, and visitors during the Spanish and Mexican periods (Johnson 1988:6-7).

During the late 1850s, Alexander Taylor gathered information on traditional culture, old village locations, and tribal names for much of California. His information came from Indians he met, from non-Indian immigrants, and from the Franciscan mission records. Taylor (1860-1863) published a series of articles in the *California Farmer* newspaper; they contain information of variable quality about Esselen, Salinan, and Chumash ethnography and history.

The first professional ethnographers to visit the study area were Leon de Cessac and Alphonse Pinart. Sent to the area by a Paris museum in 1878, they collected linguistic information and obtained material culture items that were sent back to France. Soon afterward, in 1884, the newly founded Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution sent H.W. Henshaw to gather linguistic information in the region. He began along the Santa Barbara Channel, and then worked at Santa Ynez, San Luis Obispo, and Jolon. At Ventura, Henshaw worked with Juan Estevan Pico, a highly educated Chumash descendant, who later compiled his own manuscript on the Ventureño Chumash language. Pico also produced a detailed list of the Chumash names, Spanish names, and locations of all the early Mission era villages along the Santa Barbara Channel (McLendon and Johnson 1999: IV 1-8). Henshaw’s own field information provided the basis for the first map showing the Chumashan, Salinan, Esselen, and Costanoan language families, published in the Smithsonian Institution’s *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico* (Powell 1891: Plate 1).

Field ethnographer C. Hart Merriam ([1902-1934]) visited portions of the study area in 1902, 1905, 1911, 1930, 1932, and 1933. He gathered linguistic, ethnobotanic, and ethnogeographic information, some from Chumash people, but most from Salinan descendants in the area northwest of Mission San Antonio. He also took photographs of his informants which survive to this day. A.L. Kroeber was another occasional visitor to the

study area. Although he did very little direct field work in the South Coast Ranges, he strongly influenced the study of Chumash, Salinan, and Esselen ethnogeography through the maps in his early treatises on the linguistic distributions (Dixon and Kroeber 1903, 1913, 1919; Kroeber 1904, 1910) and in chapters in his 1925 *Handbook of Indians of California*, the latter based on his interpretation of the field work of others. Kroeber's student, J. Alden Mason (1912, 1918), gathered ethnographic and linguistic information from Salinan people in the Jolon vicinity near Mission San Antonio.

## **John Peabody Harrington and His Consultants**

J.P. Harrington collected the most significant body of linguistic and ethnographic data for the vicinity of the LPNF. The contents of his papers have been described by Elaine Mills (1985: Mills and Brickfield 1986); they are available at many university libraries on microfilm. Harrington first arrived in the region in June of 1912. In that month he made brief contact with Chumash people in Piru, Sespe, Ventura, Santa Barbara, Santa Ynez, and San Luis Obispo, and Migueleño Salinan speakers in San Luis Obispo. In 1913 Harrington carried out extensive linguistic field work with Luisa Ignacio (Barbareño Chumash) and Fernando Librado (Ventureño Chumash), and carried out initial studies with many others, including Rosario Cooper (Northern Chumash). Between 1914 and 1916 he continued work with the same people, as well as with Maria Solares of Santa Ynez (Purisimeño and Ineseño Chumash). Harrington worked with Inland Chumash, Kitanemuck, and Yokuts speakers at Fort Tejon in 1917 and 1918.

Harrington began working in the vicinity of the Monterey Ranger District in 1922. He met a number of Rumsen Ohlone-Costanoan speakers in Monterey in early January. Then, from late January through early April he worked intensively with Salinan speakers Dave Mora and Maria Jesusa Encinales near Mission San Antonio, also taking notes from some of their Salinan neighbors. He left in April to return to Santa Barbara, and did not return to the Mission San Antonio vicinity until 1930.

Harrington spent most of the mid-1920s outside of California. During the winter of 1927-1928, however, he worked in Santa Barbara with Lucrecia Garcia (Barbareño Chumash), a daughter of one of his 1916 consultants. He spent much of 1929 in Carmel and Gilroy working with Rumsen and Mutsun Ohlone-Costanoan speakers. In February of 1930 he returned to the Mission San Antonio vicinity to work with Dave Mora and Maria Jesusa Encinales, at which time he met Maria Jesusa's sister-in-law, Maria del los Angeles Encinales (néé Baylon). Maria de los Angeles, daughter of a consultant to H.W. Henshaw, became Harrington's most important Salinan consultant.

In the spring of 1930, Harrington returned to Washington D.C., bringing with him his Barbareño Chumash consultant, Lucrecia Garcia. They returned to California in January of 1931. By March of 1931, Harrington was back in the Mission San Antonio vicinity, where

he stayed for two months to conduct extensive interviews with María de los Angeles Baylon and Dave Mora, with some input from Tito Encinales, María Jesusa Encinales, and José Baylon, about linguistics and geography. The work included a field trip in and near the Monterey Ranger District. He returned to the area three times in 1932 to undertake field trips with some of his Salinan consultants. After October of 1932, it is believed, he never returned to the Mission San Antonio area.

Harrington spent much of his time from 1933 to 1939 working on the Rumsen Ohlone-Costanoan language with Isabelle Meadows of Monterey. Part of their work was carried out in Washington DC. During the 1940s and early 1950s Harrington worked in other areas. He retired to Santa Barbara in 1954. He died in 1961.

Harrington's materials provide the backbone for linguistic studies of Chumash, Salinan, and Rumsen Ohlone-Costanoan languages. (Harrington never met or interviewed a native Esselen speaker; he did work through Esselen word lists with some Rumsen speakers.) It is important to stress that his materials do not document ethnogeographic locations or land use patterns for the initial Spanish settlement period of the late 1700s. Only one of Harrington's informants, Aniceto Pahililiatset (Cruzeño Chumash), had been born in a tribal village before his parents had moved to the missions. The others had all been born and raised at the missions or after the missions had been secularized in 1834. Thus their richest cultural information pertains to the mid- and late-nineteenth century (see McLendon and Johnson 1999:35-39 for a discussion of this issue).

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## **Twentieth Century Social and Environmental Justice Issues**

### **Education and Voting Rights Activities up to 1924**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Indian groups in many parts of California organized to fight for legal rights and land reparations. Some of these cases were aided by a umbrella groups such as the Mission Indian Federation and the Indian Board of Cooperation, the latter led by a white protestant minister named Frederick G. Collet. One of the Board of Cooperation's first actions was to press for improved Indian access to education. Major educational improvements occurred between 1915 and 1919. Jack Forbes writes:

In 1915 only 316 Indian pupils were attending public school in California but by 1919 this number had increased to 2,199. In general, this was the result of a campaign carried out by Indians and the Indian Board of Cooperation and a new government policy of integrating Indians in public schools in areas such as California and Nevada where the native population was intermixed with white communities (Forbes 1969:73).



The Indian Board of Cooperation also aided a Lake County Pomo man, Ethan Anderson, in his court case to obtain the right to vote. Anderson won his case before the California Supreme Court in 1917, thereby essentially winning citizenship rights for all California Indians who did not live on reservations. Thus most Indian people in California first became U.S. citizens in 1917. (Full citizenship was not granted to all Native Americans across the United States by Congress until June of 1924.)

Also in 1917, a federal investigation was undertaken to document the condition of the mixed Chumash, Tataviam, Kitanemuk, and Yokuts Indian community at Tejon Canyon, adjacent to the east of the Mt. Pinos Ranger District. Shortly thereafter, the U.S. Attorney General brought a suit against the owner of the land, a title company, in an attempt to obtain permanent land rights for the Indians. The United States Supreme Court turned down the government's claim on behalf of the Tejon Indians in 1924 (McLendon and Johnson 1999:174).

## **Legal Actions and Legal Status, 1926-1972**

In 1934, the federal Indian Reorganization Act was signed into law. The purpose of the Act was to assimilate Indians by having them adopt the democratic model of government. It had mixed results, but it was certainly an improvement over other stances by the U.S. government because it helped ensure title to land for Indians (see Forbes 1968:95-98). It allowed tribal groups to act as municipal corporations for business and governmental purposes. The Santa Ynez Reservation currently operates under authority derived from the Indian Reorganization Act.

From the 1920s until 1972 California Indian groups fought a series of legal battles to regain lands or receive compensation for land losses. The complex series of cases led to a small monetary award in 1944 to those Indians whose ancestors had failed to receive reservations under a series of unratified Central Valley area treaties in 1851-1852. A 1946 act of Congress set up the Indians Claims Commission, which allowed other California Indians to press their own claims for reparations. After years of investigation and litigation, the Final Determination or Judgment for payments was issued by the Indian Claims Commission in 1964. It provided for a settlement at approximately 47 cents per acre, but even some of that small award went to pay lawyer fees. The actual distribution occurred in 1972, when 60,000 California Indians received \$633 each as compensation. Because the settlement designed to end all land claims, many Indians refused to cash their checks.

## **Environmental and Cultural Heritage Laws Since the 1960s**

A wave of environmental legislation since the mid-1960s has given California Indians tools to protect grave sites and other places important to their heritage. The laws include the

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, the California Environmental Protection Act of 1970, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, and others. The federal laws give members of federally-recognized tribes' precedence in working to modify federal government activities and activities controlled by federal government permit. They also allow California Indian groups and individuals that are not federally recognized to become involved in resource planning, just as they allow other groups of U.S. citizens such involvement. In addition, State environmental laws provide avenues for all California Indians to have input regarding activities conducted by, or permitted by, the State of California, and local agencies.

With these laws on the books, California Indian individuals and groups have organized in every local area of California to advocate for protection of Native American burial grounds, and traditional sacred sites, and to gain access to gathering areas for traditional craft items (especially basketry materials). The Native American Heritage Commission was established in the Office of the Governor of California in 1976 to help California Indians address these issues. The commission has an executive staff and nine appointed commissioners from throughout the state. It works cooperatively with the California Departments of Transportation, Parks and Recreation, Forestry and Fire Protection, Fish and Game, and Water Resources. It aids these agencies and other agencies in identifying and contacting groups that may be culturally affiliated with particular burial grounds, sacred sites, and museum collections. It also maintains a confidential listing of sacred sites, shared with planners only on a need-to-know basis.

## **Activities toward Federal Recognition Since 1972**

Following closure of the Sebastian Reservation at Tejon in 1864, only one federal reservation was ever granted in the area of Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Monterey counties, California,. That one reservation was Santa Ynez, founded in 1902 and still in existence today. Despite that fact that hundreds of Mission Indian descendants lived in other parts of the four counties, no other reservations were founded for them.

In 1978, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established a procedure for recognizing Indian tribes, the Federal Acknowledgement Administrative Procedure (FAP). Federal recognition is desirable for many California Indian groups for a number of reasons. Federal Indian health care programs are ostensibly available only for "recognized" Indians. Recognized tribes have priority in dealing with the federal government regarding their rights as "most likely descendants" relative to archaeological artifacts under federal control. Federally recognized groups are the only ones that can negotiate with the United States government on a government-to-government basis. Only federally-recognized tribes can obtain a federal land base.

As of the year 2000, 237 non-recognized groups across the United States had petitioned for federally recognition under FAP. They included a Mission Carmel group with members that have evidence that they are of Esselen descent, a Salinan group, and a number of groups that consider themselves to be of Chumash descent. To secure recognition, groups must prove that they have had some sort of tribal government throughout historic times. This has been a very hard criterion for many groups to meet. Of the full list of 237, 15 had been granted recognition, 15 had been denied recognition, 16 cases had been settled through other means, 166 cases had been sent back to the petitioners as “insufficiently documented,” and 25 cases were being studied or awaiting study by the BIA in 2000.

## **Chapter 3 - Ethnography of the Esselen - by Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat**

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### **Introduction**

In Monterey, on June 3, 1770, when the Spanish soldiers established their presidio, or military outpost, and the Franciscan padres founded their mission, the local Indians' world began to change drastically.

The changes came first to the Rumsen, a subdivision of the Ohlone (or Costanoan) Indians, who lived on the Monterey Peninsula and in the adjacent lower Carmel Valley and Carmel Highlands areas (Figure 1, see also Map 2 located in the back pocket of this report).

By the fall of 1771, Fr. Junípero Serra relocated the mission from Monterey to Carmel, and applied the name which had been selected—Mission San Carlos Borromeo. The presidio (the military fort and administrative center) remained by the harbor at Monterey. There were not enough Indians living in the Monterey area to suit Serra, and he wanted to separate the few that he had attracted from the soldiers stationed at the presidio.

In Carmel, the new mission was situated within a short distance of the Rumsen villages of *Achasta* and *Tucutnut*, and the missionaries concentrated on that group first. They were often referred to by the early missionaries as the Monterey Indians, and their language as the language of Monterey. However, as they expanded their proselytizing outward, the padres encountered a different language, that of the Esselen.



Figure 1. Estimated Esselen boundaries at Spanish contact, based on ongoing research by the authors. The area southwest of Junípero Serra Peak is ambiguous; the dividing line may fall west of Memorial Camp (dashed line) or at the watershed divide between the Arroyo Seco and San Antonio rivers (solid line). The area west of Big Creek is also ambiguous, with an alternative placement suggested by a dashed line (see the section titled Esselen Boundaries in the text). The eastern boundary, west of King City, is little known.

By 1774 one Esselen group, the “*Eslen*“ of the Soledad area, had visited the mission twice (Serra had met some individuals from this group on the road to Mission San Antonio in 1771). The first Esselen to be baptized was the chief of *Excelen, Pach-hepas*, who, being in danger of death was baptized in his home village in 1775. By 1776, the Rumsen and Esselen, previously enemies, were being forced to live together at the mission.

In all, some 900 Esselen were baptized and brought to the missions at Carmel, Soledad, and San Antonio, but the death rate at the missions was high. Births could not keep up with deaths and the population at Mission San Carlos peaked in 1795. With the conversion of most local groups and the establishment of missions at Soledad and San Juan Bautista, access to new converts was restricted and the population of Mission San Carlos began to decline.

The mission system endured until 1834, when the missions were officially secularized by the Mexican government (Mexico revolted against Spain and established its independence and control over Alta California in the early 1820s).

During the Mission Era, under the Spanish and later the Mexican governments, the Indian population of the Monterey area declined by an estimated 90 percent.

There were a variety of causes for this disastrous population decline, including the heavy labor required to build and maintain Mission San Carlos, unhealthy living conditions and inadequate diet provided by the missionaries, and the total domination and demoralization of an entire people (for additional information see, for example, Jackson 1994; Jackson and Castillo 1995; Cook 1943, 1976; Stodder 1986; Costo and Costo 1987; and Walker and Johnson 2003).

These conditions made the effects of introduced diseases, including measles, smallpox, syphilis, for which the Indians had no natural immunity, all the more devastating.

At Mission San Carlos, the Indians’ death rate soared, particularly among newborn infants, and their birth rate fell. By the end of the Mission Era, a large percentage of the Indian population within the coastal section of California where the missions were established had disappeared.

## **The Indians at Mission San Carlos**

When the California missions were established, two worlds came into contact and eventually into conflict.

On one side were the California Indians, with an extremely diversified aggregation of languages and lifestyles. The Indian groups encountered by the missionaries lived along the

coast and in the adjacent valleys, as had their ancestors going back perhaps 10,000 years or more. Their cultures had been maturing and their populations expanding throughout that immense length of time.

They had developed codes of behavior to govern themselves, and cultural institutions to regulate their lives. As their technology grew more complex they were increasingly able to manipulate their surroundings. Life was often hard, but they had long since learned how to survive and to prosper.

When the Spanish missionaries arrived, they encountered a number of distinct, well-established cultures each with their own world view to explain who they were and to describe their proper place in the universe.

The missionaries too were the product of several thousand years of social and cultural evolution. European culture had grown and expanded, often borrowing from other cultures, until it developed a technology which allowed it to spread throughout much of the world in search of wealth, natural resources, and spiritual conquest. Europeans also had an elaborate code of behavior, embodied in the institutions of the civil government and Church law.

Most of the missionaries who came to California were born in Spain, and in the 79 years from 1769-1848, a total of 142 individuals spent 2,269 man years, or an average of 16 years each, to bring into the Church and introduce to Hispanic civilization nearly 100,000 Indians (Geiger 1969:x).

The missionaries too were products of a well-established culture and a world view which explained who they were and described their proper place in the universe.

The two world views—Indian vs. European—were considerably different, and when they came into contact the Europeans had the technology and good fortune to make their world view prevail. The nature of that contact, and the resulting conflict, has been debated for many years.

There are two major schools of thought dealing with Hispanic/Indian contact. One school centers primarily around the viewpoint of the missions and missionaries. The following quotation illustrates this view, which is expressed throughout Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt's works:

They had come from far away to teach them the way to everlasting happiness in heaven [Engelhardt 1934:29].

Under this viewpoint, the missionaries, soldiers of the true cross, brought the first triumphs of religion and civilization to California, struggling against overwhelming odds to save souls

and to rescue from savagery the childlike Indians, who were scarcely able to take care of themselves in the wild.

The other school of thought is very different. In the 1880s, when Hubert Howe Bancroft published a series of volumes on California history, he discussed the treatment of the Indian and criticized the Franciscans. As an example, he wrote:

It never occurred to [Junípero Serra] to doubt his absolute right to flog his neophytes for any slight negligence in matters of the faith. His holy desires trembled within him like earthquake throbs; in his eyes there was but one object worth living for, the performance of religious duty, and but one way of accomplishing that object, a strict and literal compliance with Franciscan rules; he could never understand that there was anything beyond his narrow field of vision [Bancroft 1886:415].

Since then, a number of other researchers have expressed similar criticisms of the mission system and the Franciscans. More recently Native American scholars have added their own unique perspective to the debate; they are generally even more critical of the mission system, charging genocide, slavery, and a wide range of atrocities (Costo and Costo 1987; Castillo 1978).

The following sections examine the issue of Indian treatment with particular reference to Mission San Carlos.

### ***The Spanish Perspective***

Understanding the treatment of Indians at Mission San Carlos requires a step back in time.

Spanish conquest and colonization of California was the result of many factors, including the desire for expansion on the part of the Spanish Crown, fear of expansion by the Russians, English, and Americans, the search for wealth, and the desire to spread the faith.

The means of conquest and colonization were the missions, presidios, and later the civil pueblos. The presidios, of which there were only four in California, were garrisoned forts presiding over military districts, generally situated strategically in “hostile” territory.

Beginning in 1777, shortly after it was founded, the presidio at Monterey became the capitol of Alta California, and the administrative center for the military governor. There was no civil pueblo at Monterey until the 1820s; instead it remained a small isolated outpost and administrative center. It was the mission, founded at Monterey in 1770, but moved to Carmel in 1771, that served as the primary vehicle whereby the Spanish conquered and controlled the native population in the nearby territory.



Two notes are in order at this point concerning the status of the Indians, both at Mission San Carlos and elsewhere in California. First, as Engelhardt points out:

The missionaries toward their Indian wards by royal orders stood in loco parentis, that is to say, the neophytes were by Spanish law regarded as minors and entrusted to the keeping of the missionaries, who, therefore, possessed all the rights and duties of parents concerning the convert Indians... The governor had no jurisdiction over the Mission Indians save in case any individual among them had committed a capital crime... [Engelhardt 1934:78].

Secondly, in his perceptive introduction to the journal of the La Pérouse scientific expedition, which visited Monterey in 1786, Malcolm Margolin writes:

...the aspect of European civilization they were trying to reproduce was not Spanish village life, which would have been difficult enough. Indeed, the behavior that the monks were demanding of their new subjects—chastity among the unmarried, long hours of prayer, obedience to superiors, etc.—was far in excess of what was expected of European villagers... In short, the handful of soldiers and monks expected the Indians to desert everything they knew about life and to adapt overnight to a most peculiar and highly evolved European institution, the monastery—an institution under which, even at the height of its popularity, only a small number of Europeans themselves ever chose to live [Margolin 1989:15].

With these two statements, and Engelhardt's (1934:29) statement that "They had come from far away to teach them the way to everlasting happiness in heaven," we can begin to understand both the treatment of the Indians at Mission San Carlos and its origins. The Indians were considered, officially and legally, to be children, subject to the "parental" discipline of the missionaries, as well as de facto noviciates in a monastic order, subject to the discipline of their religious superiors.

The discipline that the padres demanded of the Indians was not beyond what they practiced themselves—this was the monastic way of life they chose to follow. But the padres attempted to impose, involuntarily, this highly specialized monastic lifestyle, which was followed only by a few even in Europe, on an entire secular population.

### ***The Effects of Missionization***

The primary consequence of the missionization process was complete demoralization of the Indian people who were forced to live and work there. This can be seen in the many descriptions of the mission Indians, descriptions in which they are portrayed in very derogatory terms. For example, Louis Choris, an artist with the Otto von Kotzebue expedition which visited San Francisco in 1816, wrote the following:

The missionaries have characterized the people as lazy, stupid, jealous—gluttons, cowards. I have never seen one laugh. I have never seen one look one in the face. They look as though they were interested in nothing [Choris 1913:11-12].

These and other similar descriptions, and there are many in the early literature, are descriptions of a demoralized and subjugated people, and have no necessary relation to the way the Indians behaved prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

The first part of this subjugation was through superior force of arms—Indian efforts to resist the Spanish militarily were almost entirely unsuccessful.

But there was more; the Indian's world view led, in part, to their demise. They were first lured to the missions by gifts of food and by their natural curiosity about the wonders brought by the Spanish – iron tools, glass beads, woven cloth, huge sailing ships, firearms, domesticated animals, and much more. To the Indians, the padres must have seemed to be powerful sorcerers and shamans practicing a religion similar to theirs – but more successfully. The padres were in contact with an unknown but obviously powerful god and demonstrated great powers, including the power to control animals and have them to their bidding. It is only natural that the Indians were drawn to the missions; many probably went there only to learn the secrets of the padres' power. (These and other similar insights were explored by Malcom Margolin in his 1989 work, *Life in a California Mission*).

At the missions, the Spanish did not share the true secrets of their power. Rather, Indians who accepted baptism were subjugated and their lives were strictly regimented. They arose with the sun, attended prayers and mass for an hour, ate a breakfast of roasted barley mush, worked until noon, ate a lunch of boiled wheat, maize, peas, and beans, worked until late afternoon, attended prayers again for nearly an hour, and then ate an evening meal similar to breakfast. Finally, an hour after dinner, the unmarried women, girls over nine years of age, and women whose husbands were absent were locked up for the night in the *monjaría* (dormitory) to keep them from having sexual relations with men (cf. Jackson 1994:132-133; Milliken 1995:89). Conditions in the *monjaría* were described by visitors as extremely bad at some missions (cf. Walker and Johnson 2003:65).

Punishment for even the smallest infractions was severe. As La Pérouse noted in the journal of his 1786 visit to Monterey:

...corporal punishment is administered to Indians of both sexes who fail in their religious duties, and several sins which in Europe are reserved to divine retribution are punished by being placed in irons or in the stocks. Finally, to complete this comparison to religious communities, once a neophyte has been baptized, it is as though he had made eternal vows; should he escape to return to his parents in the independent villages, he receives three summonses to return, and if he refuses, the missionaries call upon the Governor's authority who sends his soldiers to tear him away and take him to the mission

where he is sentenced to receive a certain number of lashes [La Pérouse 1994:180].

These factors—the complete subjugation of an entire population through harsh punishment, heavy forced labor, inadequate food, virtual imprisonment for most of the women, the lack of a means of escape for most individuals short of leaving their traditional homes far behind, and the destruction of native culture—these factors all contributed to the disastrous condition described for the Indians living at the missions.

When running away proved unsuccessful, the Indian's response was generally one of passive resistance. As Margolin notes:

If the Indians were ill-equipped to deal effectively with the Spanish military and cultural dominance, the monks at Carmel were equally ill-equipped to deal with the Indians. The European ways of thinking and acting—so self-evidently superior in the minds of the monks—made no sense at all to the Indians... The holy light that the missionaries tried to shed fell upon an increasingly sullen, miserable people. As years passed and the missionaries had to cope each day with incurable diseases, passive resistance, and a growing sense of their own failure, mission life gradually went from difficult to horrendous... [Margolin 1989:37].

The primary consequence of the treatment of the Indians at Mission San Carlos, summarized above, was a drastic decline in population. The Indians were so weakened by the physical and mental effects of mission life that introduced diseases, to which they had no immunity anyway, were even more devastating than they would otherwise have been (Cook 1976). This was particularly true for children under ten years of age. For example, in 1806 a measles epidemic struck California, bringing the mean child death rate to 335 per thousand (33.5 percent). San Francisco experienced a child death rate of 88 percent in that one year, although Carmel apparently experienced a lower death rate (Culleton 1950:165; Cook 1976:19).

Shortly after Indians were gathered into the mission, their birth rate dropped below normal (probably because of the increasing sex ratios between male and female) and the death rate rose to well above normal. Adolescent and adult female mortality remained particularly high. While the death rate was tending back toward normal levels at the end of the mission era (1834), by then the damage had been done. The Indian population in the missionized part of California had dropped anywhere from 75 to 90 percent.

The neophytes had been dwindling in numbers since the year 1795 when the Indian population had reached its highest point with 444 males and 434 females. At the close of 1819 San Carlos Mission consisted of only 219 males and 178 females, old and young. The Mission was already dying [Engelhardt 1934:148].

Figure 2 illustrates this death rate for one Esselen extended family, that of *Piguane*, a man of about 50 years who was baptized in 1789. *Piguane* lived in the village of *Yppimegesan*, east of the Tulare (i.e., in the upper Carmel Valley east of *Capanay*). When baptized, *Piguane* was described as in danger of death, and he died later the same day.

*Piguane* had approximately six children who were born in their home villages between about 1754 and 1777, and 21 grandchildren who were born at Mission San Carlos between 1787 and 1818. Only about four of these grandchildren appear to have lived to an age at which they could have borne children of their own. At least one of these individuals, Catalina de Sena (Mission San Carlos baptism number 3077, abbreviated as CA-B 3077) has descendants still living today.

## The Esselen at Mission San Carlos

The first Esselen baptism (Carmel baptismal entry number 350), took place on May 9, 1775. On that day, Junípero Serra traveled into the mountains and baptized a 40-year-old man, named *Pach-hepas*, who was described as the chief of the territory of the *Excelen* and its rancherías. The baptism took place in the village of *Xasáuan*, located some 10 leagues (ca. 20-26 miles) southeast of the mission. (The modern name of “Cachagua” for a community in the upper Carmel River drainage is derived from this Esselen village name.)

In the next three years, between 1776 and 1778, an additional 36 *Excelen* were baptized, including 17 children, (ten years or less in age), but then there was a lull in the baptism rate. Only three individuals were baptized during the following four year period.

To explain this lull, one has to read between the lines; the early records are poor, and leave out a great deal. However, in the instructions he left to his successor in 1782, Governor Filipe de Neve wrote:

The repeated patrols that have been sent out to importune them [runaway Indians] to come back have resulted in deaths among the non-Christian natives, due to the poor supervision of the officers in charge. I have refrained to the greatest extent possible from sending out these patrols, preferring other methods for returning runaways to their missions. In those situations in which it has been unavoidable to send them, it has been done with the most detailed instructions to avoid lamentable consequences. It was as much a danger to the little parties which the Presidios were able to send into the mountains where the natives took refuge. *There was little that our troops could do in that rugged, rocky country*, which obliged the soldiers to dismount and enter villages on foot. The non-Christian natives are coming to understand our small number and weakness faster and more frequently [Neve 1782:82 in Milliken 1990:56; emphasis added].

Insert Figure 2 page.

From this passage, it is clear that deaths occurred among the Esselen in 1782 or earlier because of Spanish attempts to return runaway Indians to the missions. It is also likely that these deaths could have been at least partially responsible for the sharp drop in *Excelen* baptisms between 1779 and 1782 (from 36 baptisms between 1776 and 1778 to only 3 baptisms between 1779 and 1782). The *Excelen* were clearly trying to avoid the Spanish.

In his 1775 report, Pedro Fages noted that the Sierra Indians (i.e., the Esselen) could not be easily punished since when they were pursued, they went further into the mountains (Geiger 1959: I: 394).

Within a dozen years after the Spanish arrived, it had become dangerous to send the small parties of soldiers “into the mountains where the natives took refuge” because the soldiers could not make full use of their horses “in that rugged, rocky country.”

Another clue to the possible cause for the drop in the number of baptisms comes from a previously unpublished portion of the Galiano manuscript, which notes that at Mission San Carlos, Indians speaking the Rumsen and Esselen languages were brought together, and that the two groups were so hostile to one another that reconciling them cost endless labor. It further noted that the strong dislike was mutual (Beeler 1978:16). This may have helped to discourage Esselen baptisms for a time.

After the lull between 1779 and 1782, baptisms picked up again, with the greatest number of baptisms, 54, occurring in 1783. Clues to a possible cause for the resumption of baptisms come from Culleton:

Only forty-seven *Excelen* Indians had been baptized during the first missionary period. These seem to have been reluctant to yield their Christian children for instruction and even the adults may not have been attracted to the idea of dwelling with their despised enemies, the Rumsen... There was a fracas between some men of the mountains and the soldiers. In it a few of the former lost their lives. This seems to have been early in '83 [Culleton 1950:104].

While Governor de Neve’s account specifically mentions runaways, there is another possible source of friction between the Spanish and *Excelen*. Most of the Esselen baptized during 1776, and a few of those baptized during the following years, were children. After baptism, children were permitted to live with their parents in their native villages until they reached the age of reason, after having completed their eighth year (Tibesar 1956:II:461; Geiger 1959:II:121). It is possible that the “fracas” mentioned by Culleton resulted when the missionaries tried to force about a dozen baptized children to the mission. Not knowing which child was which, the soldiers probably just rounded up all of the children of the appropriate age from the villages they visited. If this was indeed the case, then the large number of Esselen being baptized during the following months would be understandable -

they had been shown that they could not stand up to the weapons of the Spanish, and they simply wanted to be reunited with their children.

Following this “fracas,” a full 40 percent of the *Excelen* accepted baptism during the period 1783-1785. *Xasáuan* and *Excelen* were not abandoned immediately after the baptisms of 1783–1785, although during these three years over half of the remaining *Excelen* were baptized.

CA-B 1940, on April 25, 1794, was for José María, interpreter of the Esselen language, who was baptized “in the village of *Uphahuan* [*Xasáuan*]” (Milliken 1990:52). Three individuals were baptized at Mission Soledad in the early 1790s from *Jachaguan* [*Xasáuan*] (Milliken 1990:28, 33), and CA-B 1952 shows that the district still had enough people to have a headman. However, by 1798 the majority (89 percent) of *Excelen* baptisms had occurred, and it is likely that only a few dozen individuals were left in the mountains. Only 26 additional baptisms came from *Excelen* after 1798.

There is evidence that *Excelen* and the other Esselen districts were not abandoned even after 1798. Only one *Excelen* baptism occurred during the period between 1799 and 1804, but there was a sudden rise in baptisms between 1805 and 1808 due to the energy of a new priest, Father Amorós, who arrived in September, 1804. In all, 25 individuals from *Excelen* were baptized during these final four years. In other words, nearly 10 percent of the total *Excelen* population which eventually accepted baptism held out for 33 years after proselytizing began in their district. Proselytizing was halted in 1808, and after that year only infants associated with the mission, presidio, or related outposts were baptized.

The last five Esselen to be baptized, in 1808, were mostly elderly individuals. They were: a man whose age was listed as 45 years, two men of 60 years, and two women of 60 and 80 years. It is likely that their children had joined the mission earlier, and they had no families to support them in their old age, but it is also possible that some of their children were seeking refuge in the more distant interior mountains and these elderly individuals were unwilling or unable to accompany them.

Two of the individuals were married the same day they were baptized. They are the only two for whom a child is known; a daughter, aged six, who was baptized in 1790 and died the following year.

Based on the above information, it appears unlikely that all residents of this mountainous territory went to live at the missions and accepted baptism. But how many individuals managed to avoid the missions? And what eventually became of them?

We know from archaeological evidence that one individual, a girl of about six years of age, was buried in Isabella Meadows Cave (archaeological site CA-MNT-250) in the area west of Tassajara (see Figure 1). Based on shell and glass beads, the date attributed to this burial was

approximately A.D. 1825. This individual was raised, and then buried, by someone else. In a small cave nearby, another individual was found who reportedly had not been buried at all. We do not yet know all the details of this find, but the cranium was reportedly examined by a forensic anthropologist who determined that the individual died approximately 150 years ago (Tom “Little Bear” Nason, personal communication 1992).

Another clue is provided by Professor Clement Meighan, who noted that “wild” Indians are reported to have occupied the general region until 1850 or later (Meighan 1955:21). Meighan does not provide the source of his statement, but anthropologist Arnold Pilling heard the same story when he worked in the area in the late 1940s (Arnold Pilling, personal communication 1992). Growing up in the area, the senior author also heard a persistent rumor of a group of Indians still hiding in the hills; it usually took the form, “I never saw them myself, but my cousin saw them once and swore never to tell where they live.” This rumor, echoing down the years, may reflect back to the time a hundred years earlier when there actually were Indians hiding in these mountains.

Recent investigations which we conducted for the Los Padres Dam project on the upper Carmel River provided additional evidence for occupation of the upper Carmel River during the late Mission Period and perhaps afterward. A change in bedrock mortar usage patterns (i.e., a local increase in BRMs exhibiting small size, shallow depth, and limited volume, suggesting use for only a limited time) supports the theory of a short-lived increase in the population in the upper Carmel River drainage; a temporarily larger population would have needed to create new BRMs which would have been used for only a short time, which as a result would have been smaller and shallower (Breschini et al. 1994). Additionally, four radiocarbon dates from the upper component of site CA-MNT-1601 average approximately A.D. 1815 (Breschini and Haversat 1993a, 1995).

With clear evidence for Indian occupation of the mountainous portions of Esselen territory at least into the mid-1820s, it becomes possible that a few individuals survived long enough to bypass the mission system entirely. Their numbers may have been supplemented by mission runaways.

By the 1820s, Tularcitos Lake was used to water mission cattle, and the area was granted to Rafael Gomez in 1834 (Fink 1972). The 1835 *diseño* for Rancho Tularcitos (the prehistoric village or district of *Capanay*) shows a *temescal* (Indian sweathouse) near the lake.

As the missions were disbanded in 1834, and in fact had been nearly powerless for years before that date, it would have been possible for Indians to have moved directly from the remote mountains to the newly settled ranchos, where they could have found employment as vaqueros (cowboys) or servants and lived with relatives who were by then free from the missions. It is also possible that individuals released by the missions returned to their original homelands. However, because of the growing settlement of the upper Carmel Valley, it is doubtful that any unbaptized Indian population survived even in the remotest



mountains after the 1850s, although perhaps a few individuals could have held out a little longer.

## **The End of the Mission Era**

The year 1795 marked the greatest neophyte population, about 876 individuals, and the numbers were in decline from that date on. This decline was spurred, in part, by a series of epidemics which struck the missions. For example, in 1802-1803, 225 Indians died, many because of a plague with symptoms resembling pneumonia. As the normal death rate was about 45 per year, up to 20 percent of the total neophyte population succumbed to disease in this short period alone (Culleton 1950:164-165).

By the 1820s, Mission San Carlos was in serious decline, and in 1834 its demise was made official.

In the late 1820s, the Indians were able to leave the missions and seek employment elsewhere, and many, especially the young, did so. The support which the missions had received from the government had long since disappeared. The mission lands, which under the Spanish government were to have been held in trust for the Indians, were reclaimed by the Mexican government and distributed in the form of land grants to retired soldiers and the politically connected. Virtually none of the land ended up in the Indians' hands.

With the loss of most of their labor supply, their financial support, and virtually all of their lands, the missions were doomed. Within a few years the buildings were in ruins.

By the time the Mission Era ended, there were few Indians left. The local populations had dropped by an estimated 90 percent, leaving a relatively small Esselen population remaining. They were poor and landless, living on the edges of Hispanic society. They were in many ways trapped between two cultures.

## **The Esselen in Past Literature**

There has never been much information available on the Esselen. As the quotes below document, even anthropologists a hundred and more years ago had trouble finding Esselen speakers:

By 1833, Sixty-four years after the arrival of the whites, we learn—from Father Arroyo [de la Cuesta]—that there were already few Esselen left [Beeler 1977:40].

In delving among the rarer books and manuscripts which relate to the early history of America, the student not infrequently comes across mention of

tribes which have vanished and have left their names as the sole record of their existence. ...while the people in question have been lost sight of for a hundred years or more, it is possible that a few survivors yet remain... The people I refer to are a tribe known by the name Esselen... [Henshaw 1890:45-46].

The Esselen people and language [have] become extinct... [Kroeber 1904:49].

Esselenian Family. A small linguistic stock in w. California, first positively established by Henshaw [1890]. At the time of the Spanish settlement, this family, which has become extinct, consisted of a single group, the Esselen [Hodge 1907:438].

...The Esselen were one of the least populous groups in California, exceedingly restricted in territory, the first to become entirely extinct, and in consequence are now as good as unknown, so far as specific information goes—a name rather than a people of whom anything can be said [Kroeber 1925:544].

This small tribe inhabiting the coast range below Monterey has completely disappeared [Cook 1943:186].

The Esselen constituted a small group of only a few hundred individuals, and they became extinct almost immediately after contact with the Spanish Missions [Meighan 1955:1].

Esselen was the first known California aboriginal language to become extinct. This extinction effectively occurred about the beginning of the twentieth century... [Beeler 1978:3].

Sometime in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Esselen became culturally extinct, the first of the California Indians to so vanish [Hester 1978:497].

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## Early Ethnographies—The Historical Accounts

The earliest references to the Esselen are, contained in the diaries, letters, and official documents of the early explorers, missionaries, and settlers.

These are valuable, if sometimes flawed, records. But by the time anthropologists and other researchers arrived on the scene, after years of disruption to the local cultural systems, they no longer had the luxury of examining an intact, functioning system. Rather researchers were forced to glean tidbits from the historical records and the memories of descendants.

The earliest explorers in the Monterey Bay region, the Vizcaíno expedition of 1602 and the Portolá land expeditions of 1769-1770, encountered the Rumsen, but most likely did not encounter the Esselen.

The first references we have found are to the Esselen subgroup known as the *Eslen* (*Eslenajan*). Junípero Serra's letter of August 24, 1774 notes "...there are some who come from *Eslen*, called La Soledad, a place about halfway on the road between this mission and that of San Antonio, about twelve leagues distant from both" (Tibesar 1956:II:141). Serra had met individuals from this group in late July, 1771, on the way back from founding Mission San Antonio, and in his 1774 letter he notes that by then they had visited Mission San Carlos on two occasions.

This account brings up one of the primary problems we have in dealing with the Esselen—the multiplicity of names in the historical literature. The Esselen and their primary subgroups were called many different names as different explorers, missionaries, and anthropologists, speaking Spanish, French, English, and other languages, with greater or lesser degrees of familiarity with linguistic notation, attempted to record unfamiliar sounds. It is likely that all of these refer to subgroups. Interestingly, the term Esselen, which we use today for the overall group, does not appear among the early names. The first use of this spelling we have found in the published literature is in Henshaw's (1890) language study, although Arroyo de la Cuesta's manuscripts "Idiomas Californias," written in 1821, and "Lecciones de Indios," written in 1833 both appear to use that spelling (Harrington n.d.; reel 81, frames 237, 468, 470).

The variations include at least the following:

Aspasniaja	Ekklemaches	Excelaux
Aspasniajan	Escelem	Excelemac
Aspasniaques	Escelen	Excelen
Ecclemachs	Escellen	Excerem
Ecgea	Eselen	Excsalen
Ecgeagan	Esexen	Exelen
Ecgeajan	Eskalen	Exellen
Ecgeasa	Esleajan	Exenen
Egeac	Eslen	Imunajan
Egeach	Eslenajan	Ymmunacam
Egeajan	Eslenaxan	Ymmunajan
Eggeaja	Eslenes	Ymunajan
Ejeajan	Essexen	Yumanagan

Visitors to the Monterey area over the years recorded a number of details concerning the Indians at Mission San Carlos. Sometimes we cannot determine whether this information pertains to the Ohlone or the Esselen, or both, but sometimes the customs of each group are

described separately. In many cases, this information was obtained from the missionaries, rather than being observed first hand.

Even though this information was recorded in the first decades after the Spanish conquest began, the data reflect rapidly changing patterns of behavior. For example, as is noted elsewhere, one of the ways in which the Indians responded to forced attendance at the missions was a form of passive resistance. We believe this was the reason they were often described as slow-witted and stupid, neither laughing nor crying, etc. This behavior was in direct reaction to their virtual captivity. We believe that the behavior of the Indians, who could no longer run away, was in few respects typical of their former lifestyle, and this is supported by the earliest ethnographic accounts. Because of this, we have left most of the “slow-witted and stupid” accounts out of the following passages.

The following sections describe, to the extent we can in the space available, the basic customs of the Carmel Indians and the Esselen as reported in these early accounts. We feel that this information is important to include in its original form, even though it is subject to errors of both observation and interpretation. References to the complete accounts are provided.

### **Pedro Fages, 1769-1774 (Priestley 1937:64-66):**

The hill Indians also of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, who live between this mission and that of San Antonio de los Robles [i.e., the *Eslenajan*] persecute indiscriminately the new Christians and the unconverted Indians of this region whenever they enter the range to search for acorns, which the hill Indians guard and desire to keep for themselves alone.

The situation was the same before the foundation of the Presidio de San Carlos, according to their confession, they were continually at war.

The natives of Monterey should be considered as divided into two parts for the purpose of dealing with their natural and political history, because the Indians of the port and its environs are not the same as the more remote ones, as for instance the hill tribes of Santa Lucía and other more distant villages.

### **First Esselen baptism, 1775 (Serra) (Geiger 1959:I:447):**

CA #350—On May 9, 1775, in the ranchería of *Xasáuan* in the sierra about ten leagues [26 miles] from this Mission of San Carlos of Monterey, toward the east, I baptized privately an adult about 90 [actually 40] years old in danger of death, married, and who is captain of the *Excelen* territory and its rancherías, called *Pach-hepas*, and I gave him the name Miguel Gregorio. The greater parts of the natives of both sexes of that ranchería were present at the baptism and they gave signs of happiness on seeing their chief now a

Christian and offered good hope of imitating him. I sign, giving testimony thereto, Fray Junípero Serra. [See Figure 3.]

The chief lingered on a while but died before the end of the year and was buried at his rancheria [Culleton 1950:72].

The modern community name “Cachagua” is almost certainly derived from this Esselen village name. However, for many years, *Pach-hepas* was listed in the literature as a village name. Because there are so many errors of this type in the literature on the Esselen, we have included a separate section dealing with some of them.

350  
Miguel Gregorio  
adulto Capitan  
de Excelen.†

En 9 de Mayo de 1775 en la Ranch.<sup>a</sup> llamada Yasauan, en la Sierra como  
diez leguas distante de esta Mission de San Carlos de Monte-Rey rumbo  
al N.E. de, Bautizo privadamente a un adulto & como 20 años concludido en  
peligro de muerte, cañado, Casitan del territorio de Excelen. y sus Ranche-  
rias, llamado Pach-hepas, y le puse por nombre Miguel Gregorio. Se ha-  
llaron presentes al dho. Bautizo los mas & los gentiles & ambos sexos de  
dha Ranch.<sup>a</sup> dando muestras & contento & ver su Capitan ya Christiano, y  
buenas esperanzas & imitarlo; y p<sup>o</sup> asi conde lo firmo.  
Fray Junipero Serra

Figure 3. The original text of Mission San Carlos baptism number 350, that of *Pach-hepas*, the first Esselen to be baptized.

### French Scientific Visit of 1786 (La Pérouse) (Margolin 1989:58-106; La Pérouse 1994:169-200):

...several have a beard, others, according to the missionary fathers, have never had one, and it is a question which has not even been resolved in the district. The Governor, who has traveled extensively into the interior and who has lived among the natives for 15 years, assured us that those who are beardless have pulled it out with the shell of a bivalve they use like tweezers; the head of the missions [Fermin Lasuén], who has been equally as long in California, maintained the opposite in our presence; it was difficult for travelers to decide between them. Our duty being to report only what we saw, we must say that we saw only half the adults with a beard; in some cases it is quite bushy, and would have been regarded as impressive in Turkey or around Moscow.

On our way to the church we had crossed a square in which Indians of both sexes were lined up, their faces displaying no surprise, making it unlikely that we would form any part of their conversations for the rest of the day.

The Indian village stands on the right, consisting of about fifty huts which serve for seven hundred and forty persons of both sexes, including their children...

The huts are the most wretched anywhere. They are round and about six feet in diameter and four in height [this seems like an exceedingly small size; perhaps the time of year, September, played a role in this; see also Margolin's (1989:80) footnote].

The Indians say that they love the open air, and that it is convenient to set fire to their house when the fleas become troublesome, and that they can build another in less than two hours.

There is no example of theft among them, though the door of their hut consists mainly of a bundle of straw...

...the entire skill in this new cuisine consists in roasting the grain before crushing it; since the Indians have no earthen or metal containers for this operation, they carry it out in baskets made of bark with small burning coals; turning these baskets rapidly and with great skill they succeed in causing the grain to swell and burst without setting fire to the container which is so combustible, and we can guarantee roasted coffee does not attain the level of torrefaction which these Indians can achieve with their grain...

The men in these missions have made greater sacrifices to Christianity than the women, because, before its introduction, they were accustomed to polygamy, and were even in the habit of espousing all the sisters of the same family [but see the contrary observation in the following section].

The converted Indians have retained all their ancient customs that their new religion does not prohibit; same huts, same games, same clothes—the richest of these is an otter skin cloak covering the back down to the groin; the laziest have only a length of cloth supplied by the mission to hide their nakedness and a small rabbit skin coat covering their shoulders down to the waist: it is tied under the chin with a string, the rest of the body is completely naked, as is the head; some however have very skillfully plaited hats.

They are likewise in the habit of painting their bodies red in general, and when they are in mourning, in black. The missionaries have forbidden the first of these paintings, but they are obliged to tolerate the other because these people are so strongly attached to their friends. When they are called to their remembrance they shed tears, though they may have lost them for a considerable period; and if their name be mentioned by anyone, even though inadvertence, they consider it an offense.

The old men of the *rancherías*, who are no longer able to hunt, are supported at the expense of their whole village, and are in general well respected.

They have two kinds of games, in which they employ their whole leisure. The first, to which they give the name of *takersia*, consists of throwing a small hoop of three inches in diameter causing it to roll in a space of twenty feet square, cleared of grass and surrounded with stakes. ...

The other game, named *toussi*, is more tranquil. It is played by four persons, two on each side. Each in turn conceals in one of his hands a piece of wood, while his partner makes a thousand gestures to occupy the attention of the adversaries. It is curious enough to a bystander to see them squatted down opposite each other, keeping the most profound silence, observing the traits of the countenance and the most minute circumstances, which may assist their guessing the hand which conceals the piece of wood.

The boats at Monterey are only made of reeds.

Beads are the only money of the Indians.

Monterey and its dependency, San Carlos Mission, is the country of the Achastla and the Eccelemachs; the languages of these two people, who are partly brought together in the same mission, might perhaps create a third if the Christian Indians stopped communicating with those of the rancherias from which they come. The language of the Achastlians is proportionate to the feeble development of their intelligence; since they have few abstract ideas, they have few words to describe them; they did not appear to have distinctive names for all the various species of animals; they have the same word *ouakeche* for toads and frogs; nor do they make any greater distinction between vegetables they put to a similar use. ...

The Eccelemachs live E. of Monterey, and their territory extends for twenty leagues; their language is totally different from all those of their neighbors, and even has more links with our European tongues than those of America; this grammatical phenomenon, the strangest yet seen on this continent, may interest savants who endeavor to trace the history of the transplantation of peoples by a comparison of languages. ... this dialect is moreover richer than those of other Californian people, although it cannot be compared with the languages of civilised nations.

La Pérouse's description of hunting practices is provided in the section titled "Food Resources," below.

### **Spanish Naval Visit of 1791 (Malaspína) (Cutter 1960):**

The primary contributions of this expedition were the drawings produced by José Cardero, several of which are reproduced in this report (Figures 4, 5, and 6). The ethnographic observations were generally disparaging, as the expedition had visited the Nootka area on their way to Monterey and the explorers were very impressed by the people they met there. The explorers were not similarly impressed by the missionized people they met in Carmel, and their comments were largely negative. They are not reiterated here.

Malaspína's description of hunting practices is provided in the section titled "Food Resources," below.



Figure 4. Indians of Monterey, 1791. Drawn by José Cardero of the Malaspina expedition. Source: Cutter (1960).



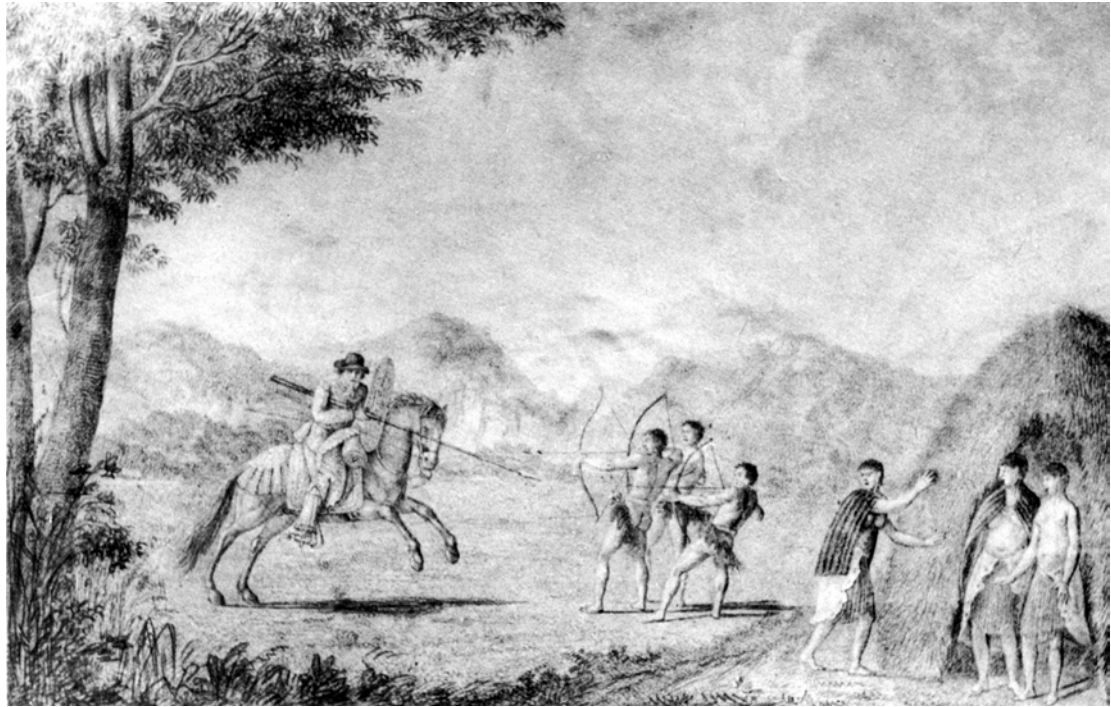


Figure 5. Indians fighting a mounted Spanish soldier armed with a lance. Drawn by José Cardero of the Malaspína expedition, 1791. Note the domed reed or thatch house on the right and the dress of the natives. Source: Cutter (1960).

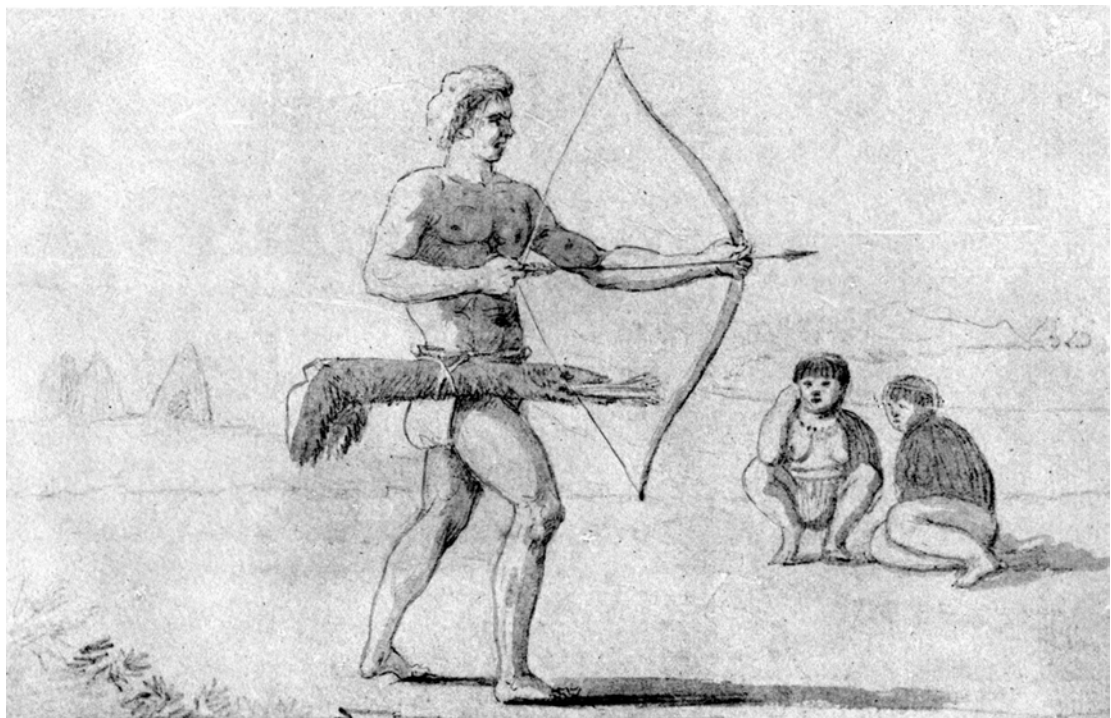


Figure 6. Indians of Monterey, attributed to José Cardero of the Malaspína expedition, 1791. Note also the conical huts in the background. Compare these with Figures 5 and 7. Source: Cutter (1960).

## **Spanish Naval Visit of 1792 (Navarrete) (Jane 1930:133-134)**

Among the Runseines and Eslenes, no man is allowed to have more than one wife. ... Among the Eslenes divorce was common, but it was their custom to make them go, or rather to hand them over, to their new lovers; these were obliged to compensate the former husbands for the expense to which they would be put in securing a new wife.

The custom of purchasing wives was common to both tribes, although among the Runseines the contract was rendered far more solemn by the fact that the relatives of the parties took part in it, those of the husband contributing a share of the cost, which was divided among the relatives of the bride at the time when she was handed over.

The women of both tribes show praiseworthy tenderness in their care for their children, for whose sake they undergo the greatest dangers and labours.

Theft is a crime almost unknown among these two tribes. Among the Runsienes homicide is regarded with indifference, but this is not so among the Eslenes, who punish murder with death. The funeral ceremonies of these two nations, on the death of a chief, were not the same but appeared to be so. The whole tribe gathered to make lamentations round the corpse; they tore their hair and cast ashes on their heads. This ceremony, which lasted sometimes for four days, was followed by the burial, the dead man being interred with some clothes and ornaments. The Runsienes ultimately divided among the relatives of the deceased the few possessions which he may have left; the Eslenes, on the contrary, did not distribute anything, but all the friends and subjects of the dead chief were compelled to contribute some ornaments, which were buried with the corpse.

Navarrete's description of hunting practices is provided in the section titled "Food Resources," below.

## **Vancouver's Visit of 1792 (Wilbur 1954:64-65)**

An Indian village is also in the neighborhood [of Mission San Carlos; see Figure 7]; it appeared to us but small, yet the number of its inhabitants under the immediate direction of this mission was said to amount to eight hundred...

Vancouver's description of hunting practices is provided in the section titled "Food Resources," below.

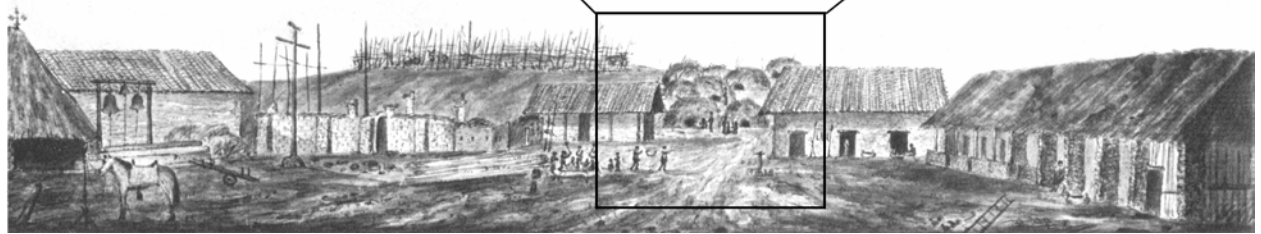
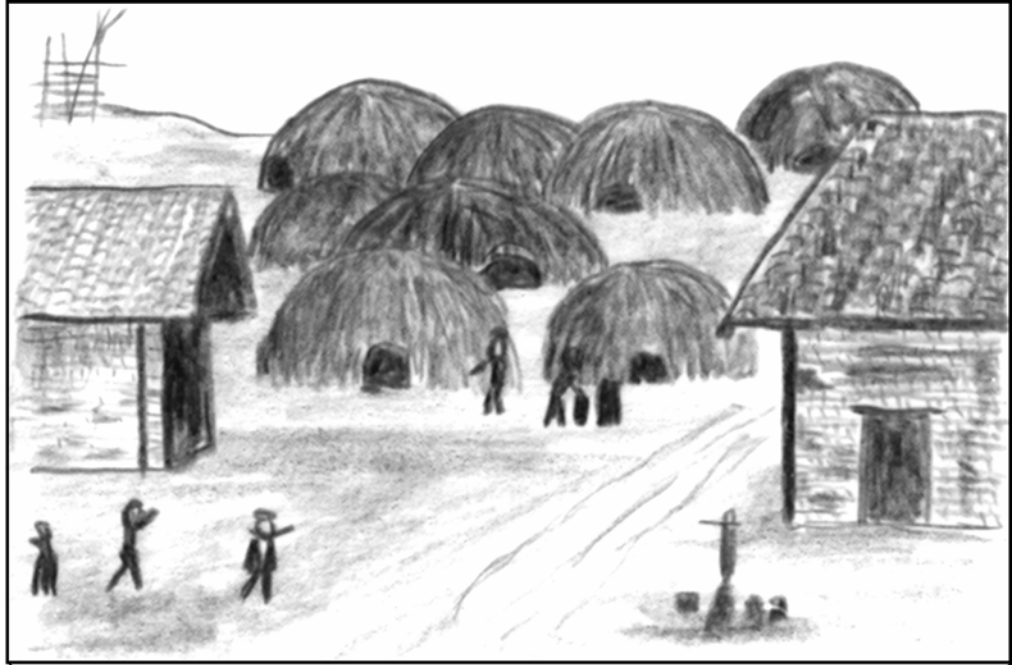


Figure 7. Indian houses in the rancheria at Mission San Carlos as shown in the background of a drawing by John Sykes, November 1794. (Inset drawing by Anna L. Runnings.)

### Reply to the Questionnaire of 1812 (1814) (Geiger 1950:477-485)

Seven Indian tribes live at this mission. They are the *Excelen* and *Egeac*, *Rumsen*, *SargentaRuc*, *Sarconenos*, *Guachirron*, and *CalendaRuc*. The first two are from the interior and have the same language or speech, which is totally distinct from the other five, who also speak a common language. At the beginning of the conquest, the missionaries experienced great difficulty in getting them to assemble for religious services, for agricultural pursuits, or for any duty whatsoever. Today they have succeeded in making them

associate. This exclusiveness and meager fraternal spirit resulted from the fact that in their pagan state, they ordinarily lived in a state of war.

These seven tribes speak two languages: the one is Rumsen, the other Excelen; they differ entirely.

While pagan conditions held sway, unfaithfulness on the part of the women led to many wars and killings...

The moral virtues they practice are: charitableness, a readiness to give food to anyone, and sympathy for those in distress.

The natives practiced the following type of idolatry: at times they blew smoke to the sun, moon and to some beings who they fancied lived in the dwelling of the sky. ... This custom, however, they retain from the past: they prefer to live in the open rather than in community. Wherefore we give them permission for three weeks each year to rove about whithersoever they desire, and this appears to be somewhat advantageous to them in regard to health. At the close of their seed-harvest, the chiefs of each tribe customarily give a feast, at which they eat, sing, and dance.

They had never made use of the hot springs, for they said that these springs would kill the people, for they had seen at a distance birds, wolves, bears and other animals die from contact with the water.

Calendars were not used by these people. They speak only of the years as from "acorn to acorn," from "seed to seed"; so that when it was yet four months until the harvest, they would say: "There are still four moons until the acorns," etc.

They eat rats, squirrels, moles, shellfish, and all living things except frogs, toads, owls, which are the only animals they are afraid of.

As pagans, their method of burial was to dig a large hole in which they placed the corpse; and if it happened to be a mother with a very young child, as yet unweaned, it was buried with its dead mother, in case the father or relatives were not able to look after the child. All the relatives threw beads and seeds upon the dead in token of their love for the deceased. As Christians, they are buried according to the ritual of the church. Nevertheless, in secret they cling to their pagan practices. As a sign of mourning, the father, mother, child, husband and wife, brothers or sisters cut off their hair; if scissors are lacking, they burn it bit by bit. Moreover, they strew ashes over their entire bodies, weep bitterly, abstain from food, and the old women smear their faces with pitch.

Contracts have been kept faithfully among them at all times...

The old men maintain that duplicity or lies were not so current among them...

The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe. ... The office is hereditary... This chief alone among the pagans could retain or desert a number of unmarried women... He led the van in battle, supplied the bows and arrows, and encouraged his people. He was, as a rule, a very good archer. ... The chiefs are always recognized as elders and teachers of their tribes, even in the event that old age forces them to give the chieftainship over to a successor. They wear no distinctive mark of any kind. In the days of paganism, a cloak made of rabbit skins usually distinguished them.

Brotherly love as a rule prevails among these natives.

Musical instruments of native design are very crude. They consist of a hollow tube from an alder tree; this tube is a copy of the dulcet flute... They also use a split stick, like a distaff.

They possessed a confused idea of eternity. It was their belief that after death they went to the place where the sun sets; where there was a man who received the dead; at times these returned to their relatives and visited them in their dreams...

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## The Esselen or Huelel Language

We do not know what the Esselen called themselves in their own language. The term Esselen is modified from *Excelen*, the subgroup in the upper Carmel Valley area. Other Esselen subgroups are also known by the names of various villages or tribelets (see below).

C. Hart Merriam (1968:III:386) applied the term “we-lel” (meaning tongue, language, or word) for the Esselen group in the Soledad area.

I have information that the Esselen should be spelled Eselen, and that they were Indians of the Tassajara Hot Springs, Agua Zarca, the Arroyo Seco, and the region north of Santa Lucia Peak. Work among the Ensenes [i.e., Salinan] at Jolon confirmed this, although the informants (Tito Encinales and Maria Encinales) have no knowledge of tribe names to the north, but knew that a different language prevailed straight north of them and that it was not Carmeleno.

We-lel was Eselen and Soledad.

This term apparently originated from a linguistic sample obtained by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission Soledad in 1833 (although Hodge 1907:438 says it was obtained in 1821). An individual named Eusebio told Arroyo de la Cuesta that Huelel was the name of his language (Hodge 1907:438; Shaul 1998:131). Shaul (1995a, 1998) has recently adopted a variant of that, Huelel, for the language itself.

## Linguistic Relationships

The Esselen language was originally classified provisionally (along with a number of other languages or language families) as a member of the hypothesized Hokan stock (Dixon and Kroeber 1919:54; Kroeber 1925:544; Hester 1978:496). In the “consensus classification of 1964” linguists suggested that Esselen may be an isolate within the Hokan Phylum (Goddard 1996a:319). Shipley (1978:81), however, noted the possibility that Esselen is the single remnant of a language family that has long since vanished.

Foster (1996:84) notes that “Hokan is a loose collection of more than a dozen geographically dispersed families and isolates falling mainly within California but spilling over into Nevada, Arizona, and northwestern Mexico...” Within the South Coast Range area, other members of the hypothesized Hokan group included the Salinan language and the Chumashan language family (Shipley 1978:81).

The Costanoan and Yokuts, two other groups within the South Coast Range area, were members of the hypothesized Penutian stock (see Figure 8). Foster (1996:88) notes

...the idea that Penutians came from Oregon or the northern Great Basin has served as a cornerstone of Penutian origin hypotheses ever since Sapir extended the stock outside California. The assumption underlying earlier hypotheses was that the Proto-Penutians migrated as a single speech community to central California, whence they diversified and spread out in several directions: up and down the Central Valley, and east and west into the Coast Ranges and Sierra Nevada foothills.

More recent analyses support a multiple-entry hypothesis for Penutian (Foster 1996:89).

Recent analyses (cited in Goddard 1996a:319-320) also suggest that neither the Esselen nor the Chumash should be included within Hokan, but rather should be considered isolates. Goddard cites Jacobsen (1979:570), who notes “The Hokan languages are extremely distantly related to each other, and the proof is really lacking that they are mutually more closely related than some might be to some other languages outside of the conventionally-recognized group.”

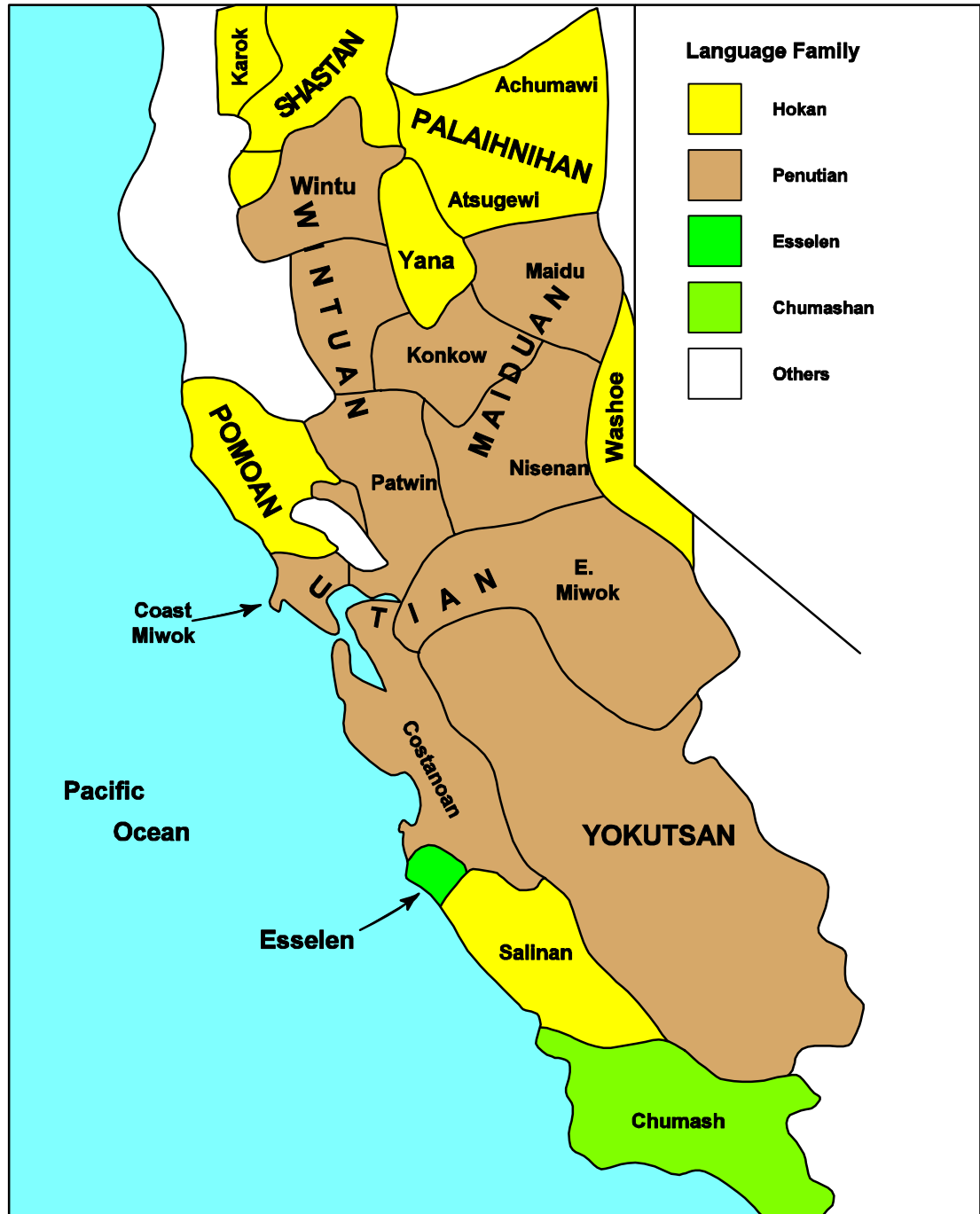


Figure 8. Linguistic families of the California Culture Province (after Goddard 1996b).

There is a considerable body of data suggesting the Esselen or an Esselen-like language was once spoken as far north as the San Francisco Bay area, and that gradually that area was lost to expanding Penutian-speakers (Breschini 1983; Moratto 1984; Shaul 1998:130).

A recent study of vigesimal systems (counting by twenty) in California Indian languages has been completed by Farris (1990). The Esselen are mentioned as possibly practicing this form

of counting. However, Farris cites Beeler (1978:33), who noted the Esselen used “a basically quinary system that has been overlaid, in prehistoric time, by a quaternary and, later by a decimal system.” Farris (1990:181) notes that quinary systems are often linked with vigesimal systems.

## Sources of Data on the Esselen Language

Beeler (1978:3) observed that the Esselen language was the first known California aboriginal language to become extinct. There are only about a dozen primary sources of information (cited below).

Early anthropologists conducting research in the Monterey area often could not locate Esselen informants, so much of the information was obtained from Costanoan speakers who had also learned Esselen or only just heard Esselen spoken many years earlier. For example, Alfred Kroeber could find only six Esselen words on his trip to Monterey in 1902, and C. Hart Merriam in 1906 found nine words and short expressions (Beeler 1977, 1978).

However, these two anthropologists both missed Isabella Meadows, descended from both Rumsen and Ensen (as well as European) ancestors, who had learned some Esselen as a girl. She was interviewed extensively by John P. Harrington in the 1930s. Although quite elderly, she provided a significant amount of Esselen material (Harrington n.d.).

Shaul (1995a:193) notes that, “After 1888, investigators encountered only people who could remember having heard Esselen, not people who had actually spoken it in their daily lives.”

The primary sources of information on the Esselen language are as follows (cf. Beeler 1977, 1978; Shaul 1998):

- 1) In 1786, the French scientific expedition under the Comte de la Pérouse spent a short time at Monterey (see Margolin, ed. 1989). Only 20 or 22 Esselen words were recorded, including the first ten numerals, but no sentences or phrases.
- 2) In 1792, a Spanish naval expedition exploring the Strait of Juan de Fuca between Washington and Vancouver Island stopped at Monterey on its return trip. The resulting manuscript is often called the Galiano manuscript, after the name of one of the two ship captains. The published report contained 31 words from the Esselen language, including, again, the first ten numerals. (See also Cutter 1990 and Jane 1930.)

In 1972, Madison Beeler was contacted by Harry Lawton, who had discovered additional material from the Galiano manuscript in the Naval Museum in Madrid. Much more extensive than the published version, the original field notes



contained 105 lexical items, as well as nine short sentences. This data was examined by Shaul (1995a, 1998).

This manuscript contains additional words in both Esselen and Rumsen, the catechism, along with a few brief notes on Esselen culture. One of these notes states “it is quite remarkable that among peoples who are neighbors and without fixed boundaries there should be so great a difference in speech; from this can be inferred a difference in the origin of their establishment in these lands” (Beeler 1978:10). Beeler also notes that further communication or personal examination of the original manuscript in Madrid should produce additional information (Madison Beeler, personal communication).

- 3) The third source of information is the reply of the Mission San Carlos padres to the *Interrogatorio*, or questionnaire, sent by the Spanish government to all of the missions in 1812. The response from Carmel illustrated the distinctness of the two Indian groups at the mission by providing the translation of the sentence “Men who shoot well the arrow are highly thought of and much loved” in both Rumsen and Esselen. (See Kroeber 1908.)
- 4) A manuscript written by Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta on May 18, 1833, at Mission Soledad [Harrington n.d.; reel 81, says in several places it was March 16, 1833]. This contains 70 words from the eastern portion of Esselen territory, around the Arroyo Seco River.
- 5) The fifth source is a list of the first ten Esselen numerals collected at “Mision del Carmelo” by Eugene Duflot de Mofras, in the late 1830s.
- 6) The next source is one of the longest, about 140 items. It was collected at Monterey on July 27, 1878 by Alphonse Pinart. The informant was a woman named Omesia who was born at *Guacaron*, near the present site of Castroville. She is said to have been married to an Esselen man. (See Heizer 1952 and Shaul 1995a.)
- 7) In 1888, H.W. Henshaw, who was working for the Bureau of American Ethnology, gathered some 110 words and 68 phrases of Esselen from informants in Monterey and the Salinas Valley. His primary informant was Eulalia, a Rumsen speaker whose mother had been Esselen. Much of this data was corroborated by Pacific Belisano, another Rumsen speaker who knew Esselen. (See Heizer 1955 and Shaul 1995a.)
- 8) Alfred Kroeber obtained six additional Esselen words from “an old Costanoan woman” in 1902, and in 1908 added a sentence he found in a Spanish document (Hester 1978:496).

- 9) C. Hart Merriam obtained nine expressions from “the Kah-koon woman” in 1906.
- 10) One of the last sources of information is John P. Harrington. He was meticulous in gathering information from previous researchers and having his informants “rehear” the words and phrases. His primary Esselen information came from an elderly Rumsen/Ensen woman named Isabel (or Isabella) Meadows. He interviewed her between 1932 and 1937. She reportedly had heard the language as a child, possibly from Pinart’s informant Omesia (Shaul 1995b:246). His field notes are gathered in three reels of microfilm (Harrington n.d.).
- 11) Shaul (1995a, 1995b) notes additional minor data, including the “Sarria fragment” which was found used as a bookmark in a book in the Mission San Carlos library.

## The Origins of the Esselen Language

The distinctness and individuality of the Esselen language has been noted as being unusual, given the small size of the group. Beginning as early as the 1920s, Kroeber (1923, 1925:544-545) theorized, largely based on linguistic patterns, that Esselen speakers had once occupied a much larger territory, and may have extended as far north as the San Francisco Bay area. Sherburne Cook (1974a, 1974b:1), writing much more recently, has also concluded that the Esselen once inhabited a much larger territory, probably to the north.

This idea is also supported by the presence of words borrowed from Esselen into the Ohlone or Costanoan languages. Beeler (1978:35-36) notes that this is particularly true of the northernmost Costanoan language, Karkin (in the Carquinez Strait portion of the San Francisco Bay area), suggesting that the territories of the Esselen and northern Costanoan were once contiguous. Shaul (1988b; personal communication 2003) also notes the borrowing of “sea” oriented words from Esselen into Costanoan; Esselen words containing suffixes were borrowed directly into Costanoan languages, where new suffixes were added, leaving a trail easily followed by linguists.

Shaul (1983a, 1988a:47-55) also notes the northern connection, but sees an additional connection to the south and east. He identified linguistic contacts between Esselen and Uto-Aztecan and Chumashan, two language families not closely related to Esselen. Based on this, he too suggested that Esselen was once spoken over a wider territory, extending perhaps both northward and eastward into the Central Valley of California.

Additional suggestions along these lines come from DNA research. For example, Eshleman (2002:37) determined that progenitors of Takic (a northern Uto-Aztecan group) speakers had

been neighbors of Hokan populations in California, accounting for mtDNA gene flow between the two groups.

The idea that the Esselen had a much larger ancestral homeland was noted by linguists, but was not widely explored by archaeologists for nearly half a century. Then, in the late 1970s, two independent, but very closely related theoretical models were developed which place Esselen speaking peoples (or their direct ancestors) in the San Francisco Bay area, and explore the mechanism by which they lost that territory to expanding Penutian-speaking groups (cf. Breschini 1983; Moratto 1984).

The recent evaluation of linguistic hypotheses in the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 17, supports these conjectures on Esselen origins. Foster (1996:89) notes:

Around 2000 B.C. some of the Proto-Utians began moving westward toward the San Francisco Bay, presumably occupied by Yukian groups to the north and pre-Esselen (Hokan) groups to the south. ...Over the next two millennia Utians fully occupied the area around San Francisco Bay and as far south as Monterey Bay.

North of Carquinez Strait, Proto-Western Miwok speakers spread into Marin County at the expense of Yukians...

Developments south of Carquinez Strait involve the rise of the Costanoan branch of Utian, which spread southward from the San Francisco Bay to a point somewhat below Monterey (Moratto 1984:279). It has been suggested that much of this region was once under Esselen control (Beeler 1977:44).

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## **Populations, Settlement Systems, and Regional Interaction**

The Esselen Indians are thought to have been the first inhabitants of the coast and mountains of the Big Sur country. Much of Esselen territory now lies within the Ventana Wilderness area of the Los Padres National Forest, in central Monterey County, California.

### **Territory and Geographic Setting**

In order to understand the Esselen it is first necessary to place them within the context of their geographic setting.

When they were encountered by the Spanish over 200 years ago, the Esselen lived in the upper Carmel Valley and in the rugged and densely-forested Santa Lucia Mountains, now a part of the Los Padres National Forest. They also occupied a stretch of the coast in the Big

Sur area, and an unknown area of the Salinas Valley around Soledad. The heartland of the Esselen appears to have been the upper Carmel River and adjacent areas, including the drainages of Cachagua and Tularcitos Creeks and the adjacent areas of the lower Arroyo Seco River drainage. Much of Esselen territory is now included within the Ventana Wilderness Area.

The Santa Lucia Mountains are extremely rugged, and are characterized by jagged peaks and steep canyons. The portion of the coast controlled by the Esselen generally lacks wave-cut terraces; it consists largely of high steep cliffs which are cut by small coastal creeks. The only exception to this is the broad valley traversed by the lower portions of the Big Sur River.

Because of the steep canyons, traveling north and south along the coast would have been extremely difficult. It is most likely that any major journey to the north or south involved traveling inland to the crest of the coast ridge, and then following that ridge north or south.

In studying the Esselen, the nature of the terrain must constantly be kept in mind. The rugged terrain in which they lived contributed to the way of life of the Esselen. Other than the obvious restrictions which the terrain would impose upon their settlement patterns and subsistence strategies, it would have also affected trade and communication with their neighbors, and influenced their lives in a multitude of more subtle ways. For example, the partial isolation of the Esselen probably contributed to the degree of linguistic distinctness noted by Kroeber, as well as the distinctness of Esselen culture.

### ***The Mountains***

The Spanish soldiers were daunted by the ruggedness of Esselen territory, both in the interior mountains and along the coast. In the mountains the trails were made for people traveling on foot, not heavily armed soldiers riding horses. When the trails were bad, as they often were, the soldiers had to dismount and walk. With their heavy leather coats and boots, which also served as armor, walking for any great distance was difficult. The soldiers were more effective on the gentle coastline of the Monterey Peninsula and in the Carmel Valley, near to where the presidio and mission were founded in 1770. That was Rumsen territory. Because of their proximity to the mission, and advantages the soldiers enjoyed on the gentler terrain, the Rumsen were virtually all conquered and moved to the mission by about 1780.

But steep and rugged as they were to the Spanish, to the Esselen these mountains were home. Archaeological excavations show occupation of the Big Sur coast for at least 6,000 years (or possibly 6,500 years), and the interior mountains for nearly as long.

Several of the peaks and ridgelines reach 5,000 feet or more in elevation. The highest point in Monterey County is Junipero Serra Peak (formerly known as Santa Lucia Peak), located on

the southeastern boundary of Esselen territory (Figure 1). It extends to over 5,800 feet in elevation.

During winters today, the snow level often drops below 3,000 feet, and much of Esselen territory is blanketed in white. Only the low-lying areas and the coast remain free of snow. During the “Little Ice Age” (see below) conditions appear to have been considerably colder.

When we think about these majestic mountains, and imagine how they might have been when the Esselen lived there, it is easy to make two fundamental mistakes.

First, we tend to project the climate we know back into the past, but archaeological and other studies have shown that the climate has not always been as favorable as it is today. And even today, fierce winter storms rage through the mountains.

Secondly, most of the vegetation we see around us, including California’s famous golden hillsides, resulted from species introduced by Europeans, replacing native species, and by the cessation of the annual burning practices of the Esselen and other California groups.

William H. Brewer visited the Chews Ridge area in May of 1861, and noted that Esselen territory to the south was “...a wilderness of mountains, rugged, covered with chaparral, forbidding, and desolate. They are nearly inaccessible, and a large region in there has never been explored by white men” (Brewer 1966:110).

### ***The Coast***

The Esselen occupied about 25 miles of the Big Sur coastline (Figure 1). We believe that their northern boundary on the coast was around the Little Sur River, probably north of the river in the Hurricane Point area. Just south of the Little Sur River, on the coastal plain between the Little and Big Sur rivers, is the most favorable portion of the Esselen coastline. There are a number of archaeological sites in this area, some of which extend well over 4,000 years in age.

With the exception of this small area around the Big Sur River, the Esselen coastline was steep and rocky, with very few locations suitable as sites for large villages (Figure 9). Normally, in this part of California, major villages are located where there are most of the following favorable traits: flat land, some degree of shelter from the elements, morning sun, nearby water, and a variety of resources, with firewood being one of the most important (King 1993).

But the Esselen were different, and it was because of the land they occupied. In spite of the steep, rugged terrain, campsites or small villages have been found on both the north and south banks of virtually every creek that enters the ocean in Esselen territory. Sometimes these

sites are situated well back from the ocean, on the first reasonably flat spot of land, but small campsites are occasionally found clinging to a slope where you wouldn't think anyone could possibly live. In fact, most of the other Indian groups in central California did not live on slopes as steep as the Esselen.



Figure 9. Much of the coastal portion of Esselen territory is steep, with few convenient places for large villages.

The ocean was rich in resources, including fish and shellfish, salt and birds eggs, seaweed, seals and sea lions and tar, to name just a few. The Esselen had learned the skills necessary to exploit these resources.

Another frequent characteristic of coastal Esselen sites is their small size. This also follows the demands and limitations of the terrain. The Esselen regularly used portions of the coast that were steeper than those used by almost any other group in central California.

## Past Climates

Since the most recent glacial episode, which ended some 10,000 to 12,000 years ago, some periods have been significantly colder or significantly warmer than it is today. The Altithermal was a lengthy period of warming and drying which extended from about 8,000 to 5,000 years ago (depending on the location). It was followed by the Medithermal, between about 5,000 and 3,500 years ago, which was characterized by cooler, moister conditions (Moratto 1984:153).

The “Medieval Warm Period” (formerly known as the Medieval Climatic Optimum) occurred between approximately A.D. 800 and 1200 (Fagan 2000). This period was characterized by warmer sea temperatures, decreased precipitation, and warmer summer temperatures (Jones 1995:217). Temperatures may have averaged about 1° C higher. For comparison, during this climatic episode the temperatures in Greenland were so much warmer than normal that the Vikings were able to establish farms there.

In California, the “Medieval Warm Period” caused severe environmental problems, including drought, and led to a decrease in population and significant changes in the Indians’ settlement and subsistence strategies. It is likely that during this period people shifted some of their subsistence focus from the coast to the interior, which explains the increased terrestrial focus for subsistence on the Big Sur coast noted by Terry Jones (1995:220). See also Wohlgemuth et al. (2002).

The Spanish explored and settled California near the end of a lengthy and worldwide climatic episode known as the “Little Ice Age” (Fagan 2000). This was a period of colder sea and air temperatures, and generally more moist conditions. During the time of Spanish exploration and settlement the ocean and air temperature may have averaged as much as 3.0° C (5.4° F) lower than today. The diaries and letters of the explorers and later missionaries frequently describe conditions of snow and freezing such as we rarely see today.

The main portions of the “Little Ice Age” lasted from about A.D. 1300 to 1850. Recent investigations suggest that we may still be experiencing some residual effects of the “Little Ice Age” even today (Figure 10).

This abrupt change from the Medieval Warm Period to the Little Ice Age is certain to have affected the local populations in a number of ways.



Figure 10. The interior mountains receive heavy snows during the winter; the winter villages most likely were in the sheltered lower valleys.

## Vegetation Changes

Two highly significant events changed the vegetation patterns from what they had been prior to the arrival of the first humans. First, the Indians, over time, developed annual burning practices. Then, after the Indians had practiced burning, perhaps for thousands of years, the Spanish settlers arrived. They brought cattle, horses, and other domesticated animals whose grazing stressed many of the Indians' traditional sources of food. The Spanish also brought with them many new species of plants, which, with overgrazing and the end of annual burning practices, were able to out-compete the local species. Hundreds of native species became extinct within a short time. Many of the native species which relied on these plants also suffered.



By the 1790s, the Spanish outlawed the Indians' traditional burning practices, as they needed the grasses the Indians burned in the fall to feed their cattle, horses, and other livestock.

### ***Changes in Flora and Fauna***

Peter Raven (1977:127-129) notes that during the Spanish, Mexican and early American periods (prior to 1860), at least 134 alien species were established in California. The total today stands at 654 or higher.

As new species were introduced and flourished, many of the older species, those used by the Esselen and other Indian groups, have been restricted in area or have disappeared entirely. Even the grasses which comprise California's characteristic "golden grasslands" are introduced.

As with the plant species, so too have animal species disappeared. The demise of the grizzly bear began when the Spaniards, with their firearms, began to kill bears as a supplemental food source, which they preferred over deer, elk, or antelope. The grizzly was also hunted and poisoned because it preyed on mission and rancho livestock, which provide the bears with an abundant and docile food supply. In the year 1805 alone, grizzlies killed an estimated 400 head of livestock on the Rancho del Rey near present-day Salinas. The last grizzly bear was reportedly seen in Monterey County in 1886 (Anderson 2000:2-3), although we have heard a report that Sam Trotter saw Big Sur's last grizzly on a ridge just south of Partington Creek in 1900 (Jeff Norman, personal communication 2003).

Black bears are still seen occasionally. Actually, most of these bears are not even seen in the National Forest, as they make their way down to the nearest town in search of food. A few years ago one bear, with obviously more refined tastes than his brothers and sisters, ended up at the Starbucks in Sand City; other less fortunate bears have had to make due with the Salinas River bottom or the flagpole at Monterey's City Hall.

Another animal that was once plentiful is the tule elk. The tule elk inhabited the marshy areas, plains, and foothills of the lower Salinas Valley. They probably extended into the upper Carmel Valley as well. The last elk in Monterey County disappeared shortly after the Gold Rush. Bones of the tule elk are occasionally found in archaeological sites.

Antelope once roamed the grasslands, but they too disappeared shortly after the Gold Rush when market hunting decimated their numbers and the drastic increase in farming reduced their habitat.

## ***The Use of Fire***

Indian have no medicine to put on all places where bug and worm are, so he burn; every year Indian burn. ...Fire burn up old acorn that fall on ground. Old acorn on ground have lots worm; no burn old acorn, no burn old bark, old leaves, bugs and worms come more every year. ...Indian burn every year just same, so keep all ground clean, no bark, no dead leaf, no old wood on ground, no old wood on brush, so no bug can stay to eat leaf and no worm can stay to eat berry and acorn. Not much on ground to make hot fire so never hurt big trees where fire burn.

Klamath River Jack, Letter to California Fish and Game Commission, 1916

Today, fire is generally thought of as harmful, as the enemy, to be extinguished at all costs. But the Indians managed their landscape using fire as one of their primary tools.

Fire, used as a regular management tool, retarded the spread of brush and enhanced the spread of grasslands. It eliminated the old, dried brush and fallen timber, and promoted the growth of young, tender shoots favored by deer and other wildlife. It also promoted the growth of a variety of herbs (for information on the use of fire by Native Americans, see Lewis 1973 and Blackburn and Anderson 1993).

The Esselen and other Indian groups recognized fire's role in nature. The Indians used burning as a regular management tool to cleanse the environment, to burn downed or unhealthy trees, and clear old, dry brush so that new, lush growth could flourish. With a cleaner environment, the periodic wildfires started by lightning or the Indians themselves probably caused much less damage than fires today.

Summer in the high mountains is hot and dry and today the grasses turn golden in the heat. When the Esselen inhabited the mountains the grass species were different. There were more bunchgrasses, and the burrs and stickers which plague us today were much less common.

These extremely hot and dry conditions, especially when combined with strong winds, are what permit wildfires today to burn vast areas of the wilderness. The annual burning practiced by the Esselen and other Indians throughout California reduced the destructive potential of wildfires by reducing the available fuel—dense buildups of dry brush and downed timber. Without this fuel buildup, wildfires usually can't generate enough heat to ignite the healthy trees. But unhealthy trees, diseased, riddled with insects or with dead bark or branches, will be cleaned out by the fire, improving the viability of the wilderness as a whole.

## Population

Alfred Kroeber, in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*, estimated that the population of the Esselen was between 500 and 1,000, but probably closer to 500 than 1,000 (1925:545). Sherburne Cook initially placed the Esselen population at 750, with a territory of approximately 580 square miles (1943:186). He subsequently revised his estimate to over 1,300 (1974a:11). Cook's estimate of at least 1,300 was based partially on the assumption that the Esselen occupied a territory of about 625 square miles, and had a population density of 2.1 individuals per square mile (although he accepted a figure of 1 per square mile in his 1943 work).

Cook's mission record research identified approximately 790 Esselen baptisms (463 from San Carlos, 263 from Soledad, and 64 from San Antonio). Using a multiplication factor of about 1.5 to account for the difference between the actual population and the number of baptized individuals, Cook arrived at an aboriginal population of 1,185. While some of the individuals who were not baptized may have escaped to the east and joined other groups, it is more likely that death in aboriginal villages due to introduced diseases was the primary reason fewer individuals than expected were baptized (cf. Walker and Johnson 2003:58).

However, Cook was not completely sure that he should exclude *Sargentaruc* from his Esselen totals, so he figured the population both ways. Including *Sargentaruc* adds an additional 161 individuals, for a total of 951 (1974a:10). Multiplying by 1.5 brings the total to over 1,425. Because he was not sure whether to include or exclude *Sargentaruc*, Cook (1974a:11) averaged these two different figures to arrive at his intermediate population of about 1,300 (1974a:11).

Randall Milliken calculates this combined figure at 1,015, slightly higher than Cook's 951 (1990:75). However, Milliken (1987:65) based on mission record analyses, has concluded that *Sargentaruc* should not be included within Esselen territory, and we agree with this conclusion. Accordingly, Cook's population estimate of 1,185, rather than his averaged figure of 1,300, is more likely.

Milliken's baptism estimates for the five Esselen districts include 856 individuals (1990:28), slightly higher than Cook's 790. If, as Cook suggests, a multiplication factor of about 1.5 is applied, Milliken's figures provide a population estimate of about 1,285 for the Esselen. This is in reasonably close agreement with Cook's estimate of 1,185.

Estimates for the size of Esselen territory vary widely. Cook estimated their territory at 580 (1943:186) and 625 square miles (1974a:11), but his map (1974a) included considerably less territory. Milliken estimated Esselen and *Sargentaruc* territory together at about 750 square miles (1990:75).

Our own research suggests that the Esselen controlled an area closer to 775 square miles in size (excluding *Sargentaruc*) (see Figure 1). The main areas where our boundary estimates differ from Kroeber (1925), Cook (1974a), and Hester (1978) are 1) along the Salinas River in the Soledad area, 2) the lower Arroyo Seco River area, and 3) Reliz Canyon. This figure is slightly lower than our previous research (Breschini and Haversat 1994) because of adjustments of the estimated boundary in the Mt. Carmel and Big Creek drainage areas based on new data (see the section titled Esselen Boundaries, below). However, there is considerable uncertainty in the Thompson Canyon area; Milliken (this volume) suggests that the Esselen/Salinan boundary should be farther north than we have drawn. This would reduce our estimate of the number of square miles occupied by the Esselen still farther.

Using a population estimate of 1,285, the estimate of about 775 square miles provides a population density of about 1.6 or 1.7 individuals per square mile. Given the rugged nature of the Esselen territory, this may be a more accurate figure than 2.1 individuals per square mile used by Cook (1974a:11).

To summarize, the actual number of Esselen baptized (excluding the *Sargentaruc* area) was in the range of 790 (Cook 1974a:11) to 856 (Milliken 1990:28). Population estimates based on these numbers range from 1,185 to 1,285.

An unknown number of additional individuals may also have been Esselen. First, there are about 22 individuals listed as being affiliated with both *Sargentaruc* and *Jojopan* or *Sargentaruc* and *Ecgeajan* (*Jojopan* and *Ecgeajan* were Esselen political entities). Secondly, some 16 individuals were baptized as being from *Sargentaruc* in the 1806 to 1808 time period. As noted elsewhere, there may have been considerable intermixture in this area. It is thus likely that some unknown number of these 38 individuals were actually of Esselen descent.

## Esselen Boundaries

We will likely never know the exact Esselen boundaries at the time of Spanish contact. Indeed, those boundaries may not even have been exact—it is likely that some of the areas between groups were either sparsely inhabited, or uninhabited, and used jointly. Junípero Serra Peak is probably one such area.

An additional complication is that the prehistoric boundaries changed a great deal through time, and may even have changed during the short time between Spanish contact and the last Mission San Carlos baptisms in 1808.

Because of these problems, we are providing our current estimates of the Esselen boundaries at the time of Spanish contact as well as the reasoning behind our selections.

## ***Little Sur River to San Clemente Reservoir***

Beginning at the coast on the northern end of Esselen territory we immediately encounter a problem. As explained elsewhere, we believe that some members of the *Sargentaruc* group moved south into Esselen territory following the main conquest of that district in the mid-1780s. Indeed, at least nine mission deserters fled to this area as well, as their death records note that they were buried in *Sargentaruc* (Breschini and Haversat 1994). This increased presence of Ohlone in the Big Sur area, which had been entirely Esselen, led Culleton and Cook to conclude that the Big Sur area may have been bilingual and bicultural (Culleton 1950:207, 271-272; Cook 1974a:8).

But where was the original boundary when the Spanish arrived?

We have two primary clues; one comes from archaeology and the other comes from the ethnographic literature.

First, most of the archaeological sites thought to be occupation sites in Ohlone territory between the Monterey Peninsula and Palo Colorado share certain characteristics: they show the intense, specialized approach to subsistence associated with collectors, which included storage and greater intersite variability (after Binford 1980). Esselen sites to the south exhibit more of the characteristics of foragers, smaller groups who typically gathered foods on a daily encounter basis. These differences are manifested in a number of ways, including the cubic volume of the sites and the sheer quantities of material left behind. On the coast, this is particularly manifested in the quantities of shellfish remains—occupation sites to the north of the Little Sur River are generally larger and exhibit considerably more shell than sites to the south of the Little Sur River, even though many aspects of the coastal environment are similar. However, care must be taken with this type of comparison: significant changes occurred through time, it is necessary to compare sites of the same general age and type. Artifact styles, however, particularly those related to subsistence activities, often show relatively little difference between the two groups.

A second clue comes from a short phrase recorded in Monterey by Alphonse Pinart on July 27, 1878. It was provided by an Indian woman named Omesia, who reported that she was formerly married to a man from “*Ex’xien*” or “the rock” (Heizer 1952:2, 81). Milliken suggests that this may refer to the 4,031 foot Marble Peak (1990:58) or the Ventana Cones (1987:68), an extremely rugged and distinctive group of peaks between the upper Carmel River and the Big Sur watersheds (Figure 1).

We feel it is more likely, however, that Omesia’s use of “*Ex’xien*” or “the rock” refers to Point Sur, or “Moro Rock” as it often called by old-timers in the Big Sur area (Figure 11). This distinctive landmark is visible for miles both up and down the coast—indeed in clear weather it can be seen from the Monterey Peninsula to Pacific Valley.



Figure 11. Point Sur, originally called Moro Rock. We believe this is the landmark an Indian woman named Omesia referred to when she said she was formerly married to a man from “*Ex’xien*” or “the rock.”

Milliken’s suggested boundary in the Post Creek/Pfeiffer Pt. area south of the Big Sur River (1990:58) would place Point Sur (possibly “the rock”) within the Ohlone district of *Sargentaruc*, north of Esselen territory. Our boundary estimate at or north of the Little Sur River places this feature within Esselen territory. (Both of our boundary estimates place the Ventana Cones within Esselen territory).

It is possible that some of our differences come from interpretation of the mission records, which may in turn reflect a boundary which was shifting through time. There is clear evidence from both the mission records and archaeological research documenting intermixing in the Big Sur area. It is entirely possible that this boundary shifted from its original location north of the Little Sur River to the location Milliken favors south of Posts due to the influence of the missions. There is, in fact, archaeological data to support this theory.

If the contact era boundary was in fact at or north of the Little Sur River, it is likely that 1) it began on the coast in the area of Hurricane Point and followed Sierra Hill to the southeast, and 2) it included the watershed of the North Fork of the Little Sur River. If these

assumptions are correct, the boundary could have originated at Hurricane Point, followed the Sierra Hill ridgeline to the southeast, then east, then northeast to Bixby Mountain at 2,920 foot elevation. From that point, following the ridgeline east leads to Bottchers Gap, then northeast to Devils Peak at 4,158 feet and north to Mount Carmel at 4,417 feet.

From Mount Carmel the boundary most likely went northeast, following either Ponciano Ridge or Black Rock Ridge; given the terrain, we favor the latter. The boundary probably crossed the Carmel River at what is now the San Clemente Reservoir, most likely somewhere south of San Clemente Creek. The reasoning for this is threefold. First, San Clemente Creek was probably one of several travel routes for the Rumsen between the Carmel River and the village of Echilat, in the Rancho San Carlos area. Secondly, there is a major archaeological site (CA-MNT-33) just to the north of the reservoir which has all of the characteristics of a Rumsen winter village during the Middle Period (including very limited exploitation of shellfish and heavy use of acorn processing tools). Finally, the Carmel River east of what is now the San Clemente Reservoir is extremely rugged.

### ***San Clemente Reservoir to Soledad***

From the San Clemente Reservoir area the boundary appears to have continued northeast then east in the area of Buckeye Ridge, east of Chupines Creek. The reasoning behind this is two large archaeological sites (CA-MNT-580 and CA-MNT-581) in Chupines Creek which appear to have the characteristics of Rumsen sites, that is, numerous artifacts, and moderate quantities of shell. At this distance from the coast the amount of shell is decreasing in all sites, but the Esselen/Rumsen boundary exhibits a significantly sharper drop in the amount of shell as the Esselen did not have unrestricted access down the Carmel Valley to the ocean.

About 2-3 miles east of Chupines Creek is the Marble or Tularcitos Ranch, the original location for the Esselen village of *Capanay* (which translates as “tule” in the Esselen language). This area was clearly Esselen territory.

From Buckeye Ridge the boundary probably turned northeast, following the ridge between Chupines and Rana creeks to the top of the Sierra de Salinas somewhere east of Mt. Toro. From there it traveled northeast or east and entered the Salinas Valley. The boundary is most likely south of Chualar, as that area was the area of the Zanjones land grant which clearly was within Ensen territory. The boundary probably passes near, but south of Gonzales, trending east and southeast, then passes perhaps north of the town of Soledad.

The boundary in this area is little known. We know that Mission Soledad was in Esselen territory, and that Ohlone groups occupied the lands to the north and northeast, but the exact boundary is not certain. Alexander Taylor (1860) referred to the “Ecselenes of the Plains,” further corroborating the presence of the Esselen in the Salinas Valley, but failed to provide any additional detail.

## ***Soledad to Junípero Serra Peak***

In the Salinas Valley, the Esselen boundary may have included both Soledad and Greenfield, and a portion of their territory appears to have been northeast of the Salinas River.

The data show that the Esselen did not control the area where King City is presently situated, and in fact the boundary appears to have been somewhere west of King City and north of Pine Canyon. We have evidence that much of Reliz Canyon was Esselen, but no good evidence either way for most of Thompson Canyon. Additionally, somewhere in the *Aspasniajan* district is the large community of *Tesmaymanil* or “El Pino,” and the middle reaches of Reliz Canyon makes an ideal location.

From somewhere near the head of Thompson Canyon the boundary extended west toward Junípero Serra Peak. We believe it generally followed the ridgeline, and that the Arroyo Seco River watershed to the north was largely Esselen, while the San Antonio River watershed to the south was Salinan. Mason’s study of Salinan ethnography is of little help, as he writes, “Nothing is known concerning the Esselen-Salinan boundary” (1912:103).

There is some additional information on this boundary which may be pertinent. There are three rock art sites in this area. Two of these sites are on the north side of the ridgeline, one high on the ridge at the head of Thompson Canyon (CA-MNT-305), and the other a bit lower, in the upper reaches of Reliz Canyon (CA-MNT-176). The third site (La Cueva Pintada or CA-MNT-256) is very large and actually crosses the ridge, but is mostly located on the south side, in the Oat Hills area. This site is unquestionably Salinan; it is the “Cave of the Idols” shown to the padres at Mission San Antonio shortly after it was founded and mentioned in Junípero Serra’s letter of May 21, 1773 (Tibesar 1955:I:355).

The two rock art sites on the north side of the ridge appear to have a different style than does the large Salinan site. This opinion is based on a detailed study we conducted at CA-MNT-256 (Breschini and Haversat 1980) and cursory examinations of the other two sites. The two sites north of the ridge contain figures largely in white (one example is shown in Figure 35), while much of La Cueva Pintada is in red. However, the styles of these two small caves do not appear to match the other Esselen rock art, in which the handprint is the dominant figure. Based on this information, our estimate would be to place the Esselen/Salinan boundary near the top of the ridge where Reliz, Thompson, and Pine canyons come together.

There is a convenient ridgeline running generally west from this area to Junípero Serra Peak. This ridgeline includes Bear Mountain, and in fact is the southern boundary of the Ventana Wilderness Area. Given the lack of more specific information, this may be the best guess we have at this time.



## ***Junípero Serra Peak to Big Creek***

We have included the entire Big Creek drainage within Salinan territory (following Rivers and Jones 1993:162-163, 171). This is based on their placement of the Salinan campsite of *tr'akhten* in the area of Lower Bee Camp, an abandoned Forest Service camp on the north fork of Big Creek.

Based on Brandoff-Kerr (1982:77) and Rivers and Jones (1993), as well as our own research, we believe the inland portion of Esselen territory included the Lost Valley area and the area around Escondido Camp. Harrington's Salinan informants had no names for the Los Valley area. Escondido Camp was associated with the Salinan place name *snonlax*, but Rivers and Jones (1993:167) note that this name does not appear in the Mission San Antonio baptism records and that it may represent a post-mission refuge for the Salinan. Indeed, the name Escondido means "hidden" in Spanish.

The southern boundary, on the coast, was probably just north of Big Creek. This placement is considerably farther north than the earlier Kroeber (1925:548) and Hester (1978:496) boundaries, as well as our 1983 estimate (Breschini and Haversat 1983:307). This boundary change is based on Jones' investigations in the Big Creek area (Jones 1988, 1993, 1995; Jones and Haney 1992; Jones et al. 1989), as well as a reevaluation of Howard's (1973a) data from CA-MNT-480.

Given the above information, the boundary probably runs southwest from Junípero Serra Peak. If the Arroyo Seco and San Antonio river watersheds are separated by this boundary, then it would be located about halfway between the Indians Ranch and Santa Lucia Memorial Camp. However, there is not a very significant terrain change in this area, so it is possible that the boundary may have been just west of Santa Lucia Memorial Camp. This area becomes very steep and rugged, and could have made a good boundary.

From the general vicinity of Santa Lucia Memorial Camp (either a bit to the northwest or to the southeast) the boundary probably continued southwest for a while then turned west to northwest, following the Santa Lucia Range and skirting around the northern edge of the Big Creek drainage. From the area just north of Bee Camp the boundary probably ran nearly south to the coast in the area of Square Black Rock or Dolan Rock. (See the following section for an alternate possibility).

Several archaeological sites in this area have been studied by Jones (CA-MNT-1223, etc.) but the exact ethnographic boundary in this area is unclear. However, given the age of the sites, extending from several hundred years old to greater than 6,500 years old, the dividing line is sure to have changed considerably through time. In many cases, boundaries are probably more dynamic and not as rigidly placed as we would prefer for mapping purposes.

## Incised Stones as a Marker of the Esselen/Salinan Boundary

There is one artifact which may be unique to the western half of Salinan territory, and its presence may serve as an indicator of the Esselen/Salinan boundary

This artifact is the incised stone, described by Baldwin as being:

...from about 1<sup>1/2</sup> to 3 inches in length, about 3/4 to 1 3/4 inches in width, and from 1/16 to about 3/8 inch thickness. They repeat a single design element with little variation, a chevron of 4 or 5 stripes with 8 to 14 straight lines running the length of the stone from the edge of the chevron [1971:51].

Georgia Lee does not describe this type of incised stone as being characteristic of Chumash territory (Lee 1981), although she does describe several types of larger incised stones, such as the *comal*, which do appear characteristic of the Chumash. The incised stones most common in Chumash territory are about three times the size of the Salinan specimens, and are often made of steatite. The Salinan incised stones are generally small, and made from siltstone or slate.

Incised stones have been reported from several sites along the coast in Salinan territory, including 21 specimens from CA-MNT-281 (but none from the lower component, designated CA-MNT-282) and an unknown number from the Gorda and Pacific Valley areas (Baldwin 1971:51; Pohorecky 1964, 1976; Cook 1974b). A significant number of incised stones were looted from a Forest Service site (CA-MNT-471) in the Pacific Valley area (Schuster and Carpenter 1986-1988, 1996). There are also a number of incised stones known or reported to be in private collections. The largest was reportedly the collection of Harrydick Ross, who lived on Partington Ridge, but since his death we do not know what has become of the specimens.

One incised stone has been reported from CA-MNT-369, a coastal site near the southern edge of Esselen territory. As discussed in the previous section, the boundary in this area is not precisely known. Based on the location of an incised stone at CA-MNT-369, it is possible that the Esselen/Salinan boundary in the area just north of Bee Camp, at the north end of the Big Creek drainage, ran more westerly than southerly. This is depicted as an alternative boundary placement (dashed line) in our Figure 1.

On the interior, incised stones have been reported from the following sites, all within the western districts of the Salinan (i.e., west of Mission San Antonio):

- CA-MNT-480/H, originally thought to be within Esselen territory but currently believed to be within northern Salinan territory on the coast ridge (Howard 1973);
- Probably unrecorded site overlooking Prewitt Creek;

- CA-MNT-323, in the Stony Valley area of Hunter Liggett (three specimens; see Howard 1977:46; Zahniser and Roberts 1979; Swernoff 1981); and
- CA-MNT-541, about a mile south of Stony Valley in Hunter Liggett (recorded by the authors).

There may also be a single specimen now from northern Chumash territory (Baldwin 1971:51), and Jones (2003:166) notes that these artifacts have been reported from the Vandenberg coast. However, Jones does not provide a citation, so it is possible that the stones to which he is referring are the larger ones which Georgia Lee (1981) described as characteristic of the Chumash area.

The designs on incised stones are not always simple. Figure 12 illustrates several different patterns, or at least major variations of the same pattern. A number of different design elements were identified by Pohorecky (1964:468, 1976:266).

Patterns which are very similar to those on the incised stones are found in the rock art of southern Monterey County, particularly at CA-MNT-44 and CA-MNT-45, in Esselen territory (see Figures 28, 31, and 34). In Salinan territory, these figures are found with Stony Valley, in the Indians area west of Hunter Liggett, and at CA-MNT-256 (see Figure 13). These patterns are almost always the result of a dry application of pigment, such as a charcoal line drawing, rather than a wet application, such as an actual painting.

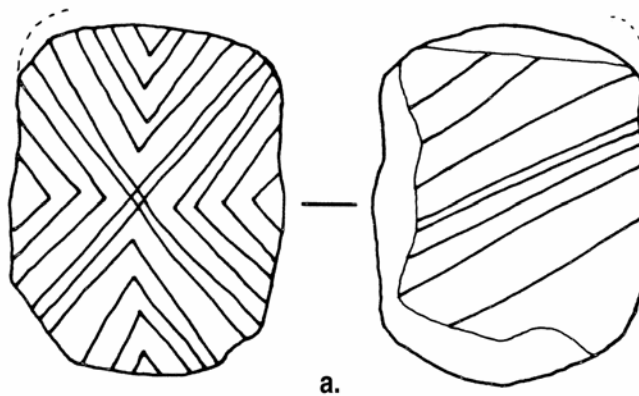


Figure 12. Incised stones from western Salinan territory. Coastal sites: a, c. CA-MNT-281. b. Near Gorda. e. CA-MNT-466, Pacific Valley. Inland sites: d. CA-MNT-323, Stony Valley. f. CA-MNT-541, south of Stony Valley. Approximately actual size.

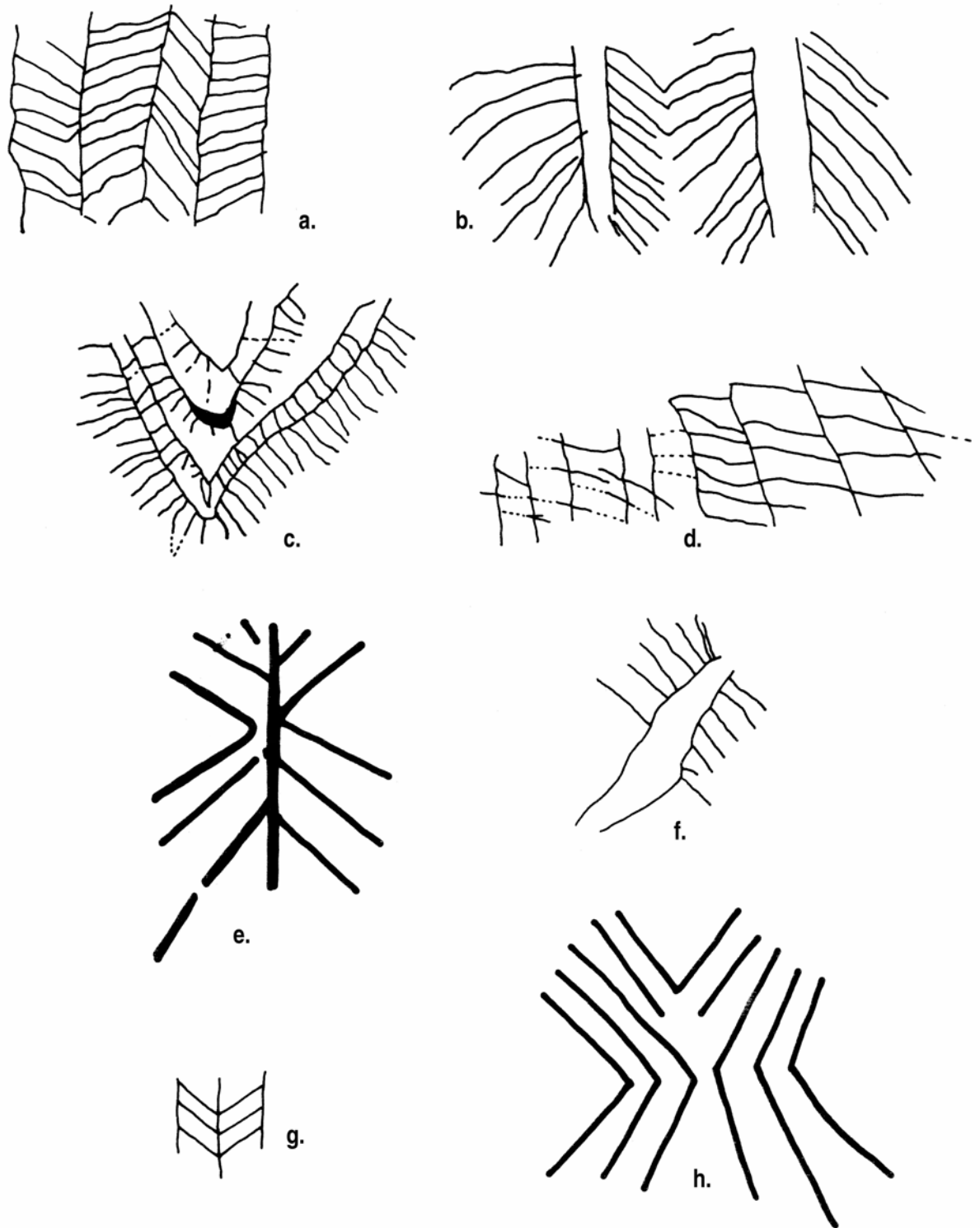


Figure 13. Rock art patterns similar to those on incised stones. Esselen territory: a. CA-MNT-45. b-d, f. CA-MNT-44. Salinan territory: e, h. CA-MNT-256. g. Stony Valley. Not to scale.

## Political Geography

According to Randall Milliken (1990:59) there were five Esselen districts: *Excelen*, *Eslenajan*, *Imunajan*, *Ecgeajan*, and *Aspasniajan* (Figure 1). We believe that each of these districts occupied a fairly specific territory with generally-recognized boundaries, and most likely had a reasonably stable resident population. This is supported both by our recent study of aboriginal marriage patterns at Mission San Carlos and the 1795 comments of Fr. Lasuén (see the section on Regional Marriage Patterns, below).

Within each district there were a number of villages which were sequentially occupied on a seasonal basis depending on the availability of resources. Food, water, and shelter from the elements were the most critical resources, but anyone who has camped in the wilderness can attest that the availability of firewood also would have been a significant factor in village selection.

Of these five districts, the boundaries of the *Excelen* district are probably the best known. The least known boundaries are in the mountainous areas between *Excelen*, *Imunajan*, and *Ecgeajan*.

Each of the five districts, along with their known villages and likely boundaries, is treated separately in the following sections.

### **Excelen**

The district of *Excelen* was situated in the upper Carmel Valley and the adjacent mountains (Figure 14). Because of its proximity, it was the first Esselen district exploited by the padres from Mission San Carlos. Villages identified by Milliken (1990:33-36) for this district are *Xasáuan*, *Aculatcan*, *Capanay*, and *Yppimegesan*.

The name *Xasáuan* appears only once in the records of Mission San Carlos, in CA-B 350. The record details the baptism of *Pach-hepas*, “headman of the *Excelen* and its rancherias” on May 9, 1775. (See the section on Early Ethnographies, above, for a translation of the record.) Interestingly, the suffix “*ehepa-s*” translates as “rabbit skin coat” (Kroeber 1904:54; Turner and Shaul 1981:120). A rabbit skin robe was the badge of honor of the chief, suggesting that the name *Pach-hepas* may have included an honorific or title (i.e., Chief or Mayor Pach). This has also been noted by Culleton (1950:222).

While there are no other references to *Xasáuan*, the village of *Jashaguan* appears in CA-B 1328, and according to Milliken (1990:33), there are three references to *Jachaguan* “in the mountains” in the Mission Soledad records (Mission Soledad baptism numbers, abbreviated as SO-B 758, 764, and 853).



Figure 14. The *Excelen* subgroup of the Esselen occupied the upper Carmel River watershed.

In 1906, C. Hart Merriam learned nine words or phrases from an elderly woman at Monterey. She translated the Esselen word *hash'-show'-win* as “scratching, also name of place” (Harrington n.d. reel 81, frame 651; see also Shaul 1995a:217, n.d.). The same Harrington reference also states:

**Es'-se-len** (rancheria and people) at *Hash-show'-wen*—a side valley (apparently) SE of Monterey over the hills (and near Salinas Valley ?) this side of Tassajara.

The name “Cachagua” is derived from this Esselen village name. Our best estimate would place the village in the vicinity of the Carmel River just below (north of) the area now occupied by the Los Padres Dam. Archaeological site CA-MNT-34 may be the primary locus of this village.

The village of *Capanay* is somewhat easier to locate, as the Esselen word *Ka-pa'-na* is given by Kroeber (1904:55) as “tule.” Further, Milliken (1990:34) states that *Capanay* was the nearest *Excelen* district to Mission San Carlos. These two clues clearly place *Capanay* in the Tularcitos Creek area in association with tules.

Milliken places this village at the mouth of Chupines Creek, but archaeological and historical evidence clearly suggests that *Capanay* was actually about two to three miles farther to the east. This is the area of the Marble Ranch and the ruins of the Los Tularcitos adobe, the original ranch house associated with the Los Tularcitos grant, which was given in 1834. This area was referred to as “tulares” in the early records, and “Tularcitos” in the later records. “Tularcitos” is Spanish for “little tules” (Clark 1991:454-455).

Another interesting point: the ridge to the south of the Marble Ranch, now called Tularcitos Ridge, is referred to as “mountains of Jassahaguan” and “Sierra de Tasshhaguan” in the land grant patent of 1866 (Clark 1991:61, 454). The location we believe most likely for the village of *Xasáuan* or *Jashaguan* is less than four miles away, on the opposite side of this ridge.

The village of *Aculatcan* was reportedly situated 24 miles (Milliken 1990:34) or 11 leagues (Culleton 1950:145) from Mission San Carlos (CA-B 1952). This would place this village anywhere between two miles nearer or three miles farther from the mission than *Xasáuan*, which 20 years earlier had been reported as 10 leagues (26 miles) from the mission. Distances in the mission records are estimates made by different people, possessing more or less familiarity with the area, and at different times. Lacking other clues, the best we can do for the location of *Aculatcan* is place it somewhere near *Xasáuan* or *Capanay*.

The village of *Yppimegesan* is described in the Carmel baptism records only in CA-B 1422. It is described as being about three leagues or eight miles distant from the “tulares.” This would probably place it east of Cachagua Creek, along Finch Creek, generally in the area of Jamesburg and the Hastings Natural History Reservation. This location has also been suggested by Howard (1977:31).

The eastern boundary of the *Excelen* was probably located only a few miles east of *Yppimegesan*. There is a divide between two major watersheds in this area. To the west of the divide drainage is through the Carmel River, while to the east it is through the Arroyo Seco River. This would have been a natural dividing line between the two groups.

## ***Eslenajan***

Mission Soledad was situated within Esselen territory, within the district of *Eslenajan*, or as it was often called, *Eslen*. Early researchers all placed Mission Soledad within Costanoan territory, but recent studies (Levy 1973, Gibson 1983, and Breschini et al. 1983) have corrected the boundary in this area. In fact, the mission was founded at the Esselen village of *Chuttesgilis*.

It appears that Soledad was selected as the name for this mission based on the name of an Esselen woman the padres met there. Maria Balbanera (CA-B 1625) is reported to have the

Indian name “Soletaces” or “Soledases” (see CA-B 1172 and 1345). Serra camped in this spot on the way back from founding Mission San Antonio in late July of 1771, and the local residents asked if they could introduce two women to the padres. The story is told in Junípero Serra’s letter of August 24, 1774) as follows:

On my arrival there, in the evening, some gentiles approached us bringing presents of seeds ready to eat. I accepted them, gave them some glass beads, and was engaged in making friends with them when they asked me, by signs, if I would allow some women, who were close by, to be presented. After obtaining permission, two came forward; and never, either before or since, have I seen any others like them.

In dress they were like gentile women, but in other respects no. And of the one who came forward with a present, I asked her name, as I knew that expression in their language. She answered me, as I understood: “Soledad.” I was astonished, and turning to my companions said: “Here, gentlemen, you have María de la Soledad!” And, without more ado, the name stuck to the place [Tibesar 1956:II:141].

Unfortunately, Serra does not magnify on his comment that “never, either before or since, have I seen any others like them.”

Several individuals were baptized from an area named *Chelenajan* (CA-B 1342, 1852, 1827, and 1828). This is almost certainly another name for *Eslenajan*. (See also the information from Junípero Serra’s letter of August 24, 1774 quoted above, under “Early Ethnographies.”)

According to Milliken, the missionaries at Soledad did not specify direction or distance for most of the villages in their district. Principal villages identified by Milliken (1990:36-42) for the *Eslenajan* district are *Chuttesgilis* (at the site of Mission Soledad), *Chuculunchis*, *Ecgeyno*, *Macalachopos*, *Majayolo*, *Muvasno*, and *Pinonai*.

It is likely that *Eslenajan* extended at least partially up the slopes of the Sierra de Salinas toward Palo Escrito Peak; they certainly would have controlled the area around Paraiso Hot Springs. However, this group’s southern boundary, somewhere along the Arroyo Seco River, is uncertain. It is known that the district of *Aspasniajan*, to the south, controlled the lower portions of the Arroyo Seco River. However, the mouth of the Arroyo Seco River extends north to within about one mile of Mission Soledad. It is most likely that this area was within the *Eslenajan* district, and that the *Aspasniajan* boundary was several miles to the south, closer to the openings of Reliz and Arroyo Seco canyons.

### ***Aspasniajan***

According to Kroeber (1904:54) the word *Aspasniajan* translates as “dry creek” (see also Turner and Shaul 1981:107).



The *Aspasniajan* district included the lower Arroyo Seco (Arroyo Seco is Spanish for “dry stream”) watershed downstream from Sycamore Flat, Vaqueros and Reliz creeks, and the plains on the west side of the Salinas River south of Greenfield (Milliken 1990:43). Milliken suggests it also included the area to the east, toward King City, and that it may have extended as far as Pine Canyon. The only previous study to place the Esselen in this area was Breschini et al. (1983). Gibson’s (1983) study placed the Esselen at least partially within this area, but his maps are imprecise. Previous studies placed this area within Salinan or Costanoan territory.

Within *Aspasniajan* there were very few specific village names recorded. The primary ones were *Tesmaymanil* (later referred to as “El Pino”), and *Cheya* or *Zeya*.

The southern boundary of *Aspasniajan* was probably somewhere within the mountain range separating the Arroyo Seco River watershed on the north from the San Antonio River watershed on the south. One possible location for the boundary would be running along the ridgelines generally eastward from Junipero Serra Peak (formerly called Santa Lucia Peak) to the upper Pine Canyon/Oat Hills area. Just to the east of this point is Quinado Canyon, firmly established as Salinan territory. Rivers and Jones (1993:147), however place the boundary farther north, including the headwaters of Santa Lucia Creek and most of Reliz Canyon within Salinan territory.

### ***Imunajan***

According to Milliken (1990:47-51), the district of *Imunajan* took in the Arroyo Seco watershed upstream from Sycamore Flat. The southern boundary was probably somewhere along the mountain range separating the Arroyo Seco River watershed from the San Antonio River watershed, probably just east of Memorial Camp, at the divide between the Arroyo Seco and San Antonio river drainages.

On the west, the area around Tassajara Hot Springs and Paloma Creek would have been within *Imunajan*. While this district was called *Imunajan* (or *Ymunajan*) at Carmel, it was called *Emonzama* at San Antonio and both *Ymun* and *Ymuniajan* at Soledad (Milliken 1990:47).

Villages within *Imunajan* were *Cuchunu* and *Enhuu-kilku*, somewhere on the Arroyo Seco, and *Ginon*, *Guayaguayasno*, and *Mayayolo* (or *Matzáayolay*), at unspecified locations.

### ***Ecgeajan***

We believe that the *Ecgeajan* district contained the Big Sur River and the coastal terrace stretching north to Point Sur (see Esselen Boundaries, above). With the exception of the

segment in the Salinas Valley, this was the largest area of moderate terrain within Esselen territory. Along the coast, the southern boundary was probably just north of Big Creek.

*Ecgeajan* was the coastal Esselen district, and was the last district to send converts to the three surrounding missions (Milliken 1990:52). Milliken (1990:58) suggests that in 1770, when the Spanish arrived, *Ecgeajan*'s border with *Sargentaruc* on the north could have been in the vicinity of Post Creek, or at Pfeiffer Ridge, just to the north of Post Creek. However, we believe the boundary was more likely just north of the Little Sur River, and our map reflects that location. The exact inland boundary with *Imunajan* is unknown.

Milliken (1990:51-58) provides a few village names for *Ecgeajan*. These include *Ecgeajan* (with various spellings), *Zmaal*, *Chipicatan*, *Gessine*, and *Majjanichui*. The locations of these villages are generally given as "La Sierra" or "La Playa" (the mountains or the beach). Milliken also places *Etsmal* (=Zmaal?) within *Ecgeajan*, although Bob Gibson (in Breschini and Haversat 1988) places this village in Salinan territory, within Camp Roberts.

Finally, the large Esselen village of *Jojopan* (*Jojopam*, *Jojoban*, *Ojoba*) can be placed in the immediate vicinity of the Big Sur River. There has been some confusion over the location of this village, but the mission records clearly differentiate "the great river *Jojopan*" from *Sargentaruc* "in a little canyon of redwoods."

### ***The Sargentaruc Question***

The Big Sur area was attributed to the Esselen in virtually all the early ethnographic research.

More recently Culleton (1950:207, 271-272) and Cook (1974:8) suggested that the Big Sur area may have been bilingual and bicultural (some sort of amalgamation between the Esselen and Rumsen).

In the last few years, interpretations based on Milliken's detailed mission record research suggested that the Esselen/Rumsen boundary should be placed farther south, at or even south of the Big Sur River. Milliken also makes a case for bilingualism in that area (1990:27-33, 73).

Milliken's arguments are based on two assumptions: first, that the *Sargentaruc* area was Ohlone (i.e., Rumsen or a closely related group), and second, that *Sargentaruc* was located in the Big Sur area.

Milliken has made a compelling argument that the *Sargentaruc* area was Ohlone (i.e., Rumsen) and concludes, "There appears to be no basis to question the assignment of *Sargentaruc* to the Ohlonean language group (Milliken 1987:65).

The results of more intensive mission record analyses (using Milliken's database) as well as archaeological research in this area (particularly sites CA-MNT-88, CA-MNT-63, and CA-MNT-73), provide additional details on the nature and location of the Esselen/Rumsen boundary in the area of the Big Sur River.

Locational data for *Sargentaruc* are provided in several Mission San Carlos baptismal and death records (see Table 2).

The records are unanimous that *Sargentaruc* lies to the southeast of Mission San Carlos, along the coast. A few records refer to the "Sierra de Santa Lucia," but as the coast is extremely steep and mountainous these references are not inconsistent.

There is, however, inconsistency in the use of village and district names. There were apparently two primary villages on the coast south of Mission San Carlos, *Pis* (also called *Pichi*, *Pichis*, *Picho*, *Piis*, and *Pys*) and *Jojopan* (also called *Jojoban*, *Jojobam*, *Ojoba*, etc.). There is also one reference to the village of "Schascharranta en Sargenta Rucca" (CA-D 0670). All of these villages are grouped within the district of *Sargentaruc*, and in fact, the district name rather than a specific village name is used in most baptisms.

**Origin of the Name Sargentaruc** - The name Sargentaruc is clearly Rumsen. The suffix "ruc" means house in that language, and with a locational prefix refers to a cluster of houses, i.e., a village.

Milliken (1990:31) cites Kroeber, whose two Carmel informants equated *Sargentaruc* with *Sirkhintaruk* or *Sirkhinta* (also called *Kakonta* or *Kah-koon*; see below), and placed it at Point Sur. The word "sirh" means eagle, and "kakon" means chicken hawk (Heizer 1955:166). There is a simpler explanation, however. Henshaw's Rumsen vocabulary translates "sir-hin-ti" as meaning south and his Soledad vocabulary translates "kakun" also as meaning south (Heizer 1955:168). Thus it appears that both *Sargentaruc* and *Kakonta* (the name of a late village at Point Sur or the Big Sur River) are Ohlonean names suggesting a southerly direction. [Directional terms were commonly used as group names; Merriam gives *Hoomont-wash* as "westerners" (1968:III:389), and *rum-sen-ta* as "in the north" (1968:III:394)].

**Table 2**  
**Selected Mission Record References for *Sarhentaruc*'s Location**

<b>Record</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Translation</b>
CA-B 412	06/23/76	The rancheria named <i>Sargenta-Ruc</i> distant about seven leagues [14-18 miles] toward the southeast from this mission and she is the first Christian from this populous rancheria.
CA-B 416	08/15/76	Rancheria <i>Pitchi</i> in the place named <i>Sargenta Ruc</i> .
CA-B 498	08/09/77	The rancheria of <i>Piis</i> in the Santa Lucia mountains.
CA-B 688	08/02/82	<i>Sargentaruc</i> in the mountains.
CA-B 760	11/20/82	In the rancheria of <i>Sargenta-ruc</i> on a rivulet with redwoods and bay trees about seven leagues [14-18 miles] from this mission along the beach to the southeast.
CA-D 310	11/21/82	In the fields and mountains of <i>Sargenta-Ruc</i> .
CA-B 1038	12/24/84	In the rancheria <i>Sargenta-Ruc</i> about six leagues [12-16 miles] following the coast to the southeast in a small canyon of redwoods.
CA-D 394	12/27/84	About six or seven leagues from here in a canyon of redwoods.
CA-B 1264	02/05/87	On the coast named <i>Sargentaruc</i> to the south of this mission...in that site called <i>Ojoba</i> near a large stream.
CA-D 590	06/04/88	Rancheria of <i>Picho</i> (in the margin: <i>Sargentaruc</i> ).
CA-B 1393	02/09/89	In the rancheria named <i>Sargentaruc</i> , located on the near side of the great river <i>Jojobam</i> , and distant from this mission about eleven leagues [22-29 miles] toward the south-southeast.
CA-D 649	06/20/89	In the rancheria named <i>Jojoban</i> in <i>Sargenta Ruca</i> towards the south.
CA-B 1428	07/25/89	Originally of the rancheria or <i>Achasta</i> or San Carlos and...living in the rancheria named <i>Jojoban</i> or <i>Sargenta Ruca</i> .
CA-D 670	11/15/89	In the place named <i>Schascharranta</i> in <i>Sargenta Ruca</i> toward the south...native of <i>Jojoban</i> in <i>Sargentaruc</i> .
CA-D 671	11/16/89	In the rancheria of <i>Sarg.ruc</i> in the place named <i>Jojobam</i> .
CA-B 1486	05/09/90	In the place named <i>Pis</i> in <i>Sargenta Ruca</i> toward the south.
CA-D 741	05/15/90	In the place named <i>Pis</i> in <i>Sargenta Ruca</i> .
CA-B—Carmel mission baptism record		
CA-D—Carmel mission death record		

Still another line of evidence comes courtesy of Linda Yamane (personal communication, 2000). In her research with the John P. Harrington notes (n.d., reel 67, frame 164), she found the following:

Sirhin-ta-ruk

Isabel April 35

Heard only of going to get xoppowta and sirxinta where they went to get these 2 kinds of acorns en el Palo Corona. So places Taylor's sirxintay rukk there.

This information was obtained during an interview with Isabella Meadows, one of Harrington's Rumsen informants, in April of 1935.

Yamane (personal communication, 2000) notes that *xoppow* is Rumsen for tanoak, *sirxin* is Rumsen for black oak, *xoppowta* means tanoak place, and *sirxinta* means black oak place.

Harrington's informant thus places *Sargentaruc* considerably north of the Big Sur area—the Palo Corona area is north of Palo Colorado Canyon, and only a few miles south of Mission San Carlos (see Figure 1).

There is a recently discovered archaeological site near Palo Corona Peak (CA-MNT-1928) which, based on the presence of a Desert Side-Notched point, could have been occupied during the mission era. It is not yet known if this site was a part of *Sargentaruc*, as Harrington's informant suggested, but the lack of specificity in the location of *Pis*, *Piis*, or *Pitchi* (i.e., no mileage estimates from the mission) makes it possible that this village could have been closer and farther inland than previously thought. One baptism (CA-B 498) places *Piis* in the Santa Lucia Mountains, while references to *Sargentaruc* mention just "mountains." This site offers tantalizing possibilities, but more work is clearly needed.

Another, more recent name for the rancheria in the Big Sur area is *Kah-koon tah-rook'* (Merriam 1968:III:374), and this area was associated with the *Kah'-koon* group. Based on all of the data, this group was virtually identical with the Rumsen of the Monterey area. It is likely that they were individuals from the *Sargentaruc* or Carmel areas who had moved south during historic times to avoid the Spanish. They may be associated with the recent archaeological features at CA-MNT-63 and CA-MNT-798.

Henshaw's Soledad vocabulary lists "ka-kun" as meaning "south" (Heizer 1955:168). Likewise, Pinart's Rumsen vocabulary gives "ka koniterx" and "kak kom terx" as the words for south (Heizer 1952:16). Merriam (1968:III:392) includes "Kah-koon" as part of a word referring to southerners. That all of these Ohlone languages had specific words for south, which was incorporated with the Ohlone suffix "ruc" meaning "house," is further evidence that the rancheria of *Kah-koon tah-rook'* was Rumsen or *Sargentaruc* in origin.

**Sargentaruc's Boundaries** - The next question concerns *Sargentaruc*'s boundaries. The information from the early baptisms (1776-1784) places *Sargentaruc* on the stretch of coast south of Carmel but north of the Big Sur River. The distance from the mission for these initial *Sargentaruc* baptisms is given as six or seven leagues, or 15.6 to 18.2 miles if the league used measures a full 2.6 miles. However, in rugged terrain, the league was often shorter than 2.6 miles, reflecting the reality of travel. In this area, a league of 2.0 miles or less would be appropriate.

Using the full league, and measuring along Highway 1 from Mission San Carlos, 15.6 miles reaches the Little Sur River, while 18.2 reaches the plain north of the Big Sur River. However, if a shorter league is used because of the rugged terrain, the location is much more consistent with the Palo Colorado area (Figure 15). Indeed CA-B 760 and 1038 and CA-D 394 each mention a canyon of redwoods or a little rivulet with redwoods., but do not mention a large river. This is more consistent with Palo Colorado Canyon's small creek than the much more distinctive Big Sur River.



Figure 15. The *Sargentaruc* area, in and around Palo Colorado Canyon, south of Mission San Carlos.

From all of this information, we can infer that the earliest *Sargentaruc* baptisms came from the area around Palo Colorado Canyon and Rocky Creek, or perhaps as far north as Palo Corona Peak, all of which are north of Hurricane Point and the Little Sur River.

In fact, it is likely that the vast majority of the *Sargentaruc* individuals baptized between 1782 and 1785 came from this area. Both the distance and the descriptions match that location far more closely than the Big Sur area.

Turning to another line of evidence, there is also a large archaeological site at the mouth of Palo Colorado Canyon (CA-MNT-186/189) which appears very similar to Rumsen sites in the Carmel and Carmel Highlands areas; there are no such sites known from the Big Sur River area.

Considerable evidence thus suggests that, as Milliken determined, the initial people baptized from *Sargentaruc* (about 82 percent of the total) were from the general Palo Colorado area.

After 1785, many of the remaining baptisms attributed to *Sargentaruc* appear to have come from farther south. For example, a 1787 baptism (CA-B 1264; see Table 2) mentions “that site called *Ojoba* near a large stream.” In 1789 a baptism (CA-B 1393) places *Sargentaruc* on the side of “del grande rio Jojopam“ at a distance of 11 leagues (22-29 miles) from the mission. The individual baptized at this location was Maria Felicidad, a 60 year old woman:

En la Rancheria llamada *Sargentaruc*, situada a la misma orilla del grande rio Jojopam, y distante de esta Mision como unas onze leguas rumbo al sur-sueste, bautize privad.te...originaria de la Rancheria de Ecgeajan de la Nacion de Escelen, domiciliada en esta de muchas anos por tenia una hija casada en ella.

Even using a shortened league because of the difficult terrain, this “grande rio” (large river) clearly must be the Big Sur River, some 20 to 25 miles south of Mission San Carlos. This in turn would seem to place *Sargentaruc*—or rather, people originally from *Sargentaruc*—at the large river *Jojopan* or *Jojopam*. But here we differ with Milliken and doubt that the Big Sur River was originally a part of *Sargentaruc*. This is based on several lines of evidence.

First, there is clear evidence that the name *Jojopan/Jojopam* itself is of Esselen origin. CA-B 1381 reads:

En la Rancheria llamada *Escelem* rumbo acia el oriente bautice privadamente a un adulto...llamado *Jojjoban* y capitan actual de la dha Rancheria... [emphasis added].

A second line of evidence concerning the now largely depopulated district of *Sargentaruc* concerns mission runaways.

Death records show that at least nine individuals (eight adults and one child) were baptized at Mission San Carlos but subsequently died and were buried as runaways in *Sargentaruc*. One individual was an Ensen, and not even from *Sargentaruc* originally. This is direct evidence of the use of *Sargentaruc* as a refuge from the Spanish.

The actual area being used as a refuge was most likely around the Big Sur River rather than Palo Colorado Canyon. Because of the more moderate terrain, the Palo Colorado Canyon area was easy for the Spanish to reach—indeed, that area had been largely depopulated during the major spiritual conquest of 1782-1785.

Between 1786 and 1791, 16 Esselen, 8 Rumsen (*Pis* or *Sargentaruc*), and 4 whose origin was somewhat unclear (e.g., “*Jojopan* or *Sargentaruc*”) were baptized. We believe that these individuals came from the general area of the Big Sur River. This figure probably includes Rumsen who had moved south of the Palo Colorado Canyon area a few years earlier to avoid the Spanish. The Esselen were variously identified as being from *Ecgeajan*, *Exceleamac*, *Excelaux*, *Ecgeas*, *Egeac*, *Egeach*, etc.

After 1792, there was a gap of 12 years with no Mission San Carlos baptisms from this area at all (although Milliken lists four baptisms from *Jaboban* and “numerous” baptisms from *Ecgeajan* at Mission Soledad between 1796 and 1806). This is due in large part to the departure in 1795 of Fr. Señán, who had been chiefly responsible for the spiritual conquest.

The arrival of Fr. Amorós in 1804 led to a renewal of activity. Between 1805 and 1808 the last 45 individuals to come to Mission San Carlos from the Big Sur area were baptized. This group included 25 Esselen, 16 identified as *Sargentaruc*, and 4 identified with both locations (Breschini et al. 1999).

This mixture suggests that Esselen and Rumsen were living together and intermixing in some fashion in the Big Sur River area by the mid to late 1780s, and perhaps intermarrying. This would also explain the bilingual and bicultural area noted by Culleton, Cook, and Milliken in this area.

Another example of the intermixing in the Big Sur area comes from the last baptisms, in the 1805-1808 period, which included three individuals whose native name was either *Mucjay* or *Mucjas*. Two of the individuals with this distinctive name (CA-B 2643 and 2657) were identified as from *Sargentaruc* and the third was from *Egeach* (*Ecgeajan*) (CA-B 2662). However, according to linguist David Shaul (personal communication, 2002):

there is no root /muk/ recorded for Esselen. However, the combination of /k/ and /x/ (the ch in German ich) as /kx/ is very Esselen and is what would be represented by the written combination <cj> or <gj>. This would give a root /mukxa/, where the /kx/ is a single consonant, which distinguishes Esselen from surrounding languages. Further, the ending -s is a common one on Esselen nouns, and is one that is found on attested Esselen names.

So, we are left with a name/word /mukxa-s/ which is very Esselen looking, but for which we have no sure translation. The ending -s and the unusual consonant /kx/ attest that this is an Esselen name, even though a translation is not possible.



One last line of reasoning suggests that the Big Sur area was Esselen. One informant referred to this area as “*Ex’xien*” or “the rock.” As noted elsewhere, we believe that this refers to the massive rock at Point Sur (Figure 11).

**Archaeological Evidence** - Finally, archaeological evidence also casts doubt on the theory that the Big Sur area was inhabited by Rumsen prior to Spanish contact.

There is a clear dividing line in archaeological site types at about the Little Sur River. To the north of this point there are sites rich in shellfish remains, as well as large, rich middens. These characteristics are associated with Rumsen sites, such as CA-MNT-834 in Pebble Beach and CA-MNT-156 in the Carmel Highlands (all Late Period sites) or CA-MNT-12, primarily a Middle Period site, and probably the largest deposit in the Monterey Bay area. South of the Little Sur River, in the vicinity of the Big Sur River, we find sites which contain smaller quantities of shellfish remains, and, while not necessarily smaller in area, are generally smaller in volume and contain relatively fewer cultural materials. These can be identified with the Esselen.

We do not believe that these changes are primarily related to changes in the natural environment, as both areas share a generally similar setting characterized by Küchler’s (1977) Coastal Sagebrush community on the coast and Mixed Hardwood and Redwood Forest community in the interior.

A recent excavation at the mouth of the Big Sur River (CA-MNT-63) revealed a clearly prehistoric site with a much smaller, recent feature in its upper levels. The prehistoric site dated from several hundred to nearly 2,000 years into the past (Table 3), while the small feature dated to approximately A.D. 1800-1816 (Jones 1994:42). This could represent evidence of the Esselen (the older site) with the recent intrusion of the people from *Sargentaruc* to the north superimposed.

Another coastal archaeological site about two miles south of the Big Sur River (CA-MNT-798) also contained a mixture of mission era glass beads and very late radiocarbon dates (Table 3), suggesting use by people from *Sargentaruc* (Edwards et al. 2000).

**Summary** - From this pattern of baptisms we believe that *Pis/Pichi* was on the coast south of Carmel in the Palo Colorado Canyon area (or possibly in the Palo Corona Peak area), and that *Jojopan* was farther south, at the Big Sur River. The term *Sargentaruc* was used initially for the populous village at Palo Colorado Canyon and later for the surrounding district as well. When some of those individuals moved south, and runaways from the mission joined them, the name came to be applied to the Big Sur area. This late village in the Big Sur area also appears to have been named *Kah-koon tah-rook’* and the people the *Kah-koon* (Merriam 1968:III:374). This is also the group we refer to as late *Sargentaruc*, as their baptisms came between 1805 and 1808, at the end of the conquest of the Carmel area.

Based on information from the Harrington notes (cited above), a recently discovered archaeological site (CA-MNT-1928) in the Palo Corona Peak area (Figure 1) could potentially be affiliated with *Sargentaruc*. Whether or not this a village associated with one of the ethnographic names is currently unknown. A Desert Side-notched point found on the surface suggests the site was occupied until perhaps 1780 or later (see the discussion in Breschini and Haversat 1995: Appendix 2), while a radiocarbon we obtained in August of 2003 suggests the site was in use nearly 4,000 years ago.

There is now evidence from two separate areas of Esselen territory which clearly shows its use as a refuge from the Spanish during the Mission era. In both the *Excelen* and *Sargentaruc/Ecgeajan* districts the pattern is similar: large numbers of baptisms some years after initial contact, followed by a significant reduction in baptisms, then a last group which accepted baptism between 1805 and 1808. In the *Excelen* district we have archaeological evidence of occupation beyond 1808, when baptisms of new converts ended. We also have limited evidence from the *Sargentaruc/Ecgeajan* district in an archaeological feature dated to A.D. 1800-1816.

**Table 3**  
**Radiocarbon Dates from Esselen Territory<sup>1</sup>**

Site,	Age/Range	Calib. Age <sup>2</sup>	Lab. No.	Material	Provenience
<b>MNT-34</b>	720 ± 40	AD 1318 (1432) 1511	Beta-172583	Shell- <i>Mytilus c.</i> (1 pc)	Surface, near BRM 5
<b>MNT-44</b>	250 ± 60	AD 1471 (1652) 1950	Beta-151128	Charcoal (1 pc)	Unit B-3, 38 cm
	3390 ± 95	BC 1942 (1687) 1436	GAK-4947	Bone and shell	Unit B-3, 214 cm
<b>MNT-63</b>	0 ± 0	modern	WSU-4054	Charcoal	Unit 3, 33 cm (Fea. 1)
	440 ± 80	AD 1470 (1663) 1950	WSU-4053	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 3, 33 cm (Fea. 1)
	1130 ± 80	AD 877 (1048) 1273	WSU-4052	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 3, 100-110 cm
	1630 ± 90	AD 182 (421) 640	WSU-4051	Charcoal	Unit 3, 133 cm
<b>MNT-73</b>	3680 ± 100	BC 2196 (1888) 1608	Beta-69667	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 2, 130-140 cm
	3800 ± 110	BC 2269 (1916) 1610	Beta-69664	Shell-Cryptochiton (1 pc)	Unit 1, 60-70 cm
	3820 ± 80	BC 2381 (2107) 1853	Beta-69666	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 2, 70-80 cm
	3900 ± 60	BC 2446 (2198) 1974	Beta-46054	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 4, 80-90 cm
	4030 ± 90	BC 2669 (2419) 2118	Beta-46055	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 1, 110-120 cm
	4110 ± 80	BC 2772 (2473) 2213	Beta-69663	Shell-Cryptochiton (1 pc)	Unit 1, 30-40 cm
	4170 ± 100	BC 2872 (2563) 2271	Beta-69665	Shell-Cryptochiton (1 pc)	Unit 1, 150-160
<b>MNT-88</b>	3190 ± 100	BC 1539 (1307) 987	GAK-4710	Shell-mixed	Above Burial 3
	3610 ± 105	BC 2123 (1779) 1502	GAK-5335	Shell?	Below Burial 3
<b>MNT-254</b>	4630 ± 110	BC 3502 (3183) 2867	WSU-2523	Shell-Haliotis r. (1 pc)	About 244 cm
<b>MNT-85</b>	220 ± 30	AD 1466 (1638) 1796	Beta-143374	Bone (mult.pcs)	Unit 7, level 5
	370 ± 30	AD 1407 (1442) 1621	Beta-143364	Bone (mult. pcs)	Unit 8, levels 8-10
	2400 ± 50	BC 802 (mult) 402	Beta-143373	Bone (mult.pcs)	Unit 2, levels 8-15

**Table 3 (continued)  
Radiocarbon Dates from Esselen Territory<sup>1</sup>**

Site,	Age/Range	Calib. Age <sup>2</sup>	Lab. No.	Material	Provenience
<b>MNT-266</b>					
	820 ± 80	AD 1224 (mult) 1491	Beta-180943	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Surface
	890 ± 60	AD 1162 (1297) 1422	Beta-73697	Shell-Haliotis r. (1 pc)	Unit 1, 60-70 cm
	2360 ± 60	BC 404 (254) 46	Beta-73700	Shell-mixed	Unit 2, 80-90 cm
	2450 ± 60	BC 657 (383) 193	Beta-73699	Shell-Haliotis c. (1 pc)	Unit 2, 50-60 cm
	2670 ± 70	BC 836 (738) 396	Beta-73698	Shell-mixed	Unit 1, 120-130 cm
<b>MNT-376</b>					
	1490 ± 90	AD 362 (598) 757	WSU-4055	Charcoal	Unit 4, 50-60 cm
	1530 ± 85	AD 447 (667) 869	WSU-4057	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 4, 20-30 cm
	1900 ± 90	AD 24 (258) 511	WSU-4056	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 2, 20-30 cm
<b>MNT-478</b>					
	2020 ± 90	BC 134 (AD 123) AD 382	WSU-4058	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit A1, 15-30 cm
	3870 ± 95	BC 2461 (2161) 1873	WSU-3581	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 2, 20-30 cm
<b>MNT-619</b>					
	1010 ± 85	AD 1007 (1216) 1359	WSU-2569	Shell-mixed	Roadcut, 75 cm
<b>MNT-798</b>					
	190 ± 60	AD 1521 (mult) 1953	Beta-82143	Charcoal	South face, 134-144 cm
	310 ± 60	AD 1661 (1834) 1950	Beta-82141	Shell-Mytilus c.	Unit A: 60-70 cm
	330 ± 50	AD 1658 (1816) 1950	Beta-82142	Shell-Mytilus c.	Unit A: 100-110 cm
	440 ± 60	AD 1511 (1676) 1950	Beta-82140	Shell-Mytilus c.	Unit A: 40-50 cm
<b>MNT-838</b>					
	4310 ± 225	BC 3630 (2906) 2297	UGA-1380	Charcoal	360 cm

**Table 3 (continued)**  
**Radiocarbon Dates from Esselen Territory<sup>1</sup>**

Site,	Age/Range	Calib. Age <sup>2</sup>	Lab. No.	Material	Provenience
<b>MNT-1223</b>					
	460 ± 60	AD 1481 (1655) 1823	Beta-46060	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 9, 30-40 cm
	590 ± 70	AD 1393 (1490) 1670	Beta-46059	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 10, 20-30 cm
	610 ± 60	AD 1412 (1503) 1671	Beta-80722	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 7, 40-50 cm
	770 ± 80	AD 1269 (1413) 1528	WSU-3580	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 7, 40-50 cm
	920 ± 75	AD 1067 (1283) 1418	WSU-3579	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 9, 50-60 cm
	1110 ± 50	AD 952 (1063) 1251	WSU-3578	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 3, 20-30 cm
<b>MNT-1227</b>					
	470 ± 60	AD 1488 (1661) 1836	Beta-72490	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 4, 30-40 cm
	610 ± 80	AD 1394 (1503) 1686	Beta-80721	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 6, 20-30 cm
	620 ± 50	AD 1414 (1496) 1659	Beta-72489	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 2, 20-30 cm
	660 ± 60	AD 1225 (mult) 1420	Beta-43107	Charcoal	Unit 5, 90-100 cm
	870 ± 90	AD 1160 (1317) 1470	Beta-43108	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 6, 60-70 cm
<b>MNT-1228</b>					
	4530 ± 80	BC 3317 (2989) 2826	Beta-43110	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 2, 40-50 cm
	4850 ± 90	BC 3661 (3488) 3252	Beta-43109	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 1, 60-70 cm
	5260 ± 70	BC 4037 (3898) 3657	Beta-43111	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 10, 20-30 cm
<b>MNT-1232/H</b>					
	3380 ± 60	BC 1729 (1517) 1369	Beta-46062	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 3, 120-130 cm
	3600 ± 60	BC 2019 (1809) 1608	Beta-46056	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 5, 50-60 cm
	4790 ± 70	BC 3618 (3368) 3127	Beta-46061	Shell-Haliotis (1 pc)	Unit 3, 130-140 cm
	5390 ± 80	BC 4236 (3984) 3782	Beta-43112	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 3, 270-280 cm
	5620 ± 80	BC 4453 (4282) 4031	Beta-43113	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 3, 210-220 cm
	5650 ± 90	BC 4500 (4314) 4038	Beta-43115	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 5, 70-80 cm
	5830 ± 80	BC 4700 (4464) 4305	Beta-43114	Shell-Mytilus c. (1 pc)	Unit 4, 230-240 cm

**Table 3 (continued)**  
**Radiocarbon Dates from Esselen Territory<sup>1</sup>**

Site,	Age/Range	Calib. Age <sup>2</sup>	Lab. No.	Material	Provenience
<b>MNT-1601</b>					
	60 ± 70	AD 1665 (1952) 1955	Beta-57567	Charcoal	Unit C, 0-10 cm
	90 ± 60	AD 1657 (mult) 1955	Beta-74278	Misc. charcoal	Unit 2, 40-50 cm
	180 ± 70	AD 1518 (mult) 1954	Beta-74277	Misc. charcoal	Unit 2, 10-20 cm
	210 ± 50	AD 1638 (mult) 1953	Beta-57568	Charcoal	Unit G, 30-40 cm
	230 ± 50	AD 1490 (1659) 1950	Beta-74280	Carbonized acorns	Unit 2, 70-80 cm
	230 ± 70	AD 1474 (1659) 1952	Beta-74281	Carbonized acorns	Unit 2, 90-100 cm
	260 ± 70	AD 1447 (1648) 1950	Beta-74276	Misc. charcoal	Unit 1, 100 cm-sterile
	300 ± 50	AD 1444 (1637) 1946	Beta-74279	Misc. charcoal	Unit 2, 50-60 cm
	300 ± 60	AD 1441 (1637) 1947	Beta-74274	Misc. charcoal	Unit 1, 20-40 cm
	390 ± 60	AD 1410 (1476) 1654	Beta-74275	Misc. charcoal	Unit 1, 90-127 cm (Fea. 1)

<sup>1</sup> The sites included in this table are based on the boundaries shown in Figure 1. CA-MNT-33 and CA-MNT-480, which some have placed within Esselen territory, have been omitted as current research places them clearly outside of ethnographic Esselen territory. Sites CA-MNT-1227, CA-MNT-1228 and CA-MNT-1232/H are included but problematical, as the ethnographic Esselen/Salinan boundary is uncertain in this area. Further, the boundary would have shifted through time.

<sup>2</sup> All dates have been recalibrated using the University of Washington Quaternary Isotope Laboratory Radiocarbon Calibration Program, Rev. 4.3. Delta-R = 225 ± 35. If not measured, <sup>13</sup>C/<sup>12</sup>C ratios were estimated as follows: mussel = 0.5; abalone = 2.1; mixed shell = 1.3; charcoal = -25.0 o/oo.

Jones (1995) favors a Delta-R = 325 ± 35 for the Big Sur coast. This would make all shell dates about 100 or so years more recent.

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## Socio-Political Organization

In spite of many years of work by researchers, the Esselen still remain one of the least known groups in California. Many aspects of Esselen culture and prehistory are simply unknown.

While at the missions, Indians were discouraged from speaking their own languages and forbidden to practice their traditional religions or to pass down many of their traditional practices. This, along with the high death rate, led to the rapid loss of much of the language and culture.

## Social Organization

Like their neighbors, it appears that the Esselen had a tribelet-based political organization. Several villages were probably grouped under the loose leadership of a single individual, although each village probably had its own leaders as well. Again, no research has been conducted specifically for the Esselen, and information is inferred from neighboring groups.

Almost nothing is known of the social organization of the Esselen. Levy, in a partial reconstruction of Central California kinship systems states that:

The kinship systems of the isolates [Yuki, Wappo, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Giamina, Tübatulabal, Salinan, and Esselen] were dominantly Hawaiian in ethnographic times. While we cannot reconstruct systems ancestral to these, it seems highly likely that the Hawaiian systems of the ethnographic present are continuations of ancestral Hawaiian forms [Levy 1979:13].

The isolates, with their single village tribelets and Hawaiian kinship systems practiced symmetric exchange of women. In fact, simple demographic factors, such as the availability of suitable spouses in areas with low population densities, probably precluded asymmetric exchange systems [Levy 1979:14].

Levy contrasts the isolates with their Hawaiian kinship systems with those groups which expanded their territories during the last three millennia. The isolates, which presumably are isolates because they have failed to expand or even to maintain contact with previous neighbors, are characterized by Hawaiian kinship systems, while those groups which did expand are generally characterized by Omaha kinship systems. The Omaha kinship system is generally associated with the following social practices: complex political organization in which the authority of the chief extends over several settlements; larger tribelets than is general in California, with many groups exceeding 500 persons per tribelet; patrilineal kinship systems with lineages as the primary land-holding unit; relatively high frequency of

extended family households; incipient social stratification; and greater population density (Levy 1979:14).

Levy goes on to note that:

Omaha systems are associated with generally favorable ecological conditions (foothills and valley floor) in ethnographic times...we can hypothesize a connection between certain vegetational types and the presence of Omaha cousin terminologies. Changes in climate which produced changes in distribution of vegetation could have contributed to population movements and concomitant linguistic expansions. In periods where carrying capacity of a given biotic zone increased we would expect societies with Omaha systems to expand into the newly enriched area [Levy 1979:14].

Levy's correlation of the Hawaiian kinship system with certain social practices (which he did not clearly specify, but which were contrasted with those of the Omaha system cited above) provides a possible explanation for the relative isolation of the Esselen in their mountainous territory. The Esselen's original territory to the north, which Kroeber hypothesized as early as 1923, was lost to other groups because the Esselen's kinship system and social organization was not well suited to territorial expansion, while those groups which expanded into this territory (characterized by non-Hawaiian systems) apparently were organized in a manner which contributed to their ability for territorial expansion.

## Inter-group Relations

The early accounts from the Monterey area contain many references to the mutual dislike of the local Indian groups for one another. A more careful reading of some of these accounts, however, suggests that some of the problems may relate to the protection of a groups' natural resources.

For example, in his 1775 report, Pedro Fages noted that:

The hill Indians also of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, who live between this mission and that of San Antonio de los Robles [i.e., the Esselen], persecute indiscriminately the new Christians and the unconverted Indians of this region [i.e., Carmel] whenever they enter the range to search for acorns...

These unhappy people [i.e., the Carmel Indians] encounter the same resistance when they go along the beach above Monterey on the same quest, so that they are prevented from going far from this district [Priestley 1937:64].

...the kind of life [the Carmel Indians] lead, always fearful and unable to retire or make excursions more than four or five leagues from the port of the



Punta de Pinos, lest they come into conflict with their opponents who resist and persecute them on all sides [Priestley 1937:66].

The previously unpublished portion of the Galiano manuscript, based on observations from 1792, states:

The Carmel mission is where Indians speaking the Rumsen and Esselen languages have been brought together; these two nations are so hostile to one another that reconciling them costs endless labor. Their strong dislike is mutual [Beeler 1978:16].

Junípero Serra also noted in a report dated July 1, 1784 that the Sanjones (Ensen) people were “old and powerful enemies of the natives of this territory” (i.e., the Rumsen) (Tibesara 1966:IV:267).

We have also found uncited statements to the effect that the Salinan and Esselen were enemies (e.g., Shaul 1982b:1), but we have not been able to locate their original source. We have located, however, a statement in Mason’s Salinan ethnography that:

The Indians afterwards gathered into Soledad Mission are said to have been the greatest enemies of the Salinans; probably this refers to one of the southern Costanoan groups [1912:108].

However, based on our placement of the Esselen at Mission Soledad, it is quite possible that Mason was wrong in his assumption that “the greatest enemies of the Salinas” were the southern Costanoan—they may instead have been the Esselen.

From the above information it is clear that the various tribal groups were wary of one another, if not outright enemies, and that competition for resources may have played a role.

It is also possible that, in their aboriginal state, the various groups seldom came into such direct contact, and that the forced contact at Mission San Carlos exacerbated their otherwise stable relationships.

## **Regional Marriage Patterns**

In an attempt to approximate aboriginal regional marriage patterns we undertook an analysis of the Mission San Carlos database created by Randall Milliken.

The first step was to complete the association of individuals in the marriage records with their corresponding baptism records, which Milliken had only partially completed. Any marriage involving a non-Indian or a non-local Indian was, of course, eliminated from the sample, as were marriages in which one individual was either born at the mission or baptized when less

than five years of age. The assumption here is that individuals exposed only to the teachings at the mission would be less likely to reflect aboriginal marriage patterns.

This resulted in a database of 498 marriages in which both individuals were affiliated with a regional group. Because the dates of the baptisms and the marriage were known, the time between baptism and marriage could be calculated. This allowed us to rank the database by the time elapsed between baptism and marriage.

The assumption underlying this approach is that marriages which occurred immediately after baptism will most closely reflect aboriginal marriage patterns, because, to a large degree, they will be reconfirming aboriginal marriages. This certainly will not apply to 100 percent of the marriages because, as Milliken (personal communication, 2003) notes, there are still problems with the data, particularly with village or group association.

Marriages which occurred at greater times since baptism should reflect the erosion of the aboriginal pattern due to the influence of the missionaries on traditional cultural practices.

The database contains 115 marriages which were performed within two weeks of baptism for both partners. There were 28 marriages which were performed during the rest of both individuals' first year, 30 in years 2-3, 38 in years 4-10, and 53 in the 11th or greater years. The total for these five ranges is 264 marriages, as the balance of the database represents marriages in which one partner was in one age range while the second partner was in a different age range. The choice of ranges was arbitrary; the prime criterion was to have a reasonable sample in each group.

One additional assumption was made: as is explained in the section dealing with *Sargentaruc*, above, we believe that the late baptisms (i.e., 1805-1808) from this district included: 1) individuals who fled to the south to avoid the Spanish and probably intermarried with the *Ecgeajan*, and 2) some individuals who actually were *Ecgeajan*. As such, we have considered late *Sargentaruc* as a separate group affiliated with *Ecgeajan* in these calculations. This assumption involves only two marriages (CA-M 691 and 692) used in our sample.

The results of the study suggest that the regional aboriginal tendency was very strongly oriented toward marriage within the local group (see Table 4). Of the 115 marriages performed within two weeks of the baptisms of both partners, only two (1.7 percent) crossed the Ohlone/Esselen language boundary, and only five more (4.3 percent) crossed even the local district boundary. In other words, the vast majority (about 94 percent) married within their local group.

**Table 4**  
**Regional Marriage Patterns\***

<b>Within Esselen, same district</b>	
<i>Excelen-Excelen</i>	8
<i>Ecgeajan-Ecgeajan</i>	1
<i>Sargentaruc late-Ecgeajan</i>	2
<i>Sargentaruc late-Sargentaruc late**</i>	1
<i>Imunajan-Imunajan</i>	<u>1</u>
	13
<b>Within Esselen, different district</b>	
<i>Eslenajan-Excelen</i>	1
<i>Ecgeajan-Imunajan</i>	1
	2
<b>Within Ohlone, same district</b>	
<i>Achasta-Achasta</i>	6
<i>Tucutnut-Tucutnut</i>	12
<i>Echilat-Echilat</i>	16
<i>Ichxenta-Ichxenta</i>	4
<i>Socorronda-Socorronda</i>	5
<i>Sargenraruc-Sargentaruc</i>	11
<i>Ensen-Ensen</i>	25
<i>Kalendaruc area-Kalendaruc area</i>	13
<i>Mutsun-Mutsun</i>	1
<i>Pagchin-Pagchin</i>	2
	95
<b>Within Ohlone, different district</b>	
<i>Ichxenta-Socorronda</i>	1
<i>Tucutnut-Socorronda</i>	1
<i>Ensen-Ichxenta</i>	1
	3
<b>Crossing Esselen/Ohlone boundary</b>	
<i>Ichxenta-Eslenajan</i>	1
<i>Kalendaruc area-Eslenajan</i>	1
	2
<b>Summary</b>	
Ohlone-Ohlone (98 of 100)	98.0%
Esselen-Esselen (15 of 17)	88.2%
Ohlone-Esselen (2 of 115)	1.7%

\* These figures are derived from 115 marriages which were performed within 2 weeks ( $\leq 0.04$  years) of the baptism of both individuals, presumably reflecting, to a large degree, aboriginal marriages being reconfirmed by the padres.

\*\* As discussed in the text, the *Sargentaruc* late group (baptized 1805-1808) is assumed to have significant relationships to *Ecgeajan*, as opposed to the bulk of the *Sargentaruc* population baptized earlier ( $\leq 1792$ ).

As can be expected, the traditional patterns gradually break down over time. In the initial sample only two individuals crossed the Ohlone/Esselen language boundary (1.7 percent). During the remainder of the first year this figure rose to 3.6 percent, in years 2-3 it rose to 6.7 percent, in years 4-10 it rose to 7.9 percent and in years 11+ it rose to 15.1 percent. This still shows a strong tendency toward marriage within the language group on the part of both Ohlone and Esselen even years after they were brought to the mission.

We have already cited the Galiano manuscript from 1792, above, noting the mutual dislike between the Rumsen and Esselen groups (Beeler 1978:16). Another piece of information from about the same time reinforces that statement. On April 25, 1795, Fermín Lasuén, who had succeeded Serra as President of the missions nearly 11 years earlier, and who spent most of his time at Mission San Carlos, wrote of the California Indians:

Among the nations that have been discovered here, I do not know even one that would keep the peace with its neighbor.

Those living adjacent to one another are accustomed at times to be in communication and to preserve some sort of harmony. But when one of them enters the territory of another, they invariably take up arms, because among them to speak a different dialect and to be an enemy are one and the same thing [Kenneally 1965:II:17].

At the missions, traditional marriage patterns came under intense pressure from a number of sources:

- To promote stability, the missionaries encouraged the soldiers at the missions to marry native spouses.
- To help prevent “unchastity,” which was often considered the dominant vice at the missions (Geiger and Meighan 1976:105-106), the missionaries encouraged marriages between single individuals regardless of traditional group affiliation.
- Over time, the number of new baptisms from the aboriginal villages slowed and then stopped, while many of the neophytes who had originated in these villages died. All the while, the number of individuals born at the missions increased as a percentage of the overall population. Increasingly, the mission population would have been less exposed to traditional practices and more exposed to the teachings of the missionaries.

As a result, the rates of marriage across traditional boundaries gradually, then rapidly, increased over time.

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## World Views and Ritual Practices

The comments made above under “Socio-political Organization” concerning the lack of data on the Esselen pertains even more so to religious beliefs and practices.

### Religious Beliefs and Practices

There is no way in which the religious beliefs of the Esselen can be determined. At best, all that survives are bits and pieces of what was undoubtedly an extensive religious tradition. The following section will cite a few of the surviving fragments. Additional comments are found in “Early Ethnographies,” above.

The Spanish navel expedition of 1792 noted that the Esselen “believe that after death they are all transformed into *tecolotes*, owls—birds which they hold in marked veneration (Jane 1930:133).

Navarrete states that at the funeral of an Esselen chief the friends and relatives added to the individual’s possessions and that all were buried with the body (Jane 1930:134).

The hut of the dead person was always destroyed (Hester 1978:498).

Although there is no early data specific to the Esselen, within the general area the dead were thought to go to where the sun sets (to a western island of the dead?) (Geiger 1950:485).

In a recent conversation with Tom “Little Bear” Nason (personal communication, 1993), a documented Esselen descendant, he affirmed that the tradition of a western island of the dead was present, and described the Ventana area as the “window.” Indeed, “Ventana” is the Spanish word for “window.” See Traditional Cultural Properties, below.

It may be possible to link the Esselen with the *toloache* ceremony, which prevailed throughout portions of Central California. It has been theorized (but certainly not proven) that rock paintings were created during puberty rites in which the hallucinogenic toloache, derived from *datura*, was ingested. If this connection can be established, then the presence of rock art among the Esselen may indicate such a ceremony. (See also Blackburn 1977.)

Hester (1978:498) cites Pilling (1948:96) as providing information from informant Isabella Meadows concerning disposal of the dead. Isabella stated that the body of a person with no friends was unceremoniously placed in the woods and forgotten. When the deceased had a few friends the body was buried. A very popular individual was cremated. It is not certain that these practices apply to the Esselen, as Isabella Meadows was descended from Rumsen and Ensen ancestry. To date, there has been no archaeological evidence of cremations from

within Esselen or Rumsen territory, so it is difficult to evaluate this information. There are also archaeological reports of seated burials, as well as burials in crevices.

During a 1774 expedition from Monterey to the vicinity of San Francisco, Palóu discussed meeting a group in the area south of Lake Merced (on the San Francisco Peninsula):

They began to smoke, and I noticed in them the same ceremony [that he had reported between San Diego and Monterey] of blowing the smoke upwards, repeating some words with each puff. I understood one, *esmen*, which means sun. I observed that they followed the same custom of the principal man smoking first, then giving the pipe to another and so on to others [Bolton 1926:III:278].

This appears to be the same practice reported in Mission San Carlos' response to the Questionnaire of 1812 (Geiger 1950).

...at times they blew smoke to the sun, moon and to some beings who they fancied lived in the dwelling of the sky.

## **Rock Art**

The rock art of the Esselen is very poorly represented in the anthropological literature. Even the comprehensive overviews of California rock art provide little information. At most, they include a few words, accompanied by simple drawings or a photograph of the handprints at CA-MNT-44 (see, for example, Steward 1929:107-109, Plate 56b or Heizer and Clewlow 1973:105-107, Plate 10b). Whitley's recent book, *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California* (2000) omits the Esselen entirely. This may be, in large part, because it is very difficult to reach most Esselen rock art sites. They are located in the rugged mountains, and access generally requires many hours of hiking.

The most unique feature of Esselen rock art is undoubtedly the handprints, most of which adorn the walls of two rockshelters: CA-MNT-44 and CA-MNT-45 (see Figures 16 and 17).

### ***The Handprints***

While almost every culture that practiced rock art used the hand as a motif, the handprints left by the Esselen in a few remote rockshelters deep in the Ventana Wilderness of the Los Padres National Forest appear to be unique.



Figure 16. Handprints on the ceiling of the “gallery” at CA-MNT-44, along with curved rows of dots which we believe were made with the fingertips. Behind the handprints, a number of other figures in red and black can also be faintly seen. The only handprint in the rockshelter which appears to have been fashioned by smearing the hand with paint and pressing it on the wall is in the upper center.

The Esselen handprints are known only from northern Esselen territory, and presumably were made by the *Excelen* subgroup. The largest cluster of the handprints of which we are aware—about 250—is situated in a single rockshelter (CA-MNT-44) located a few miles west of Tassajara. Several other caves or rockshelters containing smaller numbers of handprints are found in the same valley (including CA-MNT-45 and CA-MNT-1061), and the next valley to the west contains the weathered remains of about three or four more (CA-MNT-47).



Figure 17. Close view of one of the main panels of handprints at CA-MNT-44. This shows a variety of handprint styles, along with several other motifs. Note the curved rows of four dots, which we believe represent fingertips. The far left side of the photograph shows three areas of vandalism, which unfortunately occurs at almost all rock art sites.

Two or three similar figures are found in the Salinan rockshelter known as La Cueva Pintada (CA-MNT-256), about 20 miles to the east. They are slightly different, and may have been made by a Salinan who had somehow seen the Esselen handprints. A very few additional figures which may closely resemble the Esselen handprints have been reported in Chumash territory to the south.

The Esselen handprints are approximately life size. Most people who view them assume that they were created by dipping the hand in paint and pressing it against the wall.

When you examine the handprints closely, it becomes apparent that, with the one exception shown in Figure 16, they were not created this way, nor are they crudely-drawn finger



paintings. Rather, they were carefully painted using a brush—the unique signatures of the individuals who created them.

The pigment itself was probably made by powdering limestone, dolomite, or one of the other white minerals. Reportedly a binder of heated bear fat or other materials was made to carry the pigment. That organic component has long since disappeared, leaving only the pigment.

The method by which the handprints were made appears to have been complex. Many of the figures have slightly blurred fingertips. It is possible that a small amount of white pigment was applied to the fingertips and transferred to the rockshelter wall as a rough gauge of the dimensions of the hand. (Indeed, there are many figures consisting of curved rows of four dots, which we believe represent fingertips.) The rest of the lines were then individually painted using a brush. In other handprints, however, it appears that some or even most of the blurring at the fingertips could represent the swish of the brush changing from an upward to a downward stroke.

On closer examination one also notices that the prints are not all right hands; a sizable number, perhaps 10 to 15 percent of them represent the left hand.

There is also individual variation in the way the hands were painted. The most common style, shown in the accompanying photograph, consists of approximately eight to ten individual white lines, with line pairs often joined at the fingertips. In most hands the lines are slightly curved. However, a few hands are fashioned from straight lines, while others include jagged lines.

At least one handprint has a swirl of lines which converge in the palm! This variation is illustrated in more detail in a subsequent section.

We don't know why these handprints were placed on the walls of the rockshelter, or why they were associated primarily with this one portion of Esselen territory. And it is very likely that we will never know the answers to these questions.

But while we don't know the actual details, we can speculate about some of the possibilities.

The first point on which we can speculate is the purpose of the handprints. It is possible that they were a clan symbol, or they may have been related to tribal initiation rituals, either of the *Excelen* as a whole or of the people who most often used this one valley.

If the handprints were created during initiation ceremonies, it is easy to picture several individuals undergoing the ritual each year. At some point during the ceremony, each person would carefully add his or her own handprint to the wall of the rockshelter, and by doing so became adults and full members of the tribe.

If the handprints were not employed in some way as part of an initiation ceremony, they may have been associated with some other ritual event. However, reflections along these lines grow increasingly speculative.

Close examination of the handprints shows that some are more faded, and thereby possibly older, than others. However, the handprints do not look like they were painted two or three at a time over thousands of years. In fact, many of the handprints occur in extensive panels containing several dozen separate paintings which appear to have been created at approximately the same time. Perhaps the use of the handprint in initiation ceremonies or other rituals is a relatively recent innovation. It is possible that handprints were created during the few hundred years leading up to the arrival of the Spanish.

This is supported by the nature of the rockshelter in which the paintings are found. An amateur excavation in 1972 (Breschini 1973) found that the upper component, representing the Late Period extended from the surface to a depth of 61 to 91 cm (about 2-3 feet). A lower component dating to the Early Period extended from about 137 cm to 213 cm (about 4.5-7 feet). Radiocarbon dates on these two components confirm the age estimates (see the chapter on Archaeology and Prehistory).

Based on these depths, at the beginning of each of these periods, the floor of the rockshelter was as much as 2-3 feet or 4.5-7 feet lower than at present. Early Period rock paintings, if there were any, would have been painted at a convenient height, and would have been covered gradually by the rising floor level. Late Period paintings, created during the last few hundred years, would have survived the rising floor level if they were at least waist high.

The natural forces of wind and rain, freezing and thawing, are gradually destroying the handprints and the other figures which cover the walls of the rockshelters. We have visited and photographed CA-MNT-47, an Esselen site in the next valley to the west of the main rockshelters. This site was first recorded in the late 1930s (Massey 1938). At that time, one of the panels included a nine-pointed star, formed by charcoal lines, and three white handprints. Over half of the figure is now gone, sloughed away by natural erosion. Only four of the points of the star and two of the handprints remain, and they are now very badly faded (see Figure 23).

The implacable forces of time will eventually destroy all of these handprints, just as they are slowly destroying most of the other rock painting sites throughout the United States. We have conducted detailed photography in the main rockshelter, CA-MNT-44, and several of the smaller rockshelter nearby, so that even after the figures themselves are gone their images will be preserved. These images are being converted to digital form, as even the best films deteriorate over time.

**Individual Variation in the Handprints** – A careful comparison of the handprints in these photographs shows that they are not all alike. While there was clearly a “style” or “mental template” which was being followed, there was also a great deal of individual variation.

The most common form of handprint, which for convenience we will call the basic form, is shown in Figures 18, 22, and throughout most of Figures 16 and 17. In these examples, the lines forming the digits are either straight to moderately curved, or angled. Two parallel lines generally form each finger and the thumb. The lines are usually joined at the top. Variation often occurs in the amount of curvature or angling of the parallel lines and in the type of connection between the two lines at the top.

The basic form has two characteristic methods for joining the lines at the fingertips. In one, the lines are generally parallel or converge simply at the top (see Figure 22 and the lower left section of Figure 16).

In the second form of joining the lines the fingertip areas are blurred (see Figure 18 and some of the upper handprints in Figure 16). This blurring may have been caused by two different steps during manufacture. First, in fashioning some of the handprints, the fingertips and thumb may have been dipped in white pigment and pressed on the wall to establish the basic dimensions of the hand (there are many examples of curved rows of four dots, which appear to represent the fingertips). In other cases, when the lines were painted it is likely that the brush stroke started at the bottom and proceeded to the top, and then turned the corner in a motion that caused the brush to spread, producing some blurring at the fingertips.

A significant variation on the basic form employs much greater curvature or angling of the lines making up the palm of the hand. This is illustrated in Figure 20, and in one of the handprints to the left of center in Figure 17. An extreme example of this is one handprint in which the lines making up the palm form a spiral.

There are also a number of handprints which vary considerably from the basic form. For example, a small rockshelter, recorded as CA-MNT-1061, lies about three miles up the canyon from the main rockshelter, and contains a series of handprints which are about half to two-thirds normal size. Whether these were painted by children imitating their parents or by a shaman or some other individual or group of individuals is unknown.

Individual handprints in Figure 17 (one of which is shown in close-up in Figure 20) also vary from the standard “template.”



Figure 18. Note the smears at the fingertips. The white paint appears to cover some areas of red, and in several areas covers black lines as well. Other areas may have black lines crossing the white. Note the converging lines in the right palm area.



Figure 19. These figures show the brush strokes at the tops clearly; there does not appear to be a previous impression of fingertips.



Figure 20. A variation of the basic handprint with “zig-zag” lines in the palm. Note the small crack forming along the left side of the hand.



Figure 21. This is one of the clearer examples. Note the light scratched lines to the right of the hand, as well as over the bottom third. This is from vandalism. Note also the severe crack forming along the left side of the hand.



Figure 22. Two of the cleanest of the handprints, these figures show that the basic style involved parallel lines for each digit, beginning at the bottom and turning the corner at the top.

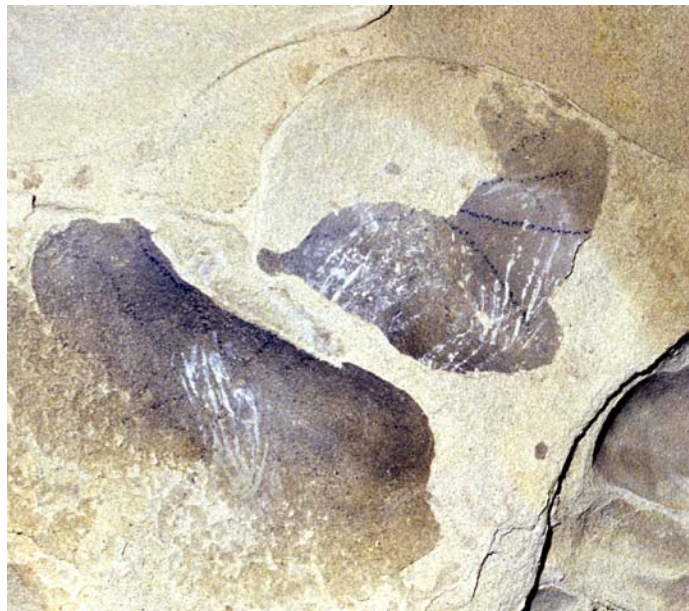


Figure 23. When first recorded by Massey in 1938, the circle in the upper right quadrant was complete, with several handprints superimposed on a nine-pointed star figure (CA-MNT-47). This photograph, taken in May of 1993, shows the erosion which has occurred over the years.



Figure 24. Close-up of the one “smeared” handprint at CA-MNT-44 (see Figure 16). This photograph also shows the black charcoal sketches in more detail than the larger photograph (Figure 16). The handprints are clearly superimposed over the charcoal lines.

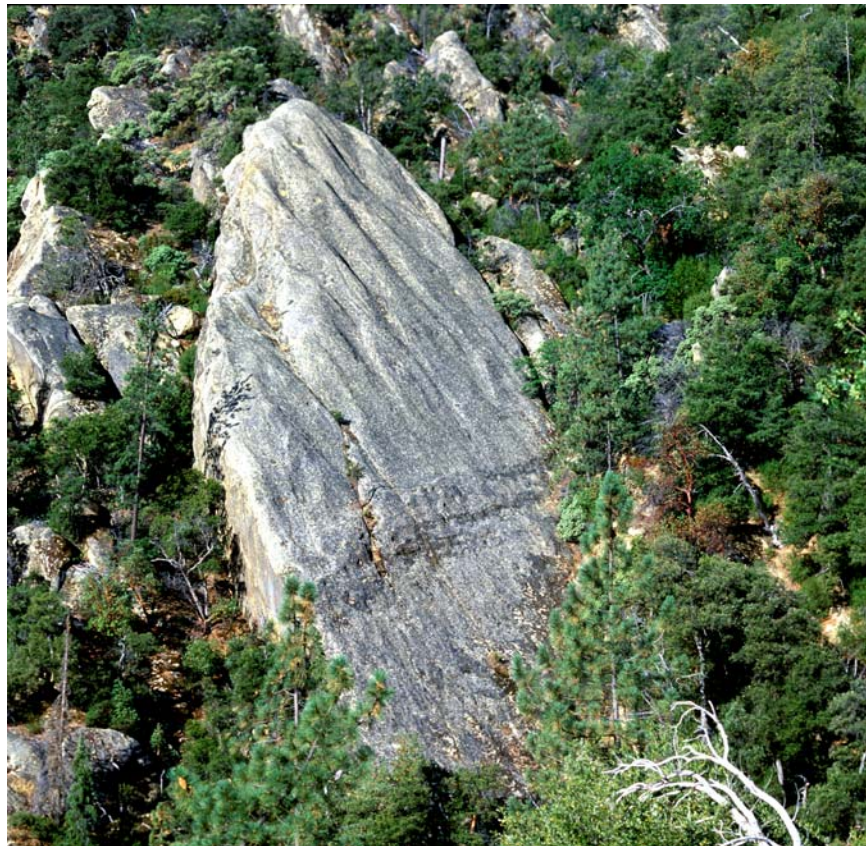


Figure 25. This slab of weathered sandstone, perhaps 200-300 feet high, lies about a half mile down the valley from CA-MNT-44, the main rockshelter containing handprints. It is not hard to imagine that in prehistoric times this rock was called “Hands Rock,” that the rockshelter containing the handprints was called “Hands Cave,” and that the valley was called “Valley of the Hand.” As far as we know, no other anthropologists have noted the presence and significance of this immense natural feature.



Figure 26. Small handprints (about half to two-thirds normal size) at CA-MNT-1061, a rockshelter about two miles west of the main rock art complex.



Figure 27. The main panel in CA-MNT-45, a rockshelter located adjacent to CA-MNT-44. The amount of erosion and other natural deterioration in this rockshelter is high. The light colored surfaces are all younger than the old, dark surfaces, but even some of them have drawings. In this photograph, note the multiple layers of painting, with dozens of black lines superimposed on the major red, white and black vertical stripes. Many of these figures made of black lines may represent counting devices. It is known that the Chumash Indians in the Santa Barbara area to the south employed astronomical observations and some form of counting device to accurately record equinox and solstice events, so it is possible that the Esselen also practiced astronomy and employed such counting devices.





Figure 28. This panel at CA-MNT-45, contains a small number of handprints as well as numerous figures painted in black. These drawings, thought to have been painted using charcoal as a pigment, are found throughout inland Esselen territory (no rock paintings have been authenticated on the coast). While we do not know the meaning of these charcoal drawings, many appear to be counting devices. Note the black “footprints” near the top (see also Figure 29).

### ***Other Rock Art Styles***

While the handprints are the most intriguing feature of Esselen rock art, there are other painted figures throughout much of inland Esselen territory.

The main rockshelter, CA-MNT-44, contains most of the known Esselen handprints, but that site and the area contain a large number of other figures as well. On the west side of the adjacent rockshelter, CA-MNT-45, are a series of erosion pockets, most of which contain numerous charcoal drawings.

There are also other, smaller, rock art sites in Esselen territory. Some contain a single faded charcoal drawing, while others contain a few faded figures in red or black.

No verified rock art sites are known from the coast portion of Esselen territory, although a small, rocky cave overlooking the ocean is frequently reported to contain paintings. These appear to be modern.

### ***Vandalism and Deterioration***

The Esselen rock paintings, like most others in the United States, are slowly disappearing. The forces of nature and time alone will be enough to erase all traces of these paintings in the next fifty, hundred, or two hundred years. These figures will never again be as good as they are today, and what we see today is a mere shadow of what once adorned the cave walls.

But in addition to natural weathering, there is also vandalism, even in the remote mountains inhabited by the Esselen. As these photographs show, vandalism has occurred on a sizable percentage of the rock art panels illustrated in this chapter.

While the carved initials and names may be apparent, what might not be as evident at first glance is the large number of pits or chips caused by people over a hundred or more years throwing rocks at the cave walls! These small pits, which may be mistaken for white dots in the photographs, break the old, dense weathered surface and allow moisture to creep in. Then the freezing and thawing of the long winters can gradually peel more and more of the old surface away—and it is the old surface which contains the majority of the paintings.

Examples of deliberate vandalism are shown in these photographs:

Figure 16	Scratching and small pits from stone throwing
Figure 17	Several sets of initials and a heart; some scratching
Figures 21, 22, 27, and 31	Lines scratched with some type of sharp object
Figure 29	Pits from stone throwing
Figure 33	At least three names, along with numerous scratched lines



Figure 29. In the smaller rockshelter, CA-MNT-45, are numerous charcoal drawings, including these which may represent footprints.



Figure 30. CA-MNT-247, about two miles up the canyon from the main rockshelter, CA-MNT-44, is a small overhang with some paintings. The water washing down this face during wet weather, resulting in mineral staining, is gradually destroying these figures.



Figure 31. Charcoal sketching, with an elaborate line pattern at CA-MNT-44. This may represent a counting device. Note also the scratching which has been done more recently.



Figure 32. One of the most common paintings in California, this figure is generally interpreted to represent "rain" (CA-MNT-45).



Figure 33. A complex panel at CA-MNT-44, with a variety of charcoal sketches. Note the modern vandalism; in addition to the three names, many lines have been scratched over the figures.



Figure 34. Some of the charcoal sketches and additional “counting devices” at CA-MNT-44. This area has been damaged by seeping moisture.



Figure 35. In the southeastern portion of Esselen territory, in the area occupied by the *Aspasniajan*, a small series of rockshelters contains additional examples of Esselen rock paintings (CA-MNT-176). These are nearly 18 miles southeast of the main rock art concentrations in central Esselen territory, and are distinctly different.

## Traditional Cultural Properties

Some traditional cultural properties have been identified in Esselen territory during recent cultural resources investigations.

Traditional cultural properties are those properties which possess values in reference to:

...beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice. The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices. Examples of properties possessing such significance include:

- a location associated with the traditional beliefs of a Native American group about its origins, its cultural history, or the nature of the world; ...
- a location where Native American religious practitioners have historically gone, and are known or thought to go today, to

perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice; ...

Traditional cultural properties are often hard to recognize. A traditional ceremonial location may look like merely a mountaintop, a lake, or a stretch of river... [Parker and King 1990].

As an example of the types of traditional cultural properties which may be present, we have included details from studies made during the recent New Los Padres Dam and Reservoir Project. Esselen descendants, in addition to identifying general areas of concern (for example, concerns for traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering locations and practices) identified 15 specific traditional cultural properties and two historic themes within the general project area (in the vicinity and south of the Los Padres Dam; see Figure 1). These were as follows (after McCarthy 1999:37-47; Breschini and Haversat 1993a, 1995):

- 1) *Xasáuan*. This is the area of archaeological site CA-MNT-34, in Cachagua, which we believe was the village in which *Pach-hepas* became the first Esselen to be baptized, on May 9, 1775, by Junípero Serra. This is also the site in which *Pach-hepas* was buried (Culleton 1950:72). This site is “thus a symbol of the precontact Esselen life and culture as well as a symbol of the initial act of contact and baptism of Esselen people... (McCarthy 1999:37).
- 2) Birthing Rock. Associated with archaeological site CA-MNT-1594, this is a large, distinctive rock outcrop which stands out singularly from the rest of the terrace on which it is located. According to the Nasons, this location was used as a place for women to give birth. As noted below, this area produced a glass bead and a piece of obsidian from an unknown source with a hydration rind of 3.0 microns on one side and no rind on the other. This suggests breakage probably within the last several decades (Breschini and Haversat 1993a).
- 3) Baby Burial Ritual Area. Associated with archaeological site CA-MNT-1604, this consists of a semi-circle wall of rock with the open portion facing the area of the Birthing Rock. It is identified by the Nasons as a location of graves of stillborn Esselen babies, and may also be a grave site for a local settler family in the early 1900s.
- 4) Fishing Altar. Associated with archaeological site CA-MNT-37. This is a distinctive granite outcrop above the Carmel River where the Nasons report traditional offerings are made for success in immediate fishing efforts as well as thanks to the fish for giving themselves to the people.
- 5) Fishing Location. Downstream from CA-MNT-1601, which is considered by some Esselen descendants to be a refuge site. The Nasons report this is a location where traditional fishing with spears has always been practiced.

- 6) View Altar. Located on a high point along the trail, this spot allows a view up and down the river, and is marked by a distinctive rock formation. The Nasons report that this is a place where ceremonial observance is made to the Esselen trade trail and the Spirit Trail which follows the trail and the river (see next entry), a place where the Esselen daily world and cosmological world come together.
- 7) Carmel River/Esselen Trail. These are two associated properties reported by the Nasons. The prehistoric trade trail runs adjacent to the Carmel River from the coast into the back country. The Spirit Trail is the path that Esselen souls follow on their final journey up the Carmel River to the “Window” in the Ventanas (Ventana is Spanish for Window; see Figure 36). From there, they pass into the west, to the Island of the Dead.



Figure 36. From the coast ridge south of Big Sur there is a good view of part of the Ventana Mountain complex.

- 8) Ethnobotanical Gathering Area. The Nasons report that the upper Carmel River from the intersection with Cachagua Creek to Carmel River Camp was traditionally used, and continues to be used, as a rich source of plant resources.
- 9) Traditional Practice Area. Located near CA-MNT-1601, this is a traditional camping area.
- 10) Traditional Practice Area. Located near CA-MNT-1608, this is another traditional camping area.



- 11) Traditional Practice Area. Located just upstream from CA-MNT-1608, this is another traditional camping area.
- 12) Traditional Practice Area. Located between CA-MNT-481 and CA-MNT-482, this is another traditional camping area.
- 13) Prayer Site. Located between CA-MNT-1602 and CA-MNT-1606, this small cave or overhang is used as a prayer site.
- 14) Fishing Location. Located at CA-MNT-1597, the Nasons report that they used to cache fishing spears at this location.
- 15) Vieja Muayor. An old eucalyptus tree located at CA-MNT-1603/H reported by Rudy Rosales to be where women went to pray for the sick and old people. (CA-MNT-1603/H consists of the remains of a 1930s fishing resort.)

Theme 1) Grazing and cattle ranching. During historic times, particularly since the turn of the century, Esselen descendants have engaged in cattle grazing and ranching, and this has “continued to be a major lifeway and economic practice for many years” (McCarthy 1999:44). [It continues to this day.]

Theme 2) “Packing/Outfitting has also been an important lifeway” (McCarthy 1999:44) associated with Esselen descendants. [This practice also continues to this day.]

McCarthy has also completed an additional study for the Chews Ridge area in conjunction with an application for expansion of the MIRA Observatory, and additional details appear in that document. However, Chews Ridge was determined to be a traditional cultural property.

We have heard a number of people, including Esselen descendants, using the name *pimkola'm* to refer to Santa Lucía or Junípero Serra peak. Steve Chambers (personal communication 2003) notes that this comes from Mason’s (1912:108) Salinan ethnography. Mason does not specifically indicate his source for the term *pimkola'm*, but he does note that he was told by an informant that the peak was also called *ti'at'aula*, from the name of a plant that grows there (1912:108).

Kroeber (1925:472) surmises that Pico Blanco was a mountain sacred to the Costanoan, but does not provide any documentation for this statement.

Howard (1974a:68; 1979b:27) also claimed Pico Blanco was a sacred mountain. Concerning this claim, Brandoff (1980) writes: “Howard’s argument for the sacred status of Pico Blanco is not based on a scholarly analysis of the ethnographic evidence,” and concludes “It is clear that Pico Blanco did not have Sacred significance to the Rumsen Costanoan.”

Merriam was told in 1906 that:

The Kah'-koon (and Room'-se-en) used for money in old (i.e., pre-Spanish) times white stones "with blue patches or reflections," found at Pico Blanco. The stone was called pach-kah-lah-che-pil [Merriam 1968:III:373].

No such stones have been identified in the archaeological investigations from this area, and no other ethnographic accounts mention anything similar.

In more recent times there have been claims that Pico Blanco was sacred to the Esselen, but we are unaware of any ethnographic data to support this claim either (see also Brandoff 1980).

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## Material Culture

The ethnographic research dealing with the Esselen has generally been conducted in the Monterey and Carmel areas, and often applies more to Rumsen groups than to the Esselen. As a result, the ethnographic descriptions which follow have been supplemented, where possible, with the results of recent archaeological research, even though that too is rather limited.

## Settlement and Subsistence Patterns

Only limited attempts have been made to ascertain settlement patterns among the Esselen. Brandoff-Kerr noted:

Archaeologically it is apparent that the settlement pattern differs between the interior and the coast. The coastal zone exhibits primarily occupation sites within a mile of the intertidal zone. The interior has mostly vegetal processing sites; however, occupation sites occur about one-quarter of the time and rock art somewhat less often. Sites on the coast indicate primarily exploitation of marine resources while those in the interior represent mostly gathering activities [Brandoff-Kerr 1982:112].

The results [of this study - ed.] suggest that social factors may have taken precedence over environmental factors in the selection of habitation sites in at least the Late Period. The results also indicate pressure on the resident population to expand the food collecting arena at this time which may have resulted in a change in adaptive strategy [Brandoff-Kerr 1982:vi].

To date, this and Proctor's (1978) work are the only studies to attempt reconstruction of settlement patterns. Unfortunately, there is almost nothing available for the surrounding

areas against which these may be compared. In this area, there has been almost no in-depth research on settlement, subsistence, or material culture, although on the Monterey Peninsula and the lower Carmel Valley, just to the west, some useful studies have taken place (cf. Dietz and Jackson 1981; Breschini and Haversat 1992).

It is unknown to what degree Esselen settlement and subsistence depended upon cultural factors such as burning practices. Although there has been some research on this topic, little specific information is available for the Esselen.

## Trade and Trade Routes

Davis (1961) does not include any information on Esselen trade, and no real data survives in the historical accounts. Archaeological research has provided some additional data. For example, the obsidian sourced from Esselen territory has come from Napa Glass Mountain to the north of the San Francisco Bay area and from trans-Sierran sources in the Owens Valley area or on the California-Nevada border. Shell is found in most Esselen living sites, showing trade or direct communication with the coast (the quantities of shell, however, are not as high as at Rumsen sites on the Monterey Peninsula and in the lower Carmel Valley).

From this we know that trade routes existed, and that some materials were transferred over long distances. This implies that there was a formalized method for groups to meet and trade with one another, and perhaps also to cross another group's territory.

Some clues to this are found in the diaries of the Portolá expedition. For example, in the footnotes accompanying his extensive new translation of the Crespí journals, Brown (2001:796) quotes a letter written by Crespí describing events which occurred in Monterey in May of 1770:

On May 24th ... we reached this harbor with all good fortune. ... On that very day, before dismounting ... we decided to view a cross that they had set up when we returned last December. ... Commander Don Gaspar de Portolá, Lieutenant Don Pedro Fages and I went to view it ... We found the cross all surrounded with arrows and little staffs having feathers on them, driven into the ground, one little staff having a string on it of sardines still partly fresh and another little staff with a slice of meat hanging on it, and a little heap of mussels at the foot of the cross; all of this set there by the heathens in token of peace. (Wherever we had camped before along the whole way [i.e., between San Diego and Monterey] we found a great many little staffs with feathers on them, driven into the ground, and this time they would all come out weaponless [to meet us] as soon as they descried us, as though they had dealt with all their lives.)

Brown (2001:796) quotes another letter which gives essentially the same account as above, but which also includes Crespí's interpretation of the event:

And on reaching it ... they noticed the holy cross to be all surrounded with arrows and little staffs having feathers on them, fixed in the ground: one of the little staffs having a string of sardines on it that were still rather fresh, and another having a piece of meat, and a little heap of mussels at the foot of the cross; *the sight of which quite melted our hearts seeing that the heathens were in some fashion paying some kind of worship to the sacred wood ...* [emphasis added]

Another pertinent account comes from the second Portolá expedition, which reached the shores south of Carmel on May 25, 1770:

Not until four days after we reached this other point of pines upon the Carmelo River side did we see a single heathen appear. Four days after reaching here we saw a large parade of heathens standing upon the height of a knoll next to us, entirely without weapons, gazing and not saying anything. ... forty-some heathens immediately came dropping down, bearing two or three large rushwork-wickerweave baskets made of rushes, full of gruel, and many of the heathens were carrying small staffs with feathers on them in their hands—to our understanding, a sign of peace, since we have been finding small staffs with feathers on them at all of the places where we made camp during the first voyage [Brown 2001:735].

As noted in these accounts, the practice of placing arrows and feathered staffs into the ground as a sign of peace was universal between San Diego and Monterey. We know today that the Indians were not “paying some kind of worship to the sacred wood”—rather, they were responding to a peace offering made in their traditional manner.

Another interesting note appears in Palóu’s account of a sailing expedition to the Northwest Coast. Describing a visit to the Haida, Palóu writes (Bolton 1926:III:163):

We saw the smoke of many fires made by the inhabitants of the point, and that the land was well covered with trees resembling pines. With that point the land formed a good bay, and we noticed that from a roadstead in the land a canoe was coming out and being rowed toward the frigate. While they were still some distance from the bark we heard them singing, and by the tone we knew them to be heathen, for they sing the same song as those from San Diego to Monterey.

Although there is little to go on, it is possible that this practice represents a somewhat standardized method for greeting strangers and documenting peaceful intentions. Perhaps the message was more specific: we want to trade, not make war.

Based on archaeological data, it appears that the Esselen utilized ridgelines for travel, avoiding most of the steep and narrow coastal canyons. This is particularly true of the Coast Ridge south of Big Sur. There are a number of archaeological sites within the lower canyons

and along the open upper ridges (for example, Partington Ridge). Once on the Coast Ridge, travel to the north or south, or to the interior, was possible.

The quantities of shellfish at most Esselen sites in the upper Carmel Valley are considerably less than at Rumsen sites in the lower Carmel Valley. There are two probable reasons for this other than the obvious greater distance from the ocean for the Esselen groups. First, the Esselen appear to have practiced more of a foraging economic mode than the Rumsen Costanoan, who practiced more economic specialization. Secondly, the Esselen coast is very rugged, and does not favor easy travel or resource exploitation, nor are there many suitable sites for large villages. In a response to these conditions, the Esselen appear to have utilized the ridgelines for travel, avoiding most of the narrow and steep coastal canyons, and there appears to have been a reduced reliance on shellfish. Trade with the Rumsen Costanoan probably did not supply large quantities of shellfish, as the two groups are generally reported to have been bitter enemies. Preliminary indications from archaeological research support this hypothesis (cf. Edwards et al. 1974; Breschini et al. 1992).

## **Food Resources**

Early explorers noted that the Indians at Mission San Carlos ate “all living things except frogs, toads, owls, which are the only animals they are afraid of.” However, the Salinan and most likely all other groups avoided the skunk.

### ***Hunting Practices***

As James Culleton noted in *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey*:

The men were fine hunters. Dressed in the skin of a doe or antelope and imitating the call and actions of the animal, the Indian on all fours would go right up to the herd. When close enough he would quietly squat and send two or three arrows into the unsuspecting beast [Culleton 1950:219].

This probably originated in the accounts provided by the French, Spanish and English expeditions of September 1786, late October of 1792, and early December of 1792.

**[September 1786]** These Indians are very skillful with the bow; they killed some tiny birds in our presence; it must be said that their patience as they creep toward them is hard to describe [La Pérouse 1994: 169].

Their industry in hunting larger animals is still more admirable. We saw an Indian with a stag’s head fastened on his own, walking on all fours and pretending to graze. He played this pantomime with such fidelity, that our hunters, when within thirty paces, would have fired at him if they had not

been forewarned. In this manner they approach a herd of deer within a short distance, and kill them with their arrows [Margolin 1989:59-60].

**[September 1791]** ...there is an abundance of deer. To kill the latter the Indians put on the stuffed head of an already killed deer; and hiding their bodies in the grass, they imitate the stance, appearance and look of the deer with such propriety that many are deceived until attracted to within range [Cutter 1960:53].

**[October 1792]** Their method of hunting is extremely ingenious. They keep with great care the horns and some part of the head of a deer and fill it with dried grass, thus giving it the shape of the living animal. When they go hunting they carry these images on their heads, and having reached some suitable spot, go along on three feet, using their left hands to support them, while in their right hand they have a bow and arrow ready. As soon as they see one of these animals and know of which sex it is, they imitate the motions of the animal of the opposite sex with such perfection that the thoughtless beast is attracted within range; they then discharge their arrows with great accuracy [Jane 1930:127].

**[December 1792]** On our return to the convent [mission], we found a most excellent repast served with great neatness, in a pleasant bower constructed for that purpose in the garden of the mission. After dinner we were entertained with the methods practiced by the Indians in taking deer, and other animals, by imitating them. They equip themselves in a dress consisting of the head and hide of the creature they mean to take; with this, when properly put on and adjusted, they resort to the place where the game is expected, and there walk about on their hands and feet, counterfeiting all the actions of the animal they are in quest of; these they perform remarkably well, particularly in the watchfulness and the manner in which deer feed. By this means they can, nearly to a certainty, get within two or three yards of the deer, when they take an opportunity of its attention being directed to some other object, and discharge their arrows from their secreted bow, which is done in a very stooping attitude; and the first or second seldom fails to be fatal [Wilbur 1954:67-68].

It is clear, from the Vancouver account at least, that his information on hunting practices comes from an after-dinner performance put on by the Indians in the mission garden. This hunting exhibition was probably performed for many important visitors around that same time, although the earlier La Pérouse account appears to include field observations.

Some estimates of the hunting practices can be gained from examination of small bone fragments remaining in archaeological sites. The faunal remains recovered at CA-MNT-44, a large two component rockshelter site in the Tassajara area, included 27 types of mammals, birds, and reptiles, as well as five species of fish (Breschini 1973:7). The fish included species from the ocean as well as freshwater sources. The primary land mammal species represented was the deer, and the types of bone present suggest that the carcass was butchered in the field, with only portions being transported to this particular site.

In addition to deer, some of the most frequently captured species (depending on location) included brush rabbit and jackrabbit, gray fox, badger, weasel, skunk, raccoon, chipmunk, bobcat, turtle, etc. Other species may have been captured, but could have occupied the sites on their own. These include pocket gopher, ground squirrel, vole, wood rat, and a variety of mice. Elk and antelope, widely reported in the early explorers accounts of the Salinas Valley, have not been found in the sites excavated to date in Esselen territory (although two fragmentary tule elk rib heads were found at CA-MNT-1233, located inland from the coast in the Big Creek area, just south of Esselen territory). Black bear, grizzly bear, and mountain lion are not uncommon in the deposits.

### ***Marine Resources***

Marine mammals included sea otter, river otter, harbor seal, California and stellar sea lion, northern and southern fur seal, and dolphin. Whale bones are often found in coastal sites, but they would have been obtained from beached whales.

A wide variety of birds were exploited, including pelican, duck, goose, loon, seagull, murre, cormorant, hawk, owl, pigeon, eagle, magpie, and quail. Birds were important food sources, and the feathers of some species, such as quail and woodpecker, were also used for decorating baskets and other items. The wing bones were used for whistles or flutes in some areas, although this has not yet been reported for Esselen territory.

Fish species included shark, ray, sardine or herring, anchovy, steelhead/rainbow trout, Pacific hake, topsmelt or jacksmelt, surfperch, monkeyface and rock prickleback, a variety of rockfish, lingcod, and cabezon.

In addition, a variety of reptiles and amphibians have also been found, but their specific uses, if any, are not clear.

### ***Plant Resources***

They have no medical men graduated in Universities, but they have their healers, more desired (and at the same time more feared) than with us the doctors. Said healers apply herbs, bark, leaves, roots, for in these simple things the land abounds, and to know the plants, their names and properties a Botanico would be necessary. It is certain that they cure many infirmities, and for all they have remedies, and many sufficiently efficacious ones, for which reason not a few prefer their herbs and roots to our ointments and balsams [Engelhardt 1929:34].

Plants provided a wide variety of foods and medicines, as well as raw materials for houses, baskets, clothing, weapons, and tools. What could not be used for one of the above was probably used as firewood!

As perishable materials such as plant remains are rarely preserved in local archaeological sites, and little information was provided by the mission and other explorers' records, some of the uses may never be known. However, small plant remains which have been charred will often last for hundreds of years, and can be identified through microscopic examination. The section on archaeology notes some species recovered from an archaeological site, CA-MNT-1601, in the upper Carmel River area.

While little information on Esselen ethnobotanical resources exists in the published literature, an environmental impact statement for proposed expansion of the Los Padres Dam contains a brief ethnobotanical list obtained from Esselen descendants (McCarthy 1999). At this point a word of caution must be included. There is no way to tell to what degree this information represents aboriginal knowledge being passed down, as opposed to recently acquired knowledge.

McCarthy's ethnobotanical list is included, with substantial modifications and corrections, below. It has been supplemented with additional references to plant usage from a variety of sources, including Edward K. Balls' *Early Uses of California Plants*, Walter Ebeling's *Handbook of Indian Foods and Fibers of Arid America*, and a variety of other sources. Of particular significance to Esselen territory is *A Flora of Tassajara: The Vascular Plants of the Tassajara Region, Ventana Wilderness, Santa Lucia Mountains, Monterey County, California*, by David Rogers. We appreciate also comments and suggestions by Mark Stromberg and Jeff Norman (personal communication, 2002-2003).

***Quercus chrysolepis***—Known locally as Valpariaso oak; also known as golden cup oak, canyon live oak, and maul oak. This is the most widely distributed oak in California. The acorns were dried and stored, then pounded, leached, and made into a mush, thin soup, or bread.

***Quercus agrifolia***—The coast live oak grows throughout much of Central California, and was one of the most widely used oaks. Its acorns were an important staple food for the Chumash (Ebeling 1986:306-307) and other California groups.

***Quercus lobata***—Valley oak, California white oak. The acorns from the valley oak were one of the most important food sources for the Chumash (Ebeling 1986:306-307) and other California groups.

***Quercus kelloggii***—California black oak. Unlike the two oaks described above, the black oak is deciduous tree and loses its leaves during the winter. Pavlik (et al. 2000:13) state that the acorns of the black oak were considered the best tasting by Indian peoples throughout California.

***Lithocarpus densiflora***—Tan or tanbark oak. While not a true oak, it does bear acorns which were widely used.



Concerning the oak resources in Esselen territory, McCarthy writes:

Acorns from all of these species were used in the production of the staple food of California Indian peoples, including the Esselen. They were collected in the fall and dried and stored in large quantities, for both immediate and future use. The acorns are pounded into a fine flour which is leached and cooked. The collection of acorns and management of their storage was essential to Esselen survival, and a focus of Esselen ceremony to thank the Creator for the gift of acorns/food and to encourage the continuing well being of the crop. Thus these resources, the living trees, are central to Esselen heritage. In addition to the use of acorns as food, Esselen made necklaces of the acorns, sometimes alternating acorns and manzanita berries on a string [McCarthy 1998:2].

While there is no specific information available for the Esselen, it has been reported that among the neighboring Salinan the acorns of the live-oak were preferred for mush, while those of the deciduous oaks for bread (Mason 1912:118).

**Bay (laurel)**—*Umbellularia californica*. McCarthy notes that fruits and kernels, gathered in the fall, were prepared for food. The aromatic leaves were used as medicine.

**Buckeye**—*Aesculus californica*. McCarthy notes that the buckeye bears a large fruit, gathered in the fall, which can be made edible by lengthy leaching and processing. Buckeyes were used as an emergency food in case the acorn crop failed. Pounded bulbs were also used as a fish poison to incapacitate the fish so they could be caught.

**Madrone**—*Arbutus menziesii*. McCarthy notes that madrone berries were occasionally eaten by the Esselen. Also, the dry, curly bark was crumbled and mixed with black sage and hummingbird sage to make a tobacco which was smoked. Manzanita (see below) may have been used similarly. Other groups used the bark to make a tea to cure stomachache, and the bark and leaves to make a lotion to bathe sores and cuts (Balls 1962:69).

**Santa Lucia Fir**—*Abies bracteata*. McCarthy only notes the Esselen's use of this scarce tree as a source of firewood, as it contains lots of sap. This distinctive tree is extremely rare, and currently is found only in the Santa Lucia Mountains.

**Willow**—*Salix* spp. McCarthy notes that the willow's most important contribution was as a construction material. It was also used for basketry. The use of willow for pain relief is also common.

**Blackberries**—*Rubus ursinus*. McCarthy notes that blackberries were eaten raw by the Esselen.

**Chamise**—*Adenostoma fasciculatum*. McCarthy notes that the aromatic leaves of chamise or greasewood was used as a medicinal tea.

**Coffee berry**—*Rhamnus californica*. McCarthy notes that coffee berry, also known as buckthorn or cascara, was used as a cathartic emetic. We find little support in the local literature for its use as an emetic; it was generally used as a cathartic in this general area (cf. Merriam 1968:III:374).

**Elderberry**—*Sambucus* spp. McCarthy notes that elderberries were eaten raw or dried for later use. The Chumash used elderberry as a food, as well as for crafts and tools (Ebeling 1986:308). The split stick musical instrument was usually made from elderberry.

**Holly leaved cherry**—*Prunus ilicifolia*. McCarthy notes that the Esselen used the fruit of the Holly leaved cherry, also known as islay. They ate the pulps of the fruit and processed the kernels into a powder which was used to flavor other foods and to make a soup.

**Toyon**—*Heteromeles arbutifolia*. McCarthy was unable to document the use of the Toyon or Christmas berries, although the Mutsun and Rumsen ate the fruits. Merriam reports the Ohlone used an infusion of the leaves for suppression of menses or irregular menses of girls (1968:III:373).

**Wild or western raspberries**—*Rubus leucodermis*. McCarthy notes that wild raspberries are found in similar environments to the blackberry, and that they were eaten raw. However, our research suggests that this species is not found within Esselen territory (Rogers 1998; Jeff Norman personal communication, 2003).

**Horsetail**—*Equisetum laevigatum*. McCarthy notes that a decoction of its stems was used for various internal disorders, including kidney and bladder problems.

**Milkweed**—*Asclepias* spp. McCarthy notes that the fibers were used to make string and decoctions of the leaves and stems may have been used medicinally.

**Moss**—McCarthy notes that mosses were used as a poultice on wounds.

**Mugwort**—*Artemisia douglasiana*. McCarthy notes that mugwort, also known as wormwood, leaves were boiled and the tea consumed to prevent poison oak. The leaves are also used as a poultice on the poison oak rash. It was probably used traditionally for other disorders as well.

**Ceanothus**—The flowers of *Ceanothus tryrsiflorus* are currently used by Esselen descendants to produce a soap.

**Stinging Nettle**—*Urtica dioica*. McCarthy notes that a decoction of the nettle leaves was used for several disorders. It also was used in cordage.

**Tule/Rushes**—*Scirpus californicus*. McCarthy notes that the roots are used in basketry and stems also used in construction of mats and thatch. As with surrounding groups, tule was probably of major importance to the Esselen. To some degree this is confirmed by the following. One of the Esselen villages whose name has survived was *Capanay*. This village was always described as being located in an area with abundant tules, an area which to this day is still called Tularcitos. And indeed, in the Esselen language, the word “*Capanay*” translates as “tule” (Kroeber 1904:55).

**Sage** (mint family)—*Salvia* spp. McCarthy notes that sages are generally used for medicines and for ceremony. Hummingbird sage is used medicinally as well as part of a mixture with madrone bark and black sage in tobacco to be smoked ceremonially. Black sage is used for a number of medicinal and ceremonial purposes. A species known as “silver sage” is also found in some areas of Esselen territory.

**Sedge**—*Carex* spp. McCarthy notes that the long, strong roots were used in basketry.

**Yerba Buena**—*Satureja chamissonis*. McCarthy notes that this plant was used medicinally for a number of purposes, and that some Esselen people carry it with them for regular use. This species thrives after a fire.

**Yerba Santa**—*Eriodictyon californicum* (Figure 37). Grandpa Fred Nason consistently points out this plant on the ride in to Pine Valley. McCarthy notes that it is a valued herb and some Esselen carry it with them for regular use, especially for colds. Among the uses Balls (1962:63-64) notes are that the leaves, either fresh or dried, were boiled to make a bitter tea, taken to cure colds, sore throat, asthma, tuberculosis and rheumatism. In a weaker tea it was taken frequently as a blood purifier. A liniment was used as a wash to reduce fever. It is occasionally mixed with Yerba Buena by old-timers in the Santa Lucia Mountains to produce a distinctive tea.

**Yucca**—*Yucca whipplei*. McCarthy notes that yucca was a valuable plant, as the strong fibers in the leaves were used for a number of purposes, the fluid in the stalk was drunk, and the stalk was roasted for eating. Yucca fiber was also used for a variety of purposes around California, including sandals and basketry. The tip of the leaf can be snapped off and the attached fibers can be used as a needle and thread.



Figure 37. Yerba Santa was an important medicinal plant.

**Yerba Pasma (or Pasma)**—Golden fleece, *Ericameria arborescens*. Grandpa Fred Nason indicates that this is one of the most important plants among the Esselen. In the Santa Lucia Mountains, yerba pasma also thrives after a fire. This name appears to be applied to a number of different plants. For example, among the Diegueño a slightly different plant (*E. brachylepis* or boundary goldenbush) was called by the same name (Hinton 1975:219; Hickman 1993:252). Hinton notes that the name “pasma” comes from the Spanish; a malady with chills as the main symptom was called the *pasma* (1975:219-220).

**Manzanita**—*Arctostaphylos* spp. McCarthy notes that manzanita berries were occasionally eaten by the Esselen. Merriam notes that the berries were used to make cider (1968:III:373).

**Poison oak**—*Toxicodendron diversalobum*. While we tend to avoid poison oak today, most Indians apparently were not bothered by the skin rashes and itching we associate with the plant. Some groups reportedly had their children eat or chew the leaves early in life to produce an immunity. Repeated exposure can also result in immunity, and some adults eat a

small amount each spring to keep their immunity strong. No specific information is available for the Esselen, but in many areas of California the slender stems were used in basketry, and the juice from the stems, leaves, and roots turns black quickly and made an excellent dye for basket materials (Ebeling 1986:242), and may also have been used as a cure for warts (Balls 1962:59-60). Poison oak leaves are also said to have been wrapped around acorn bread throughout California (Keator et al. 1995:51).

Although reviled by most people, poison oak becomes extremely beautiful in the fall. Its leaves change from their normal green and take on the full range of fall colors.

### ***Seasonal Round***

Almost nothing is known specifically about the seasonal round for most of Esselen territory. Information can be extrapolated from the Rumsen Costanoan's seasonal round, and from their settlement patterns. However, there will be significant differences because the Rumsen had convenient access to the ocean, and most Esselen did not.

Terry Jones has obtained data from several archaeological sites on the south coast. These sites include both Esselen and Salinan, but it is likely that the occupational patterns were generally similar.

Jones (1995:192-193) notes that coastal flank of the Santa Lucias was occupied during the fall and winter, but that many of the sites were abandoned during the spring and early summer. This could be related, in part, to the lean state of game in the spring. Emphasis could have shifted to marine mammals (with occupation of sites along the water) or plant foods (which may have been more plentiful in the interior) during this time of the year.

During the fall when grass and acorns were plentiful, and deer were fat, hunting would have been more productive. At this time too, families gathered and stored large quantities of acorns for use during the winter.

The extremes, the cold of winter and the heat of summer, dictated the seasonal round which the Esselen followed.

During the coldest months of winter, people would have been gathered in winter villages in the most sheltered areas available to them. Most winter villages were probably in low lying river valleys, where they would have been protected from the heaviest snows. However, during the several hundred years prior to the arrival of the Spanish, the "Little Ice Age" probably resulted in considerably colder winters than we know today.

Firewood was a primary concern both during the winter and throughout the year. Campsites were probably moved as much for lack of readily available firewood as any other resource—

it was easier to move the camp once in a while than to carry firewood long distances on a daily basis.

In the spring, the early vegetation drew the people into the mountains again, to the creeks and upland meadows. The heat of the summer brought other resources, but also required good sources of water. The Carmel and Arroyo Seco rivers on the interior and the Big Sur River on the coast would have been ideal during the summer.

Along the coast the heat of the summer was tempered by the cooling fog. The ocean's many resources would have been available throughout most of the year. However, during the winter months or when major storms battered the coast, the ocean would have been extremely cold and dangerous and was probably avoided.

Microclimates would have played an important role in site selection and resource utilization. In every terrain there are some places which, because of a combination of favorable conditions, are just more comfortable or more productive than average.

With the fall came the annual acorn harvest. Once the secret of leaching away the bitter tannic acid was discovered, several thousand years ago, the acorn became a staple food for many California Indian groups.

But acorns had to be gathered in large quantities each fall, and stored in cool, dry granaries where the insects and rains could not reach them. Many California groups relied on acorns as a staple food for the entire winter. The accounts of the Portolá expedition, which passed through Salinan territory just to the south in the fall of 1769, attest to the importance of pine nuts at that time of year.

Throughout the year, in all but the coldest seasons, the Esselen hunted deer, elk, antelope, and other large game. Smaller animals were used also—squirrels, rabbits, and birds.

Salmon and steelhead runs came periodically with the changing river conditions, but trout were available all year long.

The Esselen knew their territory intimately. It was not a large territory, measuring perhaps 25 by 40 miles at the most, and shared among five separate, although closely related, groups. But each person spent his or her lifetime within the boundaries of the tribe. In time they knew every trail, every rock and every tree. They knew each herd of deer, and the individual animals in that herd. When they hunted it was not at random as when we hunt today. After the proper preparation rituals, the Esselen hunters would most likely pursue a particular herd and perhaps one or more individual deer. They knew where they could be found at any given time of the day or season of the year, and they knew their habits. As the quotations in the "Early Ethnographies" section, above, documents, the hunters knew how to imitate the movements of a deer perfectly, and how to get within easy spear or arrow range.

The Esselen were shaped by the lands in which they lived, and by everything in those lands.

## Dress and Personal Ornamentation

In an early account (prior to 1775), the dress of the Indians in and around Monterey and Carmel was described by Pedro Fages as follows:

Nearly all of them go naked, except a few who cover themselves with a small cloak of rabbit or hare skin, which does not fall below the waist. The women wear a short apron of red and white cords twisted and worked as closely as possible, which extends to the knee. Others use the green and dry tule interwoven, and complete their outfit with a deerskin half tanned or entirely untanned, to make wretched underskirts which scarcely serve to indicate the distinction of sex, or to cover their nakedness with sufficient modesty [Priestley 1937:66].

This account may also apply directly to the Esselen, as at least one Esselen subgroup (the Eslen) had visited Mission San Carlos twice by 1774.

Additional information comes from early drawings; particularly those of José Cardero, made in 1791 (see Figures 4, 5, and 6).

Regarding body painting, an early account comes from the second Portolá expedition, which reached the shores south of Carmel on May 25, 1770:

It was only their chief, who came in front of them, who was wearing paint, a very shiny black that we thought must have been mineral pitch [Brown 2001:735].

In another pertinent account, based on Crespí's early travels between San Diego and Monterey, Palóu cites Crespí, who noted that:

...among the heathen found from San Diego to Monterey we have observed that when they go to visit another village they paint themselves in several colors... [Bolton 1926:III:172].

The La Pérouse scientific expedition of 1786 noted that at Mission San Carlos:

They are likewise in the habit of painting their bodies red in general, and when they are in mourning, in black [Margolin 1989:93].

Other forms of decoration would most likely have included ornamentation such as feathers, shell beads, abalone pendants, basketry hats, etc. Unfortunately little information on Esselen practices has survived.

An abalone pendant from CA-MNT-44 closely resembles a modern fishing lure, and could have been used for something other than decoration.

Rose's attribution of a specific tattoo pattern to the Esselen (1979:5, 26, 34, 70) is erroneous. That information actually pertains to the Salinan. The mistake derives from Merriam's use of the term "En-ne-sen" to describe the Salinan group around Mission San Antonio, which fooled the editors of Merriam's posthumous *Studies of California Indians* (1955).

## Manufactured Items

Some information concerning manufactured items comes from ethnographic accounts, and this is supplemented by archaeological data.

### **Structures**

No specific information on Esselen structures has survived. We do have some information from drawings and descriptions at Mission San Carlos, as well as some additional information from archaeological research.

The living structures built by Indians living at Mission San Carlos were mostly located on the slope to the north of the church and quadrangle. A close-up drawing of these appears in Figure 7, and clearly shows hemispherical domed structures. These are similar to the one shown in the right side of Figure 5, a depiction of Monterey Indians fighting a mounted Spanish soldier. However, Figure 6, a sketch of Indians at Mission San Carlos, shows conical structures in the background. John P. Harrington's *Culture Element Distribution* volume on the Central California coast indicates that the Ohlone used circular dwellings, and that they were both domed and conical (1942:10). The 1792 Spanish expedition described the dwellings as circular, but failed to note whether they were conical or domed. They did note that the Indians "preferred to live in the open country" (Jane 1930:128).

La Pérouse described them as:

...round, 6 feet in diameter by 4 in height; a few stakes the thickness of an arm stuck into the ground and joined to form a vault at the top make up their frame; eight or ten bundles of straw roughly arranged on these stakes more or less protect the inhabitants from rain or wind, and more than half this hut remains open when the weather is fine; their only precaution is to keep two or three bundles of hay in reserve near their huts [La Pérouse 1994:179].

This description was made in September, a time of year when the weather is usually quite moderate and the structures were probably in their "summer" condition. Otherwise, the



approximately 50 huts they counted, if actually the size they described, could scarcely have housed the approximately 740 individuals then associated with the mission.

It is likely that Esselen and Ohlone structures were similar in overall form, although there probably would have been some measures of individuality within each group.

The general house form was a low domed or conical structure. It was made by burying the thick ends of branches in the ground and drawing the ends together at the top. The structure would have been braced and strengthened with additional branches. When intertwined, the framework can be made without the use of cordage.

The covering would have been bundles or mats of tules or grasses. The rectangular door was reportedly sealed with another bundle of grasses, but a leather hanging could also have been used.

The Spanish expedition of 1792 noted use of the sweat lodge:

The natives who are attached to the mission of San Carlos have an unusual custom. They dig a circular ditch in the earth and then cover it with a kind of bell-shaped erection, leaving a very narrow entrance rather like an oven door. On one side of this ditch they pile up wood which they eventually light. When the men come back from work, they go to this oven, where the fire has already burnt up sufficiently, and as many as can enter it, those who have to wait meanwhile amusing themselves with various games. Those who are within suffer as extreme heat as if they had been in a stove, and come out sweating copiously; they then proceed to bathe in the river, afterwards stretching themselves out on the sand and turning over and over many times [Jane 1930:128].

In central Esselen territory, west of Tassajara, there is an archaeological site consisting of approximately 12 or 13 “circular cultural depressions” extending along a creek (CA-MNT-179). As they have not been tested, it is not known whether these represent pit houses, sweat houses, or some other form of structure. We do not know of any other location in Monterey County with a similar grouping of structural remains.

The depressions are all about the same dimensions, and average some three to four meters in circumference. The edges are somewhat built up with rock, and the centers are depressed as much as 50-70 cm. The soil is dark, ashy, and contains a number of midden constituents. While we feel that these cultural depressions are probably the remains of pit houses, confirmation must await archaeological testing. [Any archaeological testing should be conducted with an absolute minimum of disturbance and maximum of data analysis. Remote sensing, with ground penetrating radar and other such non-invasive techniques should be extensively employed. This resource is unique and much too valuable to waste!]

One additional such site, consisting of a single “circular cultural depression” has been discovered within about two miles (unrecorded). Its location suggests a dwelling rather than a sweat house, but again, no excavations have been conducted. Archaeological site records mention other similar depressions, but none have yet been investigated.

Howard (1974a:30-31; 1976:58) mentions that a house floor was encountered at CA-MNT-478, in the Partington Canyon area, but no technical report was prepared for this dig, so no details are available.

Additional structures probably included fenced dance areas and acorn granaries. The latter were probably elevated structures with tule or grass roofs to protect the acorns from rain.

The “Esselen” house depicted in Merriam (1955:105, 128, Plate 35a) is actually Salinan. The confusion comes from Merriam’s use of the name “En-ne-sen” for the Salinan group around Mission San Antonio.

### ***Tools and Weapons***

The Esselen manufactured and used a wide variety of artifacts. However, the data on material culture is better represented in archaeological collections than in the ethnographic literature.

The artifacts found at CA-MNT-44, in the Tassajara area, for example, included bone awls, antler flakers, projectile points (including Desert-side notched points), scrapers, etc. A small sandstone mortar was also found in the deposit (Breschini 1973). Hopper mortars, that is, small mortars with a ring of asphaltum or tar around the depression for the purpose of securing a bottomless basket to the stone, are well-represented in Esselen territory. CA-MNT-1601, a small site on the Carmel River, produced projectile points (again including Desert-side notched points), a variety of cores and modified flakes, bone awls, a bone tube, a bone gaming piece, manos and pestles, etc. (Breschini and Haversat 1995). Portable and bedrock (or earthbound) mortars would have been used in conjunction with the pestles, and metates (either portable or earthbound) would have been used in conjunction with the manos. Few metates, however, have been found in Esselen territory.

These archaeological assemblages are generally comparable with other Esselen and Rumsen Costanoan collections from the same time period.

The excavation at CA-MNT-250, a cave with a dry deposit located about three-quarters of a mile west of CA-MNT-44, provided information on items of material culture generally not found in other Esselen sites. The dry deposit allowed the preservation of wood, cordage, fiber, and basketry fragments (Meighan 1955), which made up over 90 percent of the recovered artifacts at that site.

Included in this collection were nine hardwood foreshafts and five possible shaft fragments. Most foreshafts were sharpened on both ends, one end serving as the point and the other end for insertion in the cane arrow shaft. One foreshaft was actually found bound to a fragment of cane shaft with sinew. The use of wooden points instead of stone points led Meighan to suggest that “it seems likely that the Esselen did not use stone points at all” (Meighan 1955:16-17). This comment, in turn, was among the data which led Pohorecky (1964, 1976) to conclude that the Esselen did not exist (see below). Other wood items included fire drills, a wooden awl, fire pokers, etc. (Meighan 1955:17-18).

The Indians in the Monterey area used the bow and arrow when the Spanish arrived (and reportedly were using it in 1602-1603 when Vizcaíno visited Monterey), but it is not certain at what date the Desert-side notched points first came into common usage in this area. There is some evidence that the main use of these points was quite late, or even during the early Mission Era, in some parts of the Monterey area (Breschini and Haversat 1995).

As noted, tule was an important plant, and used for a variety of different functions. It was also used in the manufacture of boats, which the Indians along the coast both north and south of Esselen territory are reported to have used. We are aware of no specific mention of tule reed boats among the Esselen, but they did have a word for boat or canoe (Heizer 1952:76).

### ***Basketry and Cordage***

Basketry fragments have been found archaeologically at three sites in Esselen territory: CA-MNT-85, CA-MNT-250, and CA-MNT-838. Additionally, a number of small fragments or impressions of fragments have been reported from the asphaltum rings of hopper mortars, but we are not aware of any analyses on these fragments.

There are no known Esselen baskets, but the fragments found archaeologically suggest striking similarities between Esselen and southern Costanoan baskets.

For example, in 1957, after examining a Costanoan winnowing tray at the Southwest Museum, Larry Dawson wrote to Alfred Kroeber commenting on the similarities between that tray and two other known examples, and remarking on the subtleties he had observed in the twined decoration. Dawson was particularly impressed that the black designs showed identically on both sides, and that very subtle red patterns in dyed material were worked in an ingenious way to produce independent and totally distinct designs on either side of the basket. These patterns lasted even after the dyed materials had faded. On checking the archaeological collection from CA-MNT-250 (cf. Figure 38C), Dawson found the same techniques there as well, with interesting variations. He concluded that the keynote of Costanoan-Esselen basketry was subtlety, manipulating the weaves rather than using bold colors to produce designs. He was aware of no examples of this technique in other parts of

the state (letter dated August 21, 1957, to A.L. Kroeber; courtesy of the Bancroft Library; call number BANC MSS 95/21C).

By 1973, Dawson had had time to consider the implications of the distinctive traits shared by the Esselen and southern Costanoan. In a 1973 manuscript, he noted:

...many non-Penutian tribes marginal to Central California conserve what appear to be ancient twined basketry traditions emphasizing twined culinary forms. Some of these tribes such as the Pomo, Yana, and Southern Californians have partially assimilated coiling, but not to the extent of complete replacement of their native twining traditions. These twining traditions (at least four different ones) are so distinct that they suggest a significant degree of diversity in California basketry even before the Middle Horizon and the immigration of the Penutian groups [1973:2-1].

The basketry of Isabella Meadows Cave [CA-MNT-250] is an interesting case in point. The cave is in Esselen territory in the mountains of Monterey County and the deposits, which are of late prehistoric and early historic times, have yielded a large sample of fragments of culinary baskets in a unique kind of twining with highly specialized decorative elements not known anywhere else in America. (The Penutian Costanoan who apparently intruded into Esselen territory and pushed them southward may have assimilated at least part of Esselen basketry in the process.) [Dawson 1973:1-2].

This observation on the culture history of the Esselen parallels information available through archaeology, linguistics, and other specialized analyses (see Breschini 1983).

At CA-MNT-250, 160 pieces of cordage were recovered. This figure includes 42 pieces of untwisted fiber, 3 pieces of twisted animal skin, and 4 pieces of twisted bark, which are not actually cordage. Of the true cordage, the majority, 106 pieces, were simple 2 ply right (“S”) twist cordage. One piece was three-strand braid, and 7 fragments were 2 ply left (“Z”) twist cordage. The cordage was made of grass, yucca fiber (probably *Yucca whipplei*), a silky apocynum-like fiber, and human hair (Meighan 1955:14).

The “knotted fiber” that was recovered was determined to be portions of rude nets, with mesh sizes of 3 to 9 cm (Figure 38A). The nets appear to have been relatively small, hastily made and readily discarded, probably used to transport some types of food resource (Meighan 1955:16).

An additional piece of “apocynum” (Indian hemp) cordage tapered in thickness, with the thinner end terminating in a loop formed by a slip knot (Figure 38B). This could have been part of a snare (Meighan 1955:16).

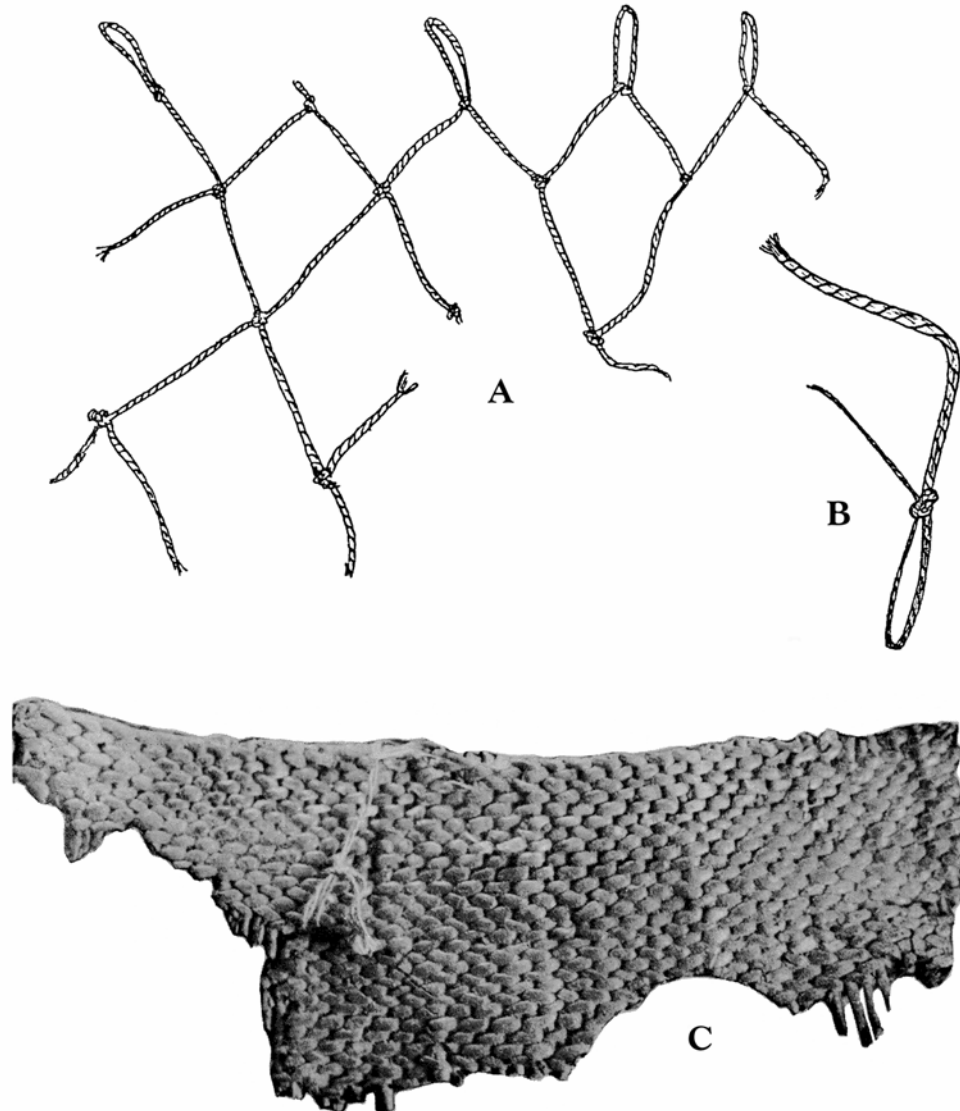


Figure 38. Basketry and cordage from Isabella Meadows Cave, CA-MNT-250. A: Fragment of a net made from “apocynum” fiber. Net has a 4 cm mesh, extended length 78 cm. B: Tapered “apocynum” cordage, possibly part of a snare. C: Twined basketry fragment, length 13 cm. From Meighan (1955).

Archaeological site CA-MNT-85, in the Arroyo Seco drainage, has also produced fragments of basketry. Some recovered during the Hill excavation of the late 1920s was described by Pilling (1948:29, 32):

Although only a few fragments of the basket remain, considerable data may be gleaned from them. The basket was twined in a clockwise direction, looking at the outside of the basket, or counterclockwise looking into the basket. There were eight uprights and 14 interlacers per inch. The material is not a spun fiber, but is probably a bark or root segment twisted for use in basketry weaving.

The fragments of basketry are small but some fragments of design-bearing basketry remain. ... The nature of this weave yields decoration only on one side of the basket; in this case on the interior.

In general when baskets are decorated on the inside, they are flat and tray-like in shape. The flat shape of the burial bundle and the lack of basketry fragments adhering to any but the bottom area of it, would tend to confirm this guess.

A minute seed was found to be clinging to cracks on the interior of the basketry fragments.

In the spring of 2003, we learned from Joan Brandoff-Kerr, Forest Archaeologist for the Los Padres National Forest, that additional fiber and cordage materials along with a number of other artifacts from CA-MNT-85 had been donated to the Forest Service from a pot-hunter's collection. This material is currently being analyzed.

Don Howard's dig at CA-MNT-838, in the Reliz Canyon area encountered a fragment of twined basketry, which he submitted to Larry Dawson for analysis. Dawson's comments, dated 1 August 1977, are as follows (courtesy of Michelle Jason):

Fragment of twined basketry found in a rockshelter site in Reliz Canyon, Monterey Co. on Elmer Gould's ranch (Gould Rockshelter #1). Found on surface about 10 ft. south of Don Howard's Unit A-2.

Dimensions of fragment 3.2 cm. by 2.5 cm.

It corresponds in every way to a single particular kind of basket, a shovel-shaped winnower called *hualajin* (Spanish spelling) in Mutsum, variously recorded by others as *walahin*, *wahleen*, etc. Such winnowers appear to have been common to both the Esselen and southern Costanoan, and a few whole ones have survived around missions San Juan Bautista and Carmel. Many archaeological fragments of this kind of basket are also known from the rockshelter site MNT-250 in what was once Esselen territory.

The weave is twill (diagonal twining) over two warp sticks at a time. The slant of turns alternates in each tow, the alternation resulting from the change in work direction as the weaver worked from edge to edge across the width of the basket always holding the same face (the convex side) toward her. In each row woven rightward the slant of turns is up to the right, a convention also seen in fragments of conical baskets from MNT-250. Another convention is that the round face of the split root weft strands is kept toward the weaver on the work face of the basket (in this case what was originally the convex side). On the upper left edge a part of a splice is visible: the fag end of a new strand is trimmed close on the work face, then the strand winds back over one warp and ahead over the usual two warps. This splice is the only kind found on the archaeological and ethnographic twined basketry of Monterey Co. The features of splice orientation and side on which the round

face of strands is up together indicate the orientation of the fragment with respect to its original position on the basket as held by the weaver. In ortho-position it is: [small sketch in the original] in outline.

The materials appear to be whole peeled shoots for warp sticks and split (sedge?) roots for weft strands. There are 13 warps per inch and 12 weft rows per inch giving 78 weft turns per square inch.

These basketry materials are important because of what they tell us about the daily life of the Esselen.

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## Archaeology and Prehistory

The traditional view of the peopling of North America has been of a limited number of migrations from northeastern Asia via the Bering Straits and then through an “ice-free corridor” linking Alaska with the rest of the Americas (cf. Willey 1966).

However, there is now accumulating evidence that there was also a coastal migration, and that it probably occurred earlier than the “ice-free corridor” migration. Summarizing the evidence, Stanford and Bradley (2002:256-257) note that the corridor was not ice free, or was most likely devoid of vegetation, during the critical time 22,000 to 12,000 years ago (see also Erlandson 2002). Yet, there is now very good evidence, in the form of a human burial dating to 13,400 years ago, for occupation of the California coast—and that occupation was on *Santa Rosa Island* (Johnson and Morris 2003).

Linguistic data also lend support to this theory:

To summarize, the settlement of the Americas involved three main trajectories. Immigrants from Siberia spread southward, chiefly along the coast; from time to time, a language spread eastward into the interior; and, since the end of the glaciation there has been northward and eastward movement into interior North America [Nichols 2002:285].

Local support for the early coastal migration theory comes from an archaeological site near San Luis Obispo (Jones et al. 2002; but see also Turner 2003) as well as some initial results from mitochondrial DNA:

While the pattern of mtDNA variation suggests that regional continuity and gene flow between populations has contributed much to the genetic landscape of western North America, some evidence supports the existence of both the Hokan and Penutian phyla. Additionally, a comparison between coastal and inland populations along the west coast of North America also suggests an ancient coastal migration to the New World [Eshleman 2002:26].

Haplogroup A, the most common haplogroup in North America (Lorenz and Smith, 1996) was found in high frequency among the Bella Coola, Chumash, Haida and Nuu-Chah-Nulth [on Vancouver Island], populations located along the coastal margin of the continent. Elsewhere haplogroup A was rare or absent, though the lone Esselen sequence examined was also a member of haplogroup A and haplogroup A has also been identified in reasonably high frequencies in the Salinan (Lorenz and Smith, 1996) [Eshleman 2002:32].

...inland neighbors of the Chumash possess little or no haplogroup A. Haplogroup A is rare or absent among both modern and ancient samples from the Southwest (Carlyle et al., 2000), the Great Basin (Kaestle and Smith, 2001), and California's Central Valley [Eshleman 2001, 2002]. In contrast, haplogroup A is found in high frequencies among the Salinan and Esselen along the coast to the north of the Chumash (Lorenz and Smith, 1996) and in 3 of 3 ancient skeletal samples from Monterey County... While this does not support affinities between either the Esselen and Salinan and any other Hokan groups (Sapir, 1929), it is consistent with a coastal source of haplogroup A [Eshleman 2002:40-41].

This study also provides compelling evidence of an early coastal migration into the New World. Mounting archaeological evidence of a pre-Clovis occupation of the New World, combined with climatological evidence, further support a coastal route for the first human migrations into the New World. Evidence of genetic similarities between the northwest and coastal California presented in this study provide further support for the conclusion that the first inhabitants of the continent arrived via the coast, spread along the western edge of North America and remained in place without substantial female gene flow from any interior populations who likely arrived later [Eshleman 2002:44].

An early coastal migration would most likely also have included the Coast Yuki who, like the Esselen, appear to be a remnant of an ancient group which formerly occupied a much larger territory (Thomsen and Heizer 1964; Moratto 1984:545).

Subsequent population movements peopled the interior of California as well, but not all parts of the state were necessarily used equally. The small, mobile groups would have selected places most suitable for their needs and ignored much of the rest. Early settlement tended to be around the shores of the ancient lakes which occupied areas that today are desert. The shallow lakes and marshes provided abundant resources.

Over time populations increased and more of the land was used, but the climate played a role as well. For example, during a period of warmer and drier conditions, called the Altithermal, we believe that much of California's Central Valley was sparsely populated.

Some 5,000 years ago another group expanded into Central California. They spoke different languages, now grouped under the name "Penutian," and they appear to have originated in



eastern Oregon, eastern Washington, and adjacent regions. Linguists now favor a multiple-entry hypothesis for this group.

By about 2,500 years ago the Penutian-speakers occupied most of Central California and had gradually differentiated into the five groups, Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, Yokuts, and Costanoan or Ohlone who occupied much of central California when the Spanish arrived in the late 1700s. In the process, the earlier inhabitants of California were isolated from one another.

In Central California, the expansion of the Penutian-speakers followed a pattern. They were able to expand mainly where there were oak grasslands or woodlands in close proximity to marsh or ocean resources (cf. Breschini 1973). Part of the reason for the expansion may have been the differing social structure of the two groups. The Penutian-speakers appear to have had a more tightly integrated social organization than the earlier groups, as well as a higher population. These factors, in turn, allowed them to exploit the favorable environments more efficiently, and to out-compete the earlier, more loosely organized, and small populations. Because of these advantages, they were able to absorb previous groups in some areas including, we believe, the area between the San Francisco Bay and the Monterey Peninsula. Over a period of 1,000 or 1,500 years, this area, which was attributed to the ancestors of the Esselen in a number of different theoretical works (see below), was taken over by the incoming Penutian.

Where the Penutian speakers encountered high, rugged mountains, which lacked the combination of resources which supported their expansion, it slowed or stopped. One of these mountainous areas is south and east of Monterey—the Big Sur coast and the Ventana Wilderness area. Here the Esselen who were living in those mountains remained, unaffected by the Penutian expansion, which was halted just short of their territory.

## **Culture History**

As early as 1923, researchers noted that speakers of Hokan languages were grouped around the peripheries of California, while other groups occupied large areas in between (Figure 8). From this pattern of language distribution, they suggested that the Hokan speakers were once contiguous throughout much of California. They theorized that subsequently, speakers of other languages entered California and expanded, absorbing or otherwise occupying their territory, leaving the Hokan groups as widely separated remnant populations. Early theoretical models dealing with this expansion were presented by Kroeber (1923) and Klimek (1935). More recent models have been presented by Breschini (1983) and Moratto (1984).

If these models are correct, then the Esselen's lands when the Spanish arrived were only a small remnant of those they once had held. It is likely that the Esselen (or their ancient ancestors) once occupied lands as far north as the San Francisco Bay, as well as other parts of Central California.

If this theorized population movement occurred, with older Hokan-speaking groups throughout Central California prior to about 4,000 years ago with incoming Penutian-speaking groups occupying the same areas after that date, we should be able to find evidence of this change through archaeology. On the Monterey Peninsula, archaeological sites older than about 2,500-2,800 years should associate with the Esselen and/or their ancestors, while younger sites should associate with the Rumsen subdivision of the Ohlone.

Another important implication is the degree of cultural mixing that most likely occurred between the two groups. As the expansion of Penutian-speakers from north to south was gradual (covering the approximately 150 miles from the eastern San Francisco Bay to the Little Sur River in about 1,500 years) there was ample opportunity for cultural influence of each group on the other. Given the higher populations and the more rigorously organized kinship and social structure of the incoming Penutian speakers, the cultural influences were unequal; this is the reason the boundary gradually shifted toward the south. However, it can be expected that the southern Ohlone groups absorbed far more traits from the Esselen than did northern Ohlone groups, as they were in direct contact longer. This is particularly evident in basketry styles and Esselen loan words in southern Ohlone languages, but should apply to other areas of their culture as well.

Because the Penutian expansion most likely occurred in areas where there was a particular mix of resources—oak grasslands in proximity to the ocean or marshes—it would have been uneven. The Santa Cruz Mountains lack that particular combination of resources, so the initial Penutian expansion should have gone around the mountains, leaving a temporary Hokan isolate. Archaeological data suggests that this is exactly what happened (cf. Hylkema 1991).

## Time Depth

The temporal span documented for occupation of Esselen territory as shown in Figure 1 is over 6,000 years on the coast, and nearly as old in the interior. It is very likely that older dates will be found as additional archaeological research is conducted.

However, based on the theory that the Esselen and their ancestors occupied lands to the north and perhaps to east during previous times, they would have a documented time depth in the Monterey Bay area of up to 10,000 years. This is based on radiocarbon dates in the Moss Landing area of about 8,500 years ago and in Scotts Valley, north of Santa Cruz, of about 10,000 years ago.

Within the territory held by the Esselen when the Spanish arrived, we now have 67 radiocarbon dates from 18 archaeological sites. These dates are listed in Table 3.

The following section provides information on the primary archaeological investigations which have occurred in Esselen territory.

### ***Archaeological Investigations***

A number of archaeological sites within Esselen territory have now been tested or dated. The following section includes a brief overview of each significant archaeological excavation or dating project which has been conducted. They are arranged by site number (trinomial) rather than chronologically.

Overviews of the archaeology of the general Big Sur area, including both Esselen and Salinan territory, have been prepared by Terry Jones (1993, 1995, 1996, 2003).

**CA-MNT-34.**—This site is the most likely candidate for *Xasáuan*, where *Pach-hepas*, the first Esselen to be baptized was the chief (it is located just north of Los Padres Reservoir on Figure 1). Very minor excavations were conducted in 1974 as a part of the initial San Clemente Dam project (Edwards et al. 1974). They consisted of two-meter diameter surface scrapes.

More recently, the Cachagua Day Care Center was constructed near the site. Because of the proximity to the midden, an archaeological monitor was present. During trenching, a single burial was encountered. It was determined to be an approximately 40 year old female with a light build; the teeth were worn, as is normal for prehistoric populations in this area, but the degree of wear was more consistent with a “generalist” diet than a diet heavily reliant on acorns. The burial was not excavated beyond what was necessary for the Coroner to make a determination that it was likely Native American (Doane 2002).

As mitigation, a single shell sample from the main part of the site (from a gopher burrow) was submitted for radiocarbon dating (see Table 3). The sample, a piece of mussel shell (*Mytilus c.*) weighing 1.5 grams, returned a measured age of  $720 \pm 40$  (Beta-172582) and a calibrated date of about A.D. 1430.

**CA-MNT-44.**—CA-MNT-44 is a rockshelter located in the Tassajara area. It contains the largest collection of handprints, and indeed, the most rock art of any known site in Esselen territory. A small test excavation was conducted at this rockshelter in 1972 (Breschini 1973, 1980) which produced a much different picture of Esselen prehistory than had the earlier excavation at Isabella Meadows Cave (CA-MNT-250), located just under a mile away.

At CA-MNT-44, a deep two-component midden was identified. The upper component, extending from the surface to a depth of 61 to 91 cm, included Desert Side-notched points, abalone pendants, bone awls, shell beads, and other materials thought to be associated with the Late Period. Based upon artifact similarities, it appears that this component represents the

same temporal period identified by Meighan at CA-MNT-250. However, because Meighan sampled a dry deposit he recovered a wealth of perishable artifacts not present at CA-MNT-44.

A radiocarbon date we obtained recently from this component returned a measured age of  $250 \pm 60$  (Beta-151128; 2 sigma calibrations were A.D. 1490-1690, 1730-1810, and 1920-1950, and the intercept was A.D. 1650).

Between the upper and lower components at CA-MNT-44 there was an area containing virtually no cultural materials. The lower component, beginning at about 137 cm, and extending at least to a depth of 213 cm, was radiocarbon dated to  $3390 \pm 95$  B.P. (GAK-4947; 2 sigma calibration was 1942-1436 B.C., and the intercept was 1687 B.C.); this, however, did not represent the deepest portion of the site. The radiocarbon sample was taken from a unit near the back wall of the cave, which encountered the steeply-sloping bedrock floor only in the rearmost corner. In the other units, as Meighan had found at CA-MNT-250, the bottom of the deposit was not encountered.

The evidence from these two components indicates a long early period of occupation, beginning more than 3,500 years ago, and gradually diminishing through time, only to reappear as a rich and more recent upper component. This dates to the last thousand or so years, and probably represents what is called the Late Period in other parts of the Monterey Bay area.

Nineteen beads and other shell artifacts from this site are currently being analyzed by Robert O. Gibson.

**CA-MNT-55.**—Don Howard and the Monterey County Archaeological Society conducted a small dig at this site, located at the Hastings Natural History Preserve, in 1973. No report is available, but Howard (1977:31) illustrates a bone awl and three projectile points, including two Desert Side-notched points, from this deposit. Two additional points from an adjacent site, CA-MNT-54, are also illustrated. The collection is stored at the Preserve.

**CA-MNT-63.**—This site, located at the mouth of the Big Sur River was sampled by Jones in 1989. It contained two components, one dating to the late Middle Period and the other to the Historic Period. Of particular interest is the historic component, which post-dates A.D. 1800. Two *Olivella* shell beads, one a type H1b and the other an H2, date to the Late Mission (A.D. 1800-1816) and Terminal Mission (A.D. 1816-1834) periods (Jones 1995: 127-128; Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987:135). A Desert Side-notched point fashioned from yellowish green bottle glass and glass beads also were present. Two additional Desert Side-notched points were fashioned from chert. The faunal collection included a high percentage of sea otter bones, probably reflecting the historic trade in otter pelts.

Jones (1995:172-173) noted that the material from this feature is consistent with use of the area by a small refugee group fleeing the mission. He suggests that *Chilichon* (CA-B 1072), who fled the mission in 1786 with a small group to return to his native lands (*Sargentaruc*), could have been responsible for this feature. *Chilichon*, however, died early in 1788, and most of his followers appear to have been dead by 1790. Thus, it is more likely that the historic feature at CA-MNT-63, and probably the upper component at CA-MNT-798, associate with a different group of refugees—the mixed *Sargentaruc* and Esselen group which was baptized between 1805 and 1808. This last group of 45 individuals included 16 who were identified as being from *Sargentaruc* and 25 from *Egeac*, *Ecgeas*, or *Egeach*, etc. Four individuals were listed as “*Sargentaruc* or *Egeac*” (Breschini et al. 1999).

**CA-MNT-73.**—This site, located at the mouth of the Big Sur River but on the side opposite CA-MNT-63, was tested in 1990. It dated to a narrow period during the Early Period (ca. 2300-1700 B.C.). The site contained considerable quantities of obsidian from a variety of sources, as well as large quantities of locally-available Franciscan cherts. It appears to have represented a combined residential base and quarry/workshop (Jones 1995:118-119).

**CA-MNT-85.**—At least four separate archaeological excavations have taken place in this rockshelter, located on U.S. Forest Service property in the mid-Arroyo Seco Valley area.

The first excavation was conducted in approximately 1929 by W.W. Hill and other researchers from U.C. Berkeley. However, Horne (1999) notes that this excavation has not conclusively been linked to CA-MNT-85.

According to Brandoff-Kerr (1982:41):

Hill found the mummified remains of an infant or small child along with perishable and stone artifacts. The child had been wrapped in buckskin and was laid inside of a twined basketry tray. Found with the burial were a bundle of fibers, a mussel shell fragment, and some pieces of chipped stone. Three entire black abalone shells were found in the deposit as well as a stick charred at both ends and a couple of fragments of deer bone; one considered to be an awl fragment (Pilling 1948:26). Artifacts were found to a depth of 40 inches but most materials appear to have come from the two to three foot level. Pilling reports that a considerable ash deposit was found near the burial...

The second excavation was conducted in 1957 by Gary Vescelius, a student at U.C. Berkeley. He reportedly found a number of perishable and nonperishable objects. The materials from these two excavations are curated at the University of California’s Phoebe Hearst Museum.

The third excavation was conducted in 1974-1976 by Benjamin Ananian. The materials from this excavation were housed at California State University, Hayward, but seem to have been

misplaced. While no archaeological report was prepared, an excellent soils analysis is available for the site (Dean 1979).

Following the 1974 excavations, this site was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, and has since been included in the register. The extensive midden and rock paintings were major contributing elements for the nomination.

The U.S. Forest Service conducted an excavation in this site in May of 1999, and the results of their research have been summarized in a draft report (Flenniken and Trautman 2001). The initial results appear similar to those from CA-MNT-44, with both Early and Late period components present.

Finally, as noted elsewhere, some fiber and cordage materials from CA-MNT-85, along with wood, flaked stone, shell beads, and feather artifacts, have recently been obtained from a pot-hunter's collection. Analysis should be completed within the year, and most likely will constitute an important addition to our knowledge of the Esselen.

**CA-MNT-88.**—This large Esselen site was dug by Don Howard and the Monterey County Archaeological Society between 1972 and 1974. It is located at an elevation of ca. 1,000 feet on a ridge south of the Big Sur River and Pfeiffer Point. Unfortunately, no excavation report has been published, but we do have a partial set of photographs of the collection.

The information which has become available from this site indicates that it was a large occupation site, and that acorns played at least some part in the economy of the area as early as 3,300 years ago. This is based upon a radiocarbon date from within an overturned bowl mortar directly associated with an intrusive burial. A second radiocarbon date, from below the intrusive burial, placed the lower portions of the site at approximately 3,700 years ago. The site deposit contained numerous artifacts of a variety of types, suggesting that it was one of the primary local residential bases. The presence of twelve burials supports this likelihood.

Because of its proximity to the ocean, more shellfish remains were located than, for example, at CA-MNT-44, but the site was by no means a shellmound as was found in Middle and Late period sites among Rumsen groups to the north. In fact, this site contains less shell than other sites in the Big Sur area. This may be either because of its distance from the coast, or because of its temporal position. For example, this site may not have been occupied into the Late Period.

There are some short articles (Cole 1973; Howard 1974b, etc.) and brief mentions in books (Howard 1974a, 1976, 1979a, etc.) pertaining to this site, but there is only one substantive contribution, an analysis of the bird and mammal bones (Morejohn et al. 1976).

**CA-MNT-250.**—The first excavation within Esselen territory for which we have a published report was conducted by Clement Meighan in 1952 at Isabella Meadows Cave (CA-MNT-250) (Meighan 1955). The upper 91 cm of this deposit was found to be dry, and Meighan was able to recover basketry fragments, cordage, arrow shaft fragments, and other normally perishable materials, but recovered only 12 non-perishable items (Meighan 1955:11). Because of the emphasis on recovering materials from the dry upper levels of the site, only one unit was excavated into the damp lower levels. This extended to a depth of 259 cm, but the bottom of the deposit was not reached.

Meighan estimated that CA-MNT-250 had been occupied for more than a thousand years (Meighan 1955:24), but in the early 1950s radiocarbon dating was not routinely performed, and there was little firm evidence upon which to base this estimate. One radiocarbon sample was recovered from the 90-100 inch (229-254 cm) level of the site, but it was never submitted for dating and Meighan (personal communication, 1992) was unaware of its disposition. It appears that the sample was discarded, as a search of the Phoebe Hearst Museum's catalogue by the authors in the mid-1980s failed to locate it. Since then, however, the availability of AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry) dating has greatly expanded the range of materials which can be dated. Extremely small items, which were not even considered to be radiocarbon samples in the 1950s, can now produce reliable dates.

Meighan's excavation recovered a number of recent or historic materials, including a burial. Meighan notes that this was a child:

...not more than a few years old, interred wearing a shell-decorated string apron, a head band of leather and possibly a cordage hair-net, and a string of beads including small shell discs, glass trade beads, and beetle legs. The child was buried in a prepared grave, lined with grass and bark, but was not covered with baskets or matting. Since boys of this age probably went naked, one may infer that this child was a girl. As a reasonable inferential dating, the child was probably buried about 1825, possibly earlier but not likely very much later [Meighan 1955:11].

Another find dated to the historic era was a cache of three deer skins and a sheep skin. Meighan wrote:

The sheep skin, of course, dates the cache to the historic period. From the other dating evidence in the cave, it seems most likely that the cache dates from the Mission period in California...

In the dusty debris filling the cache pit, several aboriginal artifacts were found, including a fire-drill, a wooden arrow foreshaft, an antler flaker, a chunk of shaped steatite, and several basketry fragments. The scattered nature of these objects argues against their intentional burial and suggests that they were fortuitous inclusions in the midden used to fill the pit.

The cache-pit itself was four feet in diameter and about two feet deep. The base of the pit was at 31," indicating that only a few inches of rock detritus lay over the upper edges of the pit. Most of this was sloughed material from the walls, and the pit may be confidently assigned to the latest phases of aboriginal occupation. The pit was lined with twigs and further protected by an inner layer of sycamore leaves three to four inches thick. The lining extended on three sides of the pit, the fourth (south) side being formed by the surface of a large buried slab of sandstone which had fallen from the roof many years previously.

In the center of the pit lay the heap of skins, the sheep-skin resting on top. They were not folded or arranged in any special order, but rather crumpled and wadded into place. All the deer skins bore peripheral holes where they had been staked out while being scraped [Meighan 1955:11].

The presence of this burial documents an Indian presence in central Esselen territory significantly after the main period of mission proselytizing. Because no radiocarbon dating was performed on the lower, probably older, portions of the site, little evidence resulted from the excavation to indicate that the Esselen had any appreciable prehistory at all. This, in part, led Pohorecky (1964, 1976) to conclude (incorrectly) that the Esselen did not exist as a separate and distinct cultural entity. This is discussed in a separate section, below.

**CA-MNT-254.**—No formal excavations have been conducted at this large coastal village situated at the Esalen Institute. However, a single piece of red abalone shell (*Haliotis r.*) was collected by Lars Larson, a resident, when the laundry was excavated in 1977. The piece reportedly was recovered from a depth of about eight feet. We helped him obtain a radiocarbon date from this sample in the early 1980s, and recently recalibrated the date to over 5,100 years ago (WSU-2523).

Lars Larson also amassed a large collection of artifacts, mostly from the garden area and various construction projects such as the laundry. He has since donated them to the Esselen Tribe of Monterey County. We have a fairly complete set of photographs of the collection.

Ten pieces of obsidian have been sourced from this site; six originated at Coso Hot Springs, two at Casa Diablo, and two at Napa Glass Mountain. One of the Coso specimens had a hydration reading of 2.6 microns.

**CA-MNT--266.**—Minor excavations have been conducted at this site, also situated at the Esalen Institute, in conjunction with improvement projects.

Five radiocarbon dates have been obtained from CA-MNT-266 (Table 3). They indicate occupation during both the Middle and Late periods.

Seventeen beads or other shell artifacts from this site are currently being analyzed by Robert O. Gibson.



About 13 pieces of obsidian have been sourced from this site; 11 originated at Casa Diablo, 1 at Coso Hot Springs, and 1 at Napa Glass Mountain. Eight of the Casa Diablo specimens were submitted for obsidian hydration analysis; the range was 2.4 to 4.7 microns, with the average at 3.35 microns. Using the formula provided by Dietz (1987:312) this corresponds to an approximate age of 660 to 2260 years ago. The single specimen from Coso Hot Springs had a hydration reading of 3.5 microns. These hydration readings are consistent with the radiocarbon dates.

**CA-MNT-376.**—This site, on the coast a number of miles south of Big Sur, was tested in 1989 and 1990. Radiocarbon and obsidian hydration dates place the deposit in the Middle Period, but shell beads and Desert-Side-notched points suggest a Late Period occupation as well (Jones 1995:85-88). Fish were a primary dietary item, which is not surprising given the location of this site on the coastal bluff overlooking the ocean.

**CA-MNT-478.**—This site is located in Partington Canyon at an elevation of about 1,120 feet. It was excavated by Don Howard and the Monterey County Archaeological Society in 1973 and by Jones in 1986. The span of occupation based on two radiocarbon dates and obsidian hydration dating is ca. 2000 B.C. to A.D. 300, and a single type H1a *Olivella* bead suggests early historic occupation. Terrestrial game, particularly deer, were important in the subsistence strategy (Jones 1995:120-123). (See also Bard et al. 1978.)

**CA-MNT-480.**—Howard's (1973a) excavation at this site, located at the Gamboa homestead, was originally thought to be within Esselen territory. Recent boundary shifts (cf. Jones et al. 1989) place this site within Salinan territory instead.

**CA-MNT-486.**—This site was investigated with augers (Busby and Heizer 1986) and a single test pit (Bard et al. 1978) but no dating was conducted and no useful information resulted.

**CA-MNT-619.**—Howard (1976:61) reportedly recovered approximately eight burials from this site in about 1963, apparently in association with bulldozing of a road. However, the only data available are that they were in association with mortars, pestles, and an awl (Howard 1973a:4). We subsequently obtained an abalone shell from the same roadcut; it radiocarbon dated to about A.D. 1200 (WSU-2569).

**CA-MNT-798.**—This site was tested during the summer of 1994 by the Cabrillo College Archaeological Field School, under the direction of Rob Edwards, and with the support of the U.S. Forest Service. The discovery of a single glass bead (approximately 20 cm below a Desert-Side-notched point) suggests an historic component for at least a portion of the deposit. Radiocarbon dates agree with this, and suggest a Late Period occupation as well. It is very possible that this late occupation corresponds to the feature identified by Jones at CA-MNT-63, and to the 1805-1808 baptisms from the *Sargentaruc* area (Edwards and Simpson 1994; Edwards et al. 2000).

Howard (1979a:63) notes a projectile point of window pane glass from this same area. He does not identify the style, but it most likely was a Desert-Side-notched point. This find also suggests a very late use of this area.

**CA-MNT-838.**—In 1976, Don Howard conducted some excavations at this site, a small rockshelter not far from CA-MNT-176 (which is discussed elsewhere in this report). Virtually no information is available from Howard's work. However we have heard that a radiocarbon date on charcoal dates the lower portions of the deposit (ca. 360 cm) to about 2900 B.C. (UGA-1380). This is the oldest date so far from the interior of Esselen territory. Also, a fragment of twined basketry was sent to Larry Dawson at the Lowie (now Phoebe Hearst) Museum. His comments are in the section on "Basketry, Wood, and Fibers," above.

**CA-MNT-1215.**—Breschini et al. (1984a, 1984b) conducted research within the quarry area of this site, and subsequently contracted with Michael Rondeau to reanalyze the lithic materials. Rondeau (1993:23) noted:

The focus of lithic activities at CA-MNT-1215 was centered on the manufacture of flakes. This focus, in combination with substantial evidence of heat treatment, and limited evidence of activities involving other kinds of flaked stone artifacts, appears to fit well with the findings of research currently in progress on several other sites in the general area (Terry Jones, personal communication, 1993). Both the level of heat treatment found here and the evidence that some cobbles were probably flaked by bipolar percussion support findings made by Hylkema (1991) farther north along the coast in Santa Cruz County.

**CA-MNT-1223.**—This site, in the Big Creek area, was tested in 1986. It is a small deposit, and was occupied from about A.D. 1250 to 1700. The flaked stone assemblage suggests an arrow point reduction sequence, and the site may also have been used to produce pendants and *Olivella* shell beads. Occupation may have been during the fall and winter months. There was a heavy emphasis on terrestrial mammals, and little use of fish or shellfish (Jones 1995:149-156).

**CA-MNT-1227.**—This site, also in the Big Creek area, was probably occupied from about A.D. 1250 to 1750. Debitage suggests an arrow point industry similar to CA-MNT-1223. A poorly-defined house floor was discovered, along with hearth/fire pits. Dietary remains show a slight emphasis on fish, with more extensive use of shellfish. Occupation may have been nearly year-round (Jones 1995:156-162).

**CA-MNT-1228.**—This small site is in the Big Creek area, and appears to have been occupied from about 3700 to 2900 B.C. The artifact assemblage included materials often seen in Early Period deposits in the Monterey Bay area (Square- and Contracting-stemmed points, *Olivella* B3 and L2 beads, bone fish gorges, etc.). The faunal assemblage suggested a terrestrial

focus, with minimal use of shellfish and almost no use of fish. Occupation may have been from late summer to fall (Jones 1995:104-110).

**CA-MNT-1232/H.**—This is a complex, multi-component site in the Big Creek area. Jones considers the occupational sequence longer and more complex than any of the other sites in the Big Sur area. Radiocarbon dates range from about 4500 to 1500 B.C., but a Desert Side-notched point suggests a Late Period occupation as well. Faunal remains suggest a very generalized diet, with an overall marine focus. Nearly equal use of terrestrial game, marine mammals, and shellfish is evident. The analysis was hampered by a relatively small sample and excavation of the units on a steeply sloping face onto which site material from a road had been deposited (Jones 1995:94-103).

**CA-MNT-1594.**—This site was tested as a part of the Los Padres Dam study (Breschini and Haversat 1993a). It was found to have been utilized for two different functions. First, the area was used as a seasonal residential base, either prehistorically or possibly during the early Historic Period (about 1780 to perhaps 1830). Activities included food processing, tool manufacture and maintenance, cooking, and other related activities. No temporally diagnostic artifacts or materials suitable for radiocarbon dating were recovered, so the temporal period represented could not be accurately ascertained.

The relatively low density of midden constituents suggested use of this site by a small population for brief periods of time. The usage of the site was sufficient, however, to develop the “midden-type” soil characteristic of residential occupation. This could be attributable to either late prehistoric or early historic (i.e., ethnohistoric) occupation.

Second, there is evidence of activity around the “Birthing Rock,” a large rock promontory nearby, which is reported to be associated with ethnohistoric Native American usage (and was identified as a Traditional Cultural Property). The range of this activity cannot be determined from the materials recovered, but may extend nearly to the present. This interpretation is based on two items:

- 1) A single glass bead, which could date to almost any time during the last 150 years or so; and
- 2) A single piece of obsidian, from an unknown source, with a hydration rind of 3.0 microns on one side and no rind on the other. This lack of a rind on one side suggests a relatively recent break, as readings of 0.9 to 1.0 microns are the minimum normally found in aboriginal contexts, and are thought to represent the early to mid-1800s. The lack of a hydration reading suggests breakage probably within the last several decades.

**CA-MNT-1601.**—CA-MNT-1601, also tested as a part of the Los Padres Dam project, appears to have functioned as a seasonal or short-duration residential base. Based on the radiocarbon dating (Table 3), it contains components dating to the late prehistoric and historic

periods. Occupation during the historic period is consistent with the use of the Carmel River canyon as a refuge area by the Esselen. The lack of historical artifacts in the midden is understandable if the site was occupied by individuals who had little or no contact with the missions. Also, this site is a considerable distance up the Carmel River, in an area the Spanish soldiers would have had trouble reaching.

Activities probably included food processing, cooking, tool manufacture and maintenance, and other related activities. No temporally diagnostic artifacts were recovered, so the radiocarbon dates provide the best indication of the time period represented.

Charred acorn shell fragments were the most abundant non-woody macrofossils identified at CA-MNT-1601, followed by baynut shell. Other plant species identified in an ash sample included: hairgrass, clover seeds, elderberry, manzanita, fescue, bedstraw, miner's lettuce, small lotus, deerweed, farewell-to-spring, buckeye, monocot fibers, and monocot root fragments. Live oak was the most common charcoal type (30 percent), followed by buckthorn family (24 percent), willow (16 percent), alder (10 percent), sycamore (10 percent), and trace amounts of baynut, manzanita, and pine (Breschini and Haversat 1995). The charred seed assemblage suggests that the site was occupied predominantly in the fall and early spring with a less intensive usage from late spring through the summer (there are few good winter indicators).

As was the case with CA-MNT-1594, the relatively low density of midden constituents suggests use of the site by a small population for brief periods of time. The use of the site was sufficient, however, to develop the dark, greasy "midden-type" soil characteristic of residential occupation.

**CA-MNT-1611.**—CA-MNT-1611 was tested as a part of the Los Padres Dam project (Breschini and Haversat 1993a:77-85). The discovery of a single glass bead in a crevice led to more intensive investigations, which revealed several more beads, a projectile point, and a smooth stone beneath overhanging boulders. A shallow BRM with an associated pestle was found nearby.

This site is unusual in that it is situated within a jumbled boulder field that appears to be breaking down from a granite cliff. It is likely that additional breakdown results from each major earthquake. Some of the boulders to the north of the largest boulder have no lichen growth, and probably came down during the Loma Prieta earthquake of 1989. The lack of large trees or even large bushes within this boulder field suggests that it is probably fairly active. It is not a "favorable" location for a site even within Esselen territory, which is known for its unusual site locations.

When the overhang was excavated, additional beads were found, all on or within a centimeter of the surface. However, the only midden constituents recovered during the excavations were

two chert pressure flakes (both Monterey chert), and a few small scraps of bird and mammal bone.

A description of 17 glass beads was provided by Lester A. Ross, a bead expert then with the San Bernardino County Museum. He noted that they are:

...undecorated, cylindrical, opaque, white monochrome drawn beads with a hot tumbled finish. They are crudely manufactured, evidenced by the numerous air bubbles and irregularly chopped and hot tumbled ends... Collectors reference them as “necklace” beads. They may represent a pre-mid 19th-century variety, possibly acquired from Spanish sources... [Breschini and Haversat 1993a].

Dr. Roderick Sprague, of the Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Idaho, also an expert in the analysis of glass beads, expressed the opinion that the white beads:

...are fairly early for the West Coast. In the Northwest they would date between 1835 and 1850 with perhaps a five (or ten) year earlier date for California [Breschini and Haversat 1993a].

Based on these opinions, it seems clear that these beads were manufactured and distributed during the first decades of the 19th century. This time period is compatible with the ethnohistoric period during which Esselen Indians are thought to have moved farther, and more intensively, into the upper Carmel River watershed to avoid the Spanish missionaries and soldiers.

Taking all of the evidence into account, it is possible that this site represents limited use by Indians fleeing the Spanish during the early 1800s. However, the beads could also have been deposited at a more recent date.

## **Damage to Archaeological sites**

Damage to archaeological sites is an ongoing problem throughout Esselen territory, including those portions of Esselen territory managed by the Forest Service. Because of their locations, most Esselen rock art sites fall within the National Forest, and damage is occurring to those sites as well.

We have observed a number of examples of damage, deliberate or accidental, over the years. Two recent examples are as follows:

- On a visit to archaeological site CA-MNT-247 on November 30, 2002 we discovered that a “New Age” altar (Figure 39) had been placed against the back wall of the rockshelter. The contents of this “altar” included parts of three or four abalone shells, a clam shell, crystals, a

jade or jadeite cobble, along with other small stones, and an obviously recent bundle of sage (Figure 40). All of these materials could, and probably will, eventually contaminate the midden.

It was also evident from smoke stains that a fire had been built against the back wall of the rockshelter (Figure 41). A recent black “mandala” figure (shown being photographed in Figure 41), as well as a low rock wall surrounding the rockshelter (bottom left of Figure 41) also were noted. Figure 42 shows a close-up of the “mandala” as well as another drawing which we believe also may be recent.

This site, which we believe is significant and most likely eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, is clearly being used on a regular basis by campers and other visitors.

- On November 30, 2002, we encountered three young campers spending the weekend in a rockshelter which, some twenty years ago, we recorded as CA-MNT-1061 (Figure 43). This rockshelter contains some unique pictographs, including three handprints about half to two-thirds the normal size (Figure 24). The campers had had a fire the night before, but luckily it was not in close proximity to any of the paintings. It appears that this spot, at the western edge of the rockshelter, has been used for numerous campfires. We noted a number of items cached on various ledges, including shell bead necklaces, candle stubs, etc. The campers we met claimed that those items were there when they arrived. This site is obviously being used on a regular basis as a campsite.

When we first examined this site in 1980 we found an “archaeological” type of screen cached nearby. It appears likely that at least some illegal excavation has taken place in this immediate area. The sand floor of this rockshelter does not appear to contain any midden, but there are some bedrock mortars in the sandstone around the edges. It is likely that this site, too, is eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.

We have also observed damage in the past in a number of locations, including in and around Forest Service campgrounds such as Carmel River Camp (CA-MNT-482) and Bluff Camp (CA-MNT-1600), as well as at a number of rock art sites in the general Pine Valley to Tassajara area. Fortunately, the intentional damage to the rock art sites appears to be relatively light, although one of the Pine Valley sites we visit periodically was deliberately defaced just a few years ago. For the most part, however, erosion, water damage, and other natural causes are resulting in far greater damage than deliberate vandalism.

The Forest Service is in the process of developing some protection measures, including Public Education measures, aimed at reducing unintentional damage to archaeological sites.



Figure 39. "New Age" altar at CA-MNT-247, November 2002.



Figure 40. Close-up of "New Age" altar at CA-MNT-247, November 2002, showing abalone and clam shells, quartz crystals, jade or jadeite, etc.



Figure 41. Documenting recent damage at CA-MNT-247, November 2002. Note the smoke stain left by a fire to the left of the "altar" and a portion of a low rock wall in the bottom left corner of the photograph (this rock wall and a rock-lined "entry" completely surround the area shown).

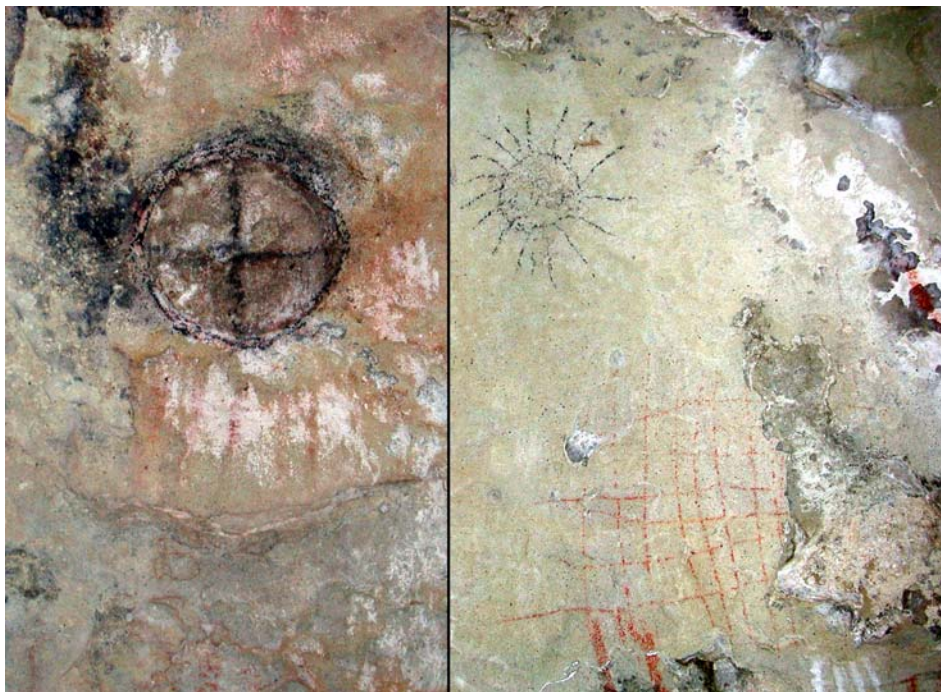


Figure 42. Recent damage at CA-MNT-247, November 2002.





Figure 43. Recording the rock art at CA-MNT-1061 during the fall of 1980.

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## Additional Comments

### Common Errors Regarding the Esselen

A number of errors have crept into the literature pertaining to the Esselen over the years. Once in print they have generally been repeated by one researcher after the other. Probably the most errors originated with Alexander S. Taylor and his *Indianology of California* series which appeared in *The California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences* between 1860 and 1863. From there the errors generally were repeated by Hodge (1907), Kroeber (1925), and Hester (1978).

Indeed, the error level can be moderately high even in many of the early first-hand accounts. For example, the Spanish navel expedition that passed through Monterey in 1792 recorded that:

From the information which our missionaries have been able to collect concerning the two tribes, the *Eslenes* and the *Runseines*, who occupy the whole of northern California... [Jane 1930:130].

Errors crept into the early works of Hodge (1907) and Kroeber (1925) primarily because they were prepared prior to detailed research using mission and civil records and before any archaeological research had taken place. Also, they relied, in part, on earlier works and

manuscripts by Taylor and others. Many of these early works have been found to contain significant errors, but this is somewhat understandable, given the limited amount of information which was available at the time. Kroeber, writing in his 1925 *Handbook* (actually completed about 1918), was fully aware of the potential for errors from these early manuscripts, and cautioned his readers.

More recently, Hester (1978) prepared the Esselen section for the California volume of the *Handbook of North American Indians*. Unfortunately, Hester uncritically perpetuated many of the errors that had occurred in previous works. As this is one of the most common research works appearing in libraries around the United States, many subsequent works have been spreading these errors even farther.

However, some recent publications dealing with the Esselen introduce new errors. For example a recent children's book on Mission San Carlos populates the mission entirely with Esselen, omitting the Rumsen and numerous other groups. This book also pictures the Esselen as hunting buffalo from horseback and collecting grass in clay bowls (Edgar and Edgar 2000:9-10). A second children's book, entirely on the Esselen, also contains numerous errors, both of fact and omission, but its chief fault it is so general it could be describing almost any group (Williams 2003).

Another problem frequently found in Esselen research is uncritical or careless scholarship. This stems in part from the lack of data on the Esselen and in part from the many errors already in the literature. Because of this, we have tried to trace statements back to their original sources and to provide specific references.

We have also been forced to omit a number of subjects which normally would be included in an ethnographic study—these data simply are not available for the Esselen. For example, there are occasional references to Esselen mythology or oral traditions in the literature, but we know of none which have survived. We have also been told that some Esselen songs were recorded by A.L. Kroeber in about 1902 (possibly in the Rumsen language) and that they may be stored at U.C. Berkeley. We can only hope that an archive somewhere has additional Esselen materials which have to date gone unrecognized.

To summarize, any publication dealing with the Esselen should be used with extreme caution, and virtually every statement should be cross-checked against other, more reliable, sources, particularly Culleton (1950), Cook (1974a, 1974b), and Milliken (1987, 1990), as well as the present volume.

The following sections include some of the more common errors, in no particular order.

## The Esselen Did Not Exist

Only one researcher has gone so far as to dispute the existence of the Esselen. Pohorecky (1964, 1976), utilizing data from a stratified coastal Salinan site (CA-MNT-281 and CA-MNT-282) and from CA-MNT-250, at that time the only excavation within Esselen territory to have produced a report (Meighan 1955), theorized that “Esselen” was only a trading dialect utilized by people passing through “Esselen” territory, and that there had been no permanent occupation of the area.

Pohorecky’s conclusions concerning the Esselen contradicted the first-hand observations by the Franciscan missionaries at three missions, numerous explorers’ accounts, as well as all subsequent ethnographic research. Further, his conclusions have not been supported by archaeological investigations. Indeed, his conclusions have been shown to be completely erroneous by numerous researchers (Breschini 1973, 1983; Cook 1974a, 1974b; Milliken 1987, 1990; Breschini and Haversat 1994).

The existence of the Esselen is simply not in question.

## The Village of “*Pach-hepas*”

In previous ethnographic accounts, *Pach-hepas* has repeatedly been identified as a village rather than an individual. *Pach-hepas* was the first Esselen baptized, in 1775, in the village of *Xasáuan*, located some 10 leagues (ca. 20-26 miles) southeast of the mission. However, Alexander Taylor (1860), possibly relying on the testimony of an elderly Indian named Salvador who he met at Mission Soledad, includes the name *Pach-hepas* in a list of villages. This error was passed on uncritically by Hodge (1907:438), Kroeber (1925:545), and Hester (1978:497). Of the early scholars, only Culleton (1950:72) correctly identified *Pach-hepas* as an individual’s name.

Kroeber (1904:54) gives “e-he’-pas” as the Esselen word for “rabbit robe,” raising the possibility that this individual’s name was combined with an honorific or title, the equivalent, perhaps, of “Mayor” or “Chief.” This has also been noted by Culleton (1950:222). See also Turner and Shaul (1981:120).

## Ensen as a Synonym for Esselen

As Cook notes, the Ensen

...would be no problem were it not for the similarity of the name to Esselen and for the confusion which developed early in the nineteenth century and persisted for many years. A good example is the article by Alexander S. Taylor [1860, 1st Series, No. 5]. He says in one place: “Other rancherias of

the *Escelenes* or *Ensenes* were *Soccorondo*, *Tebityilat*, *Xumis*, *Chachat* and *Sepponet...*” (These were all Costanoan in the lower Carmel Valley.) He also says: “The word *Ensenes* may be a short word for the Indians of the Encinal, or Oak-grove of Monterey town, to distinguish them from the *Escelenes*” [1974a:3].

In addition to attributing Rumsen villages to “*Escelenes* or *Ensenes*” (wrong in either case), Taylor’s errors in this passage include equating *Escelenes* and *Ensenes* and interpreting the name *Ensenes* to refer to the Encinal area of Monterey. The *Escelenes* (Esselen) and *Ensenes* (Ensen) are distinctly different groups in all of the early literature. Unfortunately, this early literature was not available to Taylor in the analyzed and published form which we enjoy today.

Harrington (n.d. reel 81, frame 651) cites Merriam’s ethnographic field research (with data apparently obtained in Monterey, in 1906, from informants Beviana Torres and Jacinto Gonzales) as follows:

**Es’-se-len** lived farther away from Carmel and Monterey than did the Room-se-en.

**Es’-se-len** very different tribe from En’-sen of Salinas. The Es’-se-len wore aprons of tulle and were neat.

C. Hart Merriam further notes that “en-sen, tribe name, means blackberrying place” (Merriam 1968:III:381).

Ensen is a distinct district, a subdivision of the Ohlone, and is consistently equated with Los Sanjones or Zanjones (the ditches), Buenavista, and Salinas. These locations are all between Missions San Carlos and Soledad, along El Camino Real. The Buena Vista area is associated with two land grants, both southeast of Salinas. The Zanjones land grant is just south of Chualar.

The Ensen group was well-known to the Spanish, as they lived along the main travel route between Monterey and San Diego. They were virtually the only rancheria in the Monterey area that caused the Spanish any trouble (Culleton 1950:82; Geiger 1959:I:311, 394). It was this group that threatened pack trains, and even the mission itself. On at least one occasion, some members of this group were killed by the soldiers. Whether or not this was related, fully two-thirds of the Ensen group avoided baptism until after 1790. As such, they were one of the last Monterey area groups to be brought into the missions.

Milliken (1987:63) notes that the Ensen group was called the *Guachirron* at Mission Soledad and *Guachurron de la Sierra* at Mission San Juan Bautista, and that between 1777 and 1808, 328 individuals were baptized.

## **Ennesen as a Synonym for Esselen**

Another source of confusion is Merriam's use of the term "En-ne-sen" for the Salinan group around Mission San Antonio. For example, the editors of Merriam's *Studies of California Indians* included a photograph of a structure in the Milpitas Valley area, which is clearly Salinan territory, with the caption:

Pole and brush shelter. En-ne-sen (Esselen) tribe. Milpitas Valley at western base of Santa Lucia Peak, Monterey County, August, 1902 [Merriam 1955:129, Plate 35A].

Based on this erroneous attribution, Rose (1979:5, 26, 34, 70) described the tattoo pattern shown in the photograph as Esselen rather than Salinan in her work *Aboriginal Tattooing in California*.

## **Eslen as a Synonym for Ensen**

When Junípero Serra founded Mission San Antonio in July of 1771, he apparently did not use the same route that Portolá had used in his three trips through the Salinas Valley, which was north of the Salinas River. Rather, Serra followed what is now River Road, south of the Salinas River. Possibly on the way south, but certainly on the return trip, in late July of 1771, Serra encountered a group he called the *Eslen*, who were the Soledad (*Eslenajan*) subdivision of the Esselen. The story of how Mission Soledad received its name from an Indian at that location whose name sounded to Serra like "Soledad" is related above, as is Serra's letter noting that the *Eslen* had visited Mission San Carlos twice by 1774.

The term *Eslen* is in the early literature in a number of places, including the writings of Junípero Serra (Tibesar 1955-1966; Geiger 1959) and Fermín Lasuén (Kenneally 1965), as well as a description and word list obtained by the Spanish naval expedition of 1792 (Jane 1930:127-134)—the words in that list are clearly Esselen. So too are the Ensen in the early literature, often by the names Zanjones and several of its derivatives (see the previous entry).

The early literature is clear that the *Eslen* are a distinctly different group than the Ensen or Zanjones. It is probably the similarity of the names which has led to the confusion between *Eslen* and Ensen (as evidenced, for example, by Kroeber 1925:545). Much of this confusion actually originated with Alexander Taylor, who included a significant number of errors in his 1860 article in *The California Farmer*.

Rather than a synonym for Ensen, an Ohlone subgroup, *Eslen* is clearly a synonym for *Eslenajan*.

## ***Echilat* as an Esselen Village**

In a number of publications, *Echilat* is listed as an Esselen village (Kroeber 1925:545; Levy 1973; Hester 1978:496). This is clearly wrong. Cook (1974a:2) notes:

Question arises with respect to *Echilat*, a village which is mentioned very early (Baptism No. 39) as being in the Sierra de Santa Lucia, and which is allocated to the Esselen by Levy (1973). It is true that since the Sierra was occupied by the Esselen the notation in the baptism book might be assumed to indicate that *Echilat* was affiliated with that tribe. The missionaries gave *Echilat* the Christian name of San Francisco, a name which has been preserved in the land grant San Francisquito, the center of which lies in the hills at the head of San Jose Creek about nine airline miles east of Mission San Carlos. That *Echilat*, in spite of its location, was not Esselen is proved by one undoubted fact, a fact which may be adduced also with respect to the identity of *Achasta* and *Tucutnut*. *Echilat* contributed converts heavily for three or four years prior to the baptism of the first Esselen.

As further documentation, Merriam's "Montereyano Vocabulary" (1968:III:401) gives "E-chi-lat" as the word for San Francisquito.

## **The Most Extensive Vocabulary...**

Culleton (1950:205), without giving the source of his information, states that the Esselen language "had an extensive vocabulary, probably more extensive than any other North American tongue...although its words were derived from relatively few roots."

This statement may have had its origin in Taylor's *Indianology of California* or Ludewig's *The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages*.

Taylor, in discussing the information obtained by the La Pérouse expedition in 1786, stated:

The idiom of this nation is richer than those of the other tribes of California [October 17, 1862].

Hermann Ludewig, writing just before Taylor, noted that:

**Eskelen, Eslenes.** Californian Indians, east of Monterey. The *Ekklemaches* are said to be a tribe of the *Eskalen*, and to speak the richest idiom of all the California Indians [Ludewig 1858:68-69].

However, the original source of this information is most likely Jean-Honoré-Robert de Paul Lamanon, the linguist on the La Pérouse expedition of 1786, who wrote the following:

The *Ecclemachs* live E. of Monterey, and their territory extends for twenty leagues; their language is totally different from all those of their neighbors, and even has more links with our European tongues than those of America; this grammatical phenomenon [is] the strangest seen on this continent...

...this dialect is moreover richer than those of other Californian people, although it cannot be compared with the languages of civilised nations [La Pérouse 1994:199-200].

Culleton's claim that the Esselen vocabulary was "probably more extensive than any other North American tongue" has not been confirmed by linguists, and unless additional supporting information can be located it will have to be discounted.

## **Chapter 4 - Ethnography of the Salinan – by *Randall Milliken***

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### **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the ethnographic Salinan. At the time of the Spanish entry into California, the Salinan people shared a language but were not a self-conscious political group with a single unified leadership. Approximately 4,200 Salinan lived in numerous small independent political groups across portions of present Monterey, San Luis Obispo, San Benito, Fresno, Kings, and Kern counties (Map 2— Regional Map By NEA located in report back pocket).

About 600 ethnographic period Salinan lived within or adjacent to the southern portion of the Monterey Ranger District, in villages of the Quiguil, Lamaca, and Lima multi-village districts; they moved to Mission San Antonio between 1773 and 1806. Another 100 or so Salinan of the Pel band may have utilized the very northeastern portion of the San Lucia Ranger District in the Black Mountain area; they moved to Mission San Miguel between 1798 and 1804 (Milliken and Johnson 2003); (cf. Chester King, this volume). At the missions, those who survived high death rates caused by unsanitary conditions and introduced diseases became skilled in the farming and ranching pursuits of rural Hispanic America.

When the missions were closed during the 1834-1840 period, Salinan lands came under the ownership of members of the Mexican elite. Some Salinan families were able to secure land, through purchase or homestead, in the late nineteenth century. Most, however, worked as laborers and house servants on lands owned by others. Some Salinan still spoke the language in the early twentieth century. There are many Salinan descendants still living in Monterey and San Luis Obispo counties.



This chapter examines the Salinan language, material culture, and social organization. It focuses most strongly, however, on the ethnographic Salinan geographic landscape, information directly pertinent to the interpretation and management of the present landscape of the Los Padres National Forest. The last section of the chapter, save the conclusion, compares and summarizes two very different types of specific Salinan ethnogeographic information:

- General locations of key villages and multi-village regions, inclusive of the southern Monterey Ranger District. Information is imprecise, but geographically systematic. It derives from the Mission San Antonio registers of the 1773-1806 period.
- Specific locations of historic Salinan home sites, ethnographic villages, gathering areas, and landscape features within the southern Monterey Ranger District. Information is precise, but systematic only for a five-mile stretch of the upper San Antonio River. It derives from the twentieth century notes of J. P. Harrington.

The chapter concludes with a descriptive model of ethnographic Salinan land use and regional interaction within and adjacent to the Monterey Ranger District, based upon population and political information inferred from the Mission San Antonio registers.

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## Early Salinan History

The first known contact between Salinan speakers and Spanish explorers occurred in September of 1769, when Salinan lands were entered by a party of 62 men under Gaspar de Portolá. The Portolá party was heading north from newly-founded San Diego in search of Monterey Bay. They met Playano people in the Cambria vicinity on September 10. The language affinity of the Playano was never documented; they may have been Salinan speakers, Chumash speakers, or speakers of a completely separate language isolate (cf. Gibson 1983, Kroeber 1925, Milliken and Johnson 2003). The first definite Salinan encountered by the Portolá party were living on the coast just south of the present Monterey-San Luis Obispo county line. The Spanish explorers camped near them in the vicinity of Los Chinos Creek on the night of September 13, 1769.

First contact within the Monterey District of the Los Padres National Forest took place on September 17, 1769. Proceeding inland up the canyon of San Carpoforo Creek, the Spaniards encountered a temporary camp of some 60-80 people in the vicinity of the present San Carpoforo campground. After resting two days in the little valley, the Portolá party then crossed the Santa Lucia range within the District to camp that evening with a very large group of Salinan, some 600 individuals who had come together temporarily in either the Los

Burros or Little Salmon Creek drainage (in what is now Fort Hunter-Liggett land) to gather pine nuts. “Some they say are shore dwellers, others mountaineers belonging to this range, and still others from a river that they say is near by,” wrote diarist Juan Crespí (in Brown 2001:515).

The independent local Salinan groups that held the lands of the southern portion of the Monterey District moved to Mission San Antonio de Padua between 1773 and 1805. There they were joined by other Salinan people from the San Antonio Valley and from lands as far east as the edge of the San Joaquin Valley. At the mission the people were trained in Christian doctrine and in the agricultural skills of the rural Hispanic world. The Mission San Antonio population reached 1,296 at the end of 1805, but death rates were high, so that the population was down to 557 when it was closed as an agricultural commune at the end of 1834. During the Rancho Era (1835-1846), Salinan descendants spread out to work on Mexican cattle ranches throughout the South Coast Range portion of California.

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## Sources of Information about the Salinan-Speaking People

Two Spanish period treatises contain some important material regarding tribal Salinan culture. The earliest is *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, a commentary by Pedro Fages ([1775] in Priestley 1937) that lacks depth in insight but retains some value for contrasting native life in various portions of south-central California. The other early treatise on culture is the set of “respuestas (responses)” written in 1813 and 1814 to the 1812 *Interrogatorio* sent out by the Spanish Crown to the missionaries of missions San Antonio, San Miguel, and the other California missions (Geiger and Meighan 1976). Like Fages’s material, the respuestas are brief and short in insight. But also like the Fages material, they provide some indications of differences in tribal culture from one mission to the next and some information about language differences at the missions.

Only one scholarly monograph on Salinan ethnography was ever formally published. It is “The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians” published by J. Alden Mason (1912) after he analyzed field notes of earlier scholars and spent a few months with Salinan speakers in 1910. Short overviews on the Salinan people are found in A.L. Kroeber’s 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California* (pps. 546-549) and in Thomas Hester’s chapter in the 1978 *Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 8-California* (1978:500-504). Kroeber’s (1925) chapter contains very little information, and some of the mapped place names in the chapter have since proven to be misplaced. Hester’s (1978) chapter contains an excellent summary of Salinan basketry that is not repeated elsewhere, but its map portrays a Salinan-Esselen language boundary for the north in the Salinas Valley different than any available evidence would suggest. Some interesting information about late nineteenth and early twentieth century Salinan in the Mission San Antonio vicinity is found in *Padres and People of Old Mission San Antonio* (Casey 1957).

Two field ethnographers, C. Hart Merriam and J. P. Harrington, spent a large amount of time with Salinan people but did not ever write up formal ethnographies. Merriam visited members of the Encinales family at “The Indians” in 1902 and again in the 1930s. He gathered linguistic information, ethnobotanical information, and took photographs of Salinan people during those visits (Merriam ([1902-34], [1902], [1932-33], [1934])).

J.P. Harrington was the most thorough note taker among the ethnographers who worked with Salinan people. He visited the Mission San Antonio vicinity for the first time in 1922, then returned in 1930 and again in 1932 (Jones et al. 2000; Mills 1985; Rivers and Jones 1993). In 1922, he met Dave Mora, Mason’s consultant of a few years earlier, and Dave’s wife María Jesusa, a member of the Encinales family. Harrington met another important Salinan consultant, María de los Angeles Baylon, when he returned to the Mission San Antonio area in 1930. Harrington and his consultants took important trips in the present Monterey Ranger District, during which numerous Salinan place names and areas of historic land use were documented. His field notes relevant to the Monterey Ranger District, now available at many libraries on microfilm (1985), have been analyzed by Jones et al. (2000) and Rivers and Jones (1993).

Since 1980 two important analyses of Salinan ethnogeography have appeared in limited distribution publications. Robert Gibson’s *The Ethnogeography of the Salinan People: A Systems Approach*, was produced as a 1983 masters thesis in anthropology. Most recently, Randall Milliken and John R. Johnson have completed *Salinan and Northern Chumash Communities of the Early Mission Period*, a limited distribution technical paper produced for the California Department of Transportation (2003). Gibson (1983) was the first researcher to combine direct clues from the Franciscan mission registers with indirect clues from family network pattern analysis, concentric circle outreach analysis, and field notes from J.P. Harrington to develop a tentative ethnogeography of local Salinan and Northern Chumash community locations around missions San Antonio, San Miguel, and San Luis Obispo. Milliken and Johnson (2003) reanalyzed all the information that Gibson had studied; they agreed with Gibson’s placements for many communities, but suggested alternative placements for many others.

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## The Salinan Language

The Salinan language was once spoken in a restricted area of the south coast Ranges of California (map 2). It is part of the Hokan Language Stock (or Phylum) of western North America and Mexico. Other California languages and language families within the stock include: Karol, Shasta, Chimerical, Palaihnihan (Achumawi/Atsugewi), Yana, Pomoan, Yuman, and perhaps Esselen. There are also Mexican members of the stock are Jicaque, Seri, Tlapanecan, and Tequistlatecan (Chontal) (Voegelin and Voegelin 1965 as cited by Goddard 1996b:319). Arguments for Hokan membership in higher-order groupings, such as Sapir’s

(1929) postulated Hokan-Siouan and Greenberg's (1987) postulated Amerind, have not been accepted by specialists (Goddard 1996b:313, 317).

## **Sources on the Salinan Language**

The Salinan language was first written by Father Buenaventura Sitjar during his residence at Mission San Antonio between 1771 and 1808. Sitjar produced an Antoniano Salinan vocabulary which was published in 1861 as part of the Shea's Library of American Linguistics. He also wrote a Catholic confessional in Antoniano and Spanish, which has not been published (Sitjar 1771-1808). Additionally, he began a manuscript volume of grammatical notes regarding Salinan that was augmented extensively by subsequent missionaries at San Antonio (Cabot, Dumetz, and Sitjar 1771-1830). Another Spanish missionary, Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, took short Antoniano and Migueleno Salinan vocabularies in his remarkable 1821-1837 notebook of mission-vicinity California languages.

Salinan vocabularies were collected in the early American period by Alphonse Pinart (in Heizer 1952) and Henry W. Henshaw (in Heizer 1955). At the beginning of the twentieth century, C. Hart Merriam (1902-1934) and A.L. Kroeber (1901) gathered Salinan linguistic material among families living northwest of Mission San Antonio, in and near lands currently within the Monterey District. The first intensive study of the Salinan language was undertaken by J. Alden Mason between 1910 and 1916, also with people living northwest of Mission San Antonio (Mason 1918).

J.P. Harrington worked with many Salinan speakers, first in the San Luis Obispo vicinity and later in the Mission San Antonio vicinity, between 1912 and 1932 (Harrington 1985; Mills 1985). The last person to collect linguistic information among Salinan speakers was William H. Jacobsen (1979) who did his field work during 1948-1954. Katherine Turner has published the most recent linguistic work on Salinan, using archival material (1980, 1987).

## **Salinan Language Distribution and Ambiguous Affiliation of Playano**

Kroeber (1925:548) assigned the small coastal watersheds within the Monterey Ranger District, and south of Lucia, to the poorly-documented Salinan dialect or language called Playano.

Mission register evidence, not examined closely by Kroeber, shows that the only people called Playano by the missionaries at San Antonio were people from south of Ragged Point, the present Monterey County line. This was first noted by Gibson in 1983. He also proposed in 1983 that Playano was a Northern Chumash dialect. I agree with Gibson that Playano was

spoken only to the south of the Monterey Ranger District. I find, however, that the evidence regarding its linguistic affiliation is ambiguous and contradictory.

The concept of the Playano dialect derives from the 1813 responses by the missionary priests at missions San Antonio and San Miguel to the Spanish Interrogatorio of 1812. They wrote:

The neophytes of this Mission speak four idioms or languages: 1) that of San Antonio which is considered the principal one; 2) that of the seacoast which is spoken by those who came from that area; 3) the Tulareño spoken in the Tulares region; 4) by Indians dwelling south of here (Martin and Cabot [1813] in Geiger and Meighan 1976:2).

All scholars agree that the first language mentioned by the San Miguel priests was Salinan, the third was Yokuts, and the fourth was Northern Chumash. However, there has been ongoing doubt regarding the affiliations of the second language, that of the sea coast.

At Mission San Antonio, Fathers Juan Bautista Sancho and Pedro Cabot distinguished a dominant core area language from a nearly extinct coastal language in their Interrogatorio responses:

We know that these Indians speak two distinct languages. The principal one is that of the mission's own area and is understood to the east, south, north, and the surrounding area of the west. The Indians called Playano or shore dwellers because they came from the sea-coast, speak the less important of the two. These, however, are now few in number, and they not only understand the principal one but also speak it perfectly [Sancho and Cabot in Geiger and Meighan 1976:20].

The dominant language at Mission San Antonio was clearly Salinan. The linguistic affiliation of the Playano language, however, is not so easy to identify. All scholars who have investigated the matter have considered it to be the same language as the "sea coast" language at Mission San Miguel.

The Playano area was mapped by Kroeber (1925:548) all along the coast from Vicente Creek (just north of Lopez Point) on the north to Cayucos on the south. In identifying it as Salinan, he followed the conclusion of his student, Mason, who noted the great similarity between Antoniano and Migueleño dialects and inferred that Playano was a distinct language of the Salinan language family (Mason 1912:105). Whatever the affiliation of Playano, Kroeber lacked any evidence for mapping it along the entire coast of Salinan territory or for using the crest of the Santa Lucia Range as its eastern boundary. The eighteenth century mission San Antonio records show that the people from the coast of Monterey County west of the mission were said to be from the areas of "Quiguil" and "Lamaca"; some of them were said to be from the "mar [sea]," but they were never called Playano in the mission records. The people called Playanos in the Mission San Antonio registers were baptized a few years after the Lamaca and Quiguil people had moved to Mission San Antonio. Some Playano were

associated by kinship with groups labeled Esmerileua and Chaal, probably from the Piedras Blanca/San Simeon vicinity. But most of them were associated by kinship with the groups labeled Stjahuayo and Tsetacol, groups that moved north to Mission San Antonio from the Cambria and Estero Point vicinities between 1803 and 1805.

For want of any extant Playano vocabularies, I conclude that the affiliations of the long-extinct language are unknowable at this time. It was probably a Salinan language, but it may have been a Chumash language or an entirely separate language isolate. Whatever the linguistic affiliation of Playano, it was not spoken by the Lamaca or Quiguil people of the Monterey Ranger District. They spoke the standard Antoniano dialect of the Salinan language and some of their members also spoke the neighboring Esselen language of the Arroyo Seco drainage to the north.

## **Studies of Salinan Linguistic Relationships**

Robert Gordon Latham (1860) made the first attempt to classify native Californian languages, including Salinan. Latham was a London-based scholar who used manuscript linguistic data from around the world to propose typological relations among languages and develop a broad evolutionary hypothesis. Latham identified Mariposa (Yokuts), Moquelumne (Miwok and some Costanoan), Costano (San Francisco Peninsula Costanoan) Santa Barbara (Chumash), and Salinas linguistic groups in south-central California. His Salinas group included materials now known to include Rumsen Costanoan, Esselen, San Antonio Salinan, and San Miguel Salinan (Goddard 1996b:296, 297).

The next important attempt to classify Salinan was made by Albert S. Gatchet, a linguist employed by the United States Geographical Survey. In his early work, Gatchet did not make a sharp distinction between Esselen, Salinan, and the southern Costanoan languages (1877:157-158). He lumped Salinan into Chumashan, suggesting a “pretty close relationship” between Obispeño Chumash and Antoniano Salinan (Gatchet 1876 as cited by Goddard 1996b:296).

Studies of native North American languages were carried out from 1879 forward by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, founded in that year by John Wesley Powell. The Bureau sent Henry Henshaw to California in 1884 and again in 1888 to get samples of Chumash, Salinan, Esselen, and Costanoan languages, in order to clear up the typological problems recognized at the time (Goddard 1996b:297). In 1885 Powell put Henshaw in charge of a project to classify and map all of the native languages of North America, and to name them on the basis of “principles of priority derived from systematic biology” (Goddard 1996b:299).

Powell’s (1891) *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico* immediately became the definitive work regarding native North American linguistic classification. Based upon

Henshaw's work and Powell's final decisions, the 1891 publication recognized 28 language families with numerous members, 26 language isolates, and four language families consisting of only two closely-related languages. Esselen (his Esselenian) was one of the isolates, while Salinan was one of the four language families that included only two languages. Chumashan was recognized as one of the major language families, and was clearly separated from Salinan (cf. Goddard 1996b:301).

Dixon and Kroeber initiated the first of an important series of papers on the relationships among California Indian languages in 1903. That first paper examined the distribution of grammatical attributes among the many native California languages and reached the conclusion that Esselen had morphological similarities with Costanoan, while Salinan shared morphological characteristics with Chumashan (Dixon and Kroeber 1903, Figure 4). By 1913, however Dixon and Kroeber switched to a genetic approach to the study of California Indian language classification, that is to say, to arguments for classifications based upon paradigms of inferred historical divergences among them. They proposed four new language families, Ritwan, Penutian, Hokan, and Iskoman, each of which lumped together some of Powell's earlier families. Hokan included Shasta, Palaihnihan, Pomo, Karok, Yana, Yuma, and Esselen, while Iskoman included Chumashan and Salinan (Dixon and Kroeber 1913).

Edward Sapir (1917) soon presented convincing evidence for expanding the Hokan language family to include Dixon and Kroeber's "Iskoman" languages (Chumashan and Salinan). Then Sapir published a major modification of Powell's classification scheme in a 1929 contribution to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; it "served as the framework for general discussions of the linguistic history of North America" until 1964 (Goddard 1996b:312). In the work, Sapir lumped together all North American language families into six major linguistic phyla or super-stocks. He included Esselen, Salinan, and Chumash in the Hokan family of the Hokan-Coahuiltecan stock of the Hokan-Siouan phylum. Sapir's Hokan-Siouan phylum was formally rejected by specialists in North American linguistics in 1964.

In 1964, most conferees at the North American language Classification Conference in Bloomington, Indiana rejected Sapir's Hokan-Siouan Phylum, while supporting many of his other language phyla. Participants recognized Hokan as a phylum containing 17 language families and language isolates, including Salinan, Chumash, and tentatively, Esselen. The 1964 conference did not recognize any sub-clusters of especially close affinity among any of the 17 language families within the Hokan Phylum (Goddard 1996b:317-318). A still more conservative approach to the language relationships within the Hokan Phylum was taken by Campbell and Mithun (1979), in their summary of the results of a significant historical linguistic conference held in 1976 in Oswego, New York. Their conservative conclusions regarding Salinan and the Hokan phylum as a whole are abstracted in Table 5.

**Table 5**  
**Languages of the Hokan Phylum, according to the Consensus Classification of 1964, separated into two groups according to Campbell and Mithun's Classification of 1979 (from Goddard 1996b:319-320)**

Core Hokan	Controversial Affiliation
Yuman language family	Chumash language family
Seri language family	Comecrudan language family
Pomo language family	Cohauiltecan language family
Palaihnihan language family	Esselen language isolate
Shastan language family	Jicaque language isolate
Yanan language family	Tlapanecan language family
Chimariko language family	Tequistlatecan language family
Salinan language family	
Karok language family	

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## Salinan Ethnographic Material Culture

Ethnographic Salinan-speaking groups practiced the generalized hunting and gathering economy typical of most localities in contact-period central and southern California. The work lives of men and women were separate, for the most part. Men engaged in hunting and fishing, manufactured the tools necessary for those activities, and crafted feathered items for their ceremonial dances. Women gathered vegetal materials, prepared foods, and manufactured a variety of baskets. Men, women, and children worked together on family and community construction and harvesting projects..

Little information is available regarding specific elements that distinguished Salinan material culture from that of neighboring language groups because no rigorous material culture studies were ever carried out among them. Two subsections below provide information about food resources and manufactured items. Most of the information is general, and would pertain as well to the other south Coast Range language groups, the Ohlone, Esselen and Northern Chumash.

### Food Resources

Salinan people harvested almost all edible plant and animal resources within their territory. Fages described the harvesting of acorns, yslay (a red plum or cherry), madrone berries, pine nuts, a black oily seed called "pil" (probably *Calandrinia ciliata*), three kinds of chia seed, a small white seed, a small yellow seed, and a kind of sugar (Priestley 1937:59-60). Mason



(1912:120-122) adds that mescal root was harvested and cooked for two days in an earth oven prior to eating, that three species of clover were “relished” and eaten without preparation, and that seaweed was heated over a fire and eaten with mush or bread.

Among the animals that were eaten, Fages listed bears, deer, antelope, wild sheep, hares, conies [probably rabbits], and squirrels (Priestley 1937:60). Mason (1912:121-122) says all birds, bird’s eggs, snakes, and yellowjacket larvae were eaten. Also according to Mason, “bullheads and sp’ta’L, an unidentified fish, were procured from the ocean, besides red and blue abalones, clams and sk!en’, an unidentified shell-fish” (1912:122). Fages (in Priestley 1937:60) wrote, “In the fresh water there are large trout, and a kind of fish called machuro.”

Acorns from three kinds of oaks were utilized for food in the area, according to Fages (Priestley 1937:59). Mason (1912:118) wrote, “At least six of these species were distinguished by Salinan natives, who valued them for different purposes and in varying degrees ... it seems that acorns from live-oaks were preferred for mush, those of deciduous oaks for bread.” Five tree-sized oaks are common in and near the Salinan portion of the Monterey Ranger District: coast live oak (*Quercus agrifolia*), canyon live oak (*Q. chrysolepis*), interior live oak (*Q. Wislizenii*), blue oak (*Q. douglasii*), and valley oak (*Q. lobata*). More than 125 years after Fages, C. Hart Merriam obtained information from Perfecta Encinales regarding acorn preferences of the Mission San Antonio Indian people who were living in “The Indians” vicinity:

The old squaw, Encinales mother told Goldman that acorns of *Quercus agrifolia* are bitter & used only for mush (after leaching), while the other two, which do not require leaching, are used for acorn bread. *Q. lobata* used both for mush & bread & that *douglasii* makes best bread of all (Merriam 1902:140).

This is one of very few ethnographic references to the importance of blue oak (*Quercus douglasii*), so common in the interior South Coast Ranges, as a preferred food source.

## **Manufactured Items**

### **Structures**

No early ethnographic descriptions of Salinan family houses are available. Typical family houses elsewhere in the Coast Ranges of California were domed pole frameworks thatched with tule or rye grass, which is typical of Coast Range California. Men built small semi-subterranean sweathouses. It is not clear if women’s menstrual houses typical of California were constructed. Communal dances houses were reported, but their type of construction was not described (Hester 1978:501). Granaries were used to store acorns and seeds. They were “large basket-like receptacles made of white willow twigs, built on the ground adjacent to the houses, without any stone foundation and lined and covered with grass” (Mason 1912:119);

they were reportedly shaped as truncated cones, similar to the granaries of the Cahuilla and Diegueño of southern California (Mason 1912:145).

### ***Clothing***

No contact period writers describe ethnographic Salinan clothing or ornamentation. The very lack of comment suggests that they were typical of Coast Range California. Men wore no clothing at all on everyday occasions, while women wore either one-piece plant-fiber skirts or two piece skirts of animal skins and plant fiber. Cloaks of rabbit or otter skin were worn in cold weather. According to Mason (1912:127-128), women wore basket caps. Ethnographic Salinan dance regalia were not well-documented. “No yellowhammer head-bands, feather cloaks or aprons, or other feather ornaments such as are typical of California are remembered by the surviving Salinan natives ... the sole mentions of feather ornaments by native informants are that feathers were attached to the shaman’s sticks, and that head-dresses of feathers reaching to the shoulder, with single eagle feathers extending from the forehead forward, were used by dancers at the Kuksui dance,” wrote Mason (1912:128-129).

### ***Hunting Tools and Weapons***

Information regarding Salinan tools for hunting and warfare is sparse. Mason wrote, “Hunting bows were of “pine” backed by sinew and with a sinew string. They were not long, about three feet, but is said that it took a strong man to bend one. The fist-spear was made with a rigid, non-detachable point” (1912:142). General California ethnography suggests that juniper or cedar, rather than pine, furnished the wood portions of sinew-backed bows.

### ***Basketry***

Mason wrote that fewer than 26 Salinan baskets were known to be in existence in 1910 and that all but one had been manufactured by Perfecta Ensinales and her daughters; they included both coiled and twined baskets (1912:143-150). The traditional coiled baskets included mush-boilers, flat trays, hats, winnowers, and hopper mortars; they were reportedly made with *Cladium Mariscus* sewing material on a *Muhlenbergia rigens* bundle foundation (Elsasser 1978:63). The twined baskets include large carrying baskets, winnowers, small globular work baskets, and asphaltum-sealed water bottles; both warp and weft of the open carrying baskets were willow fiber, while all other twined baskets were close-twined with tule warp and weft (Mason 1912:150-152). Larry Dawson (in Elsasser 1978:630) noted that the extant Salinan basketry resembles Yokuts basketry. Since Perfecta Ensinales was Yokuts by birth, it is possible that her baskets do not completely reflect aboriginal Salinan manufacturing techniques.

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## World View, Ritual, and Aesthetic Life

No unbiased written record exists that provides an insightful description of the world view and religious life of the Salinan speaking people at the time of Spanish conquest. Therefore, this short section interprets traditional Salinan religion within the greater context of ethnographic California Indian religion and world view.

### World View

Central California Indian people shared with native peoples throughout North and South America many basic beliefs about power, sickness, and healing. The traditional universe was filled with unseen animate power that could cause damage if provoked. Thus, all aspects of life were circumscribed with ritual behaviors that modern people would label superstitious. Pedro Fages reflects such an attitude in his 1775 description of Salinan religion:

Idolatry is greater and more insolent here than in the preceding [southern California] localities ... on account of the variety and number of gods who are worshiped: they are the sun, the waters, acorns, and some kinds of seeds. Not content with this, they have raised to the dignity of gods certain old men of their villages in whom they make it manifest that they have placed the utmost confidence, for, while they offer them worship and various gifts, they pray to them for rain, for sunshine, good crops, and so forth (Fages [1775] in Priestley 1937:59).

The behavioral rules emphasized an ethic of community responsibility and placed power in the hands of elders. Men and women who lived to become elders had proven their knowledge of the rules of appropriate behavior and their ability to interact with the unseen. Heizer wrote a summary statement regarding Pomo attitudes toward the workings of the universe that probably fits the ethnographic Salinan, as well:

Pomo world view seems to inhibit goal-oriented behavior through having strong anxieties deriving from living in a world full of potential dangers coming either from other individuals or supernatural powers. Taboos were common and were strictly observed as a means of protecting persons from interference from supernatural powers. Observing taboos could prevent illness or death, but they did not improve one's lot; this neutralized the threat of supernatural action and was therefore an anxiety-reducing device. There was always the possibility of unwittingly breaking a taboo, and if so punishment was automatic but not necessarily immediate. Therefore, bad luck, illness, or death of a child, for example, was taken as a sign that a taboo was broken (Heizer 1978:651).

Throughout California, people believed that animals and birds lived as people before the time of humans. The corpus of Salinan cosmological mythology shares themes with Monterey

Bay Costanoan, except that shrike and kingfisher replace hummingbird and prairie-falcon among the key creatures of the Salinan stories (Kroeber 1907:190, Mason 1912:186-187). In Salinan stories collected by Henshaw and Mason, the world was created by a trinity of animals, Coyote, Eagle, and Kingfisher, afloat in a primordial sea. After they set up the world, they made people out of sticks and separated them into various linguistic groups (Mason 1912:185-192). Mason (1912:183) concluded that traditional Salinan-speakers believed in an after-life on an island in the western ocean, citing information from all surrounding language groups and a myth fragment in Henshaw's notes.

## Ritual

"Practically every occasion of social gathering in California is attended by some variety of dance," Mason (1912:177) pointed out. Dances, performed correctly, were thought by ethnographic Californians to stave off unfortunate occurrences. They provided entertainment. And their conduct offered limited roles that reflected and bolstered the organization of social status among people of a given region.

Only fragmentary knowledge of the old dance cycles was available to Mason (1912:158).

"At least one of the old men of the stock, José Cruz, remembers some of the native songs which were used in myths, dances, and games, but it was unfortunately impossible to obtain a record of any of these" (Mason 1912:159). Cruz told Mason about the Owl, Deer, Coyote, and Bear dances as well. "These were individual dances ... each had its own songs, some of which are still remembered" (Mason 1912:178). The most popular dance in the region was said to be the "kuksu'i." That name Kuksu is associated with cosmology and ritual among the Pomo, Patwin, Maidu, and Miwok of central California. Among some groups it refers only to a mythic power being, in other areas to a personage of a specific dance, and in still other areas to a certain dance ceremony. The precise nature of the Salinan kuksu'i, and the degree of its historical association with any of the Kuksu traditions further north, is unknown.

Many aspects of life, other than communal dances, involved ritual behavior. Shamans used ritual methods, involving special physical instruments, to cure disease and to relate to supernatural powers for the good of the people. Wrote Mason:

A shaman's stick with powerful magical properties was used by him in his incantations, as well as charms and other material objects. His pipe was similar in size and shape to those used by the other natives, but it was decorated with paint, and doubtless most of his other possessions were differentiated from those of ordinary persons (Mason 1912:183).

According to a consultant of Henshaw, Mission San Miguel people obtained charms during dreams, after sweating and fasting for four days (Mason 1912:185).

Women conducted ritual activities in relation to their reproductive lives at specific sites on the landscape. Maria de los Angeles Bailon showed J. P. Harrington an area of “childbirth rocks” and a “sterility mortar” at Tranat near the San Antonio River, just outside of the Monterey Ranger District a few miles downstream from “The Indians” (Jones et al 2000:7).

## Rock Art

Rock art sites in isolated sections of Monterey, San Luis Obispo, and northern Santa Barbara counties share a style that has been called the “South Coast Range Painted Style.” The South Coast Range Painted Rock style consists of angular designs, with some human and animal figures. The style is differentiated from the nearby Santa Barbara Painted Style by its lack of “Circle and Dot” elements (Clewlow 1978:620-623).

No famous rock art sites lie within historic Salinan territory in the southern portion of the Monterey Ranger District. The Wagon Rock Cave site (CA-Mnt-307) on the District two miles southeast of “The Indians” is said to have some obliterated rock paintings. According to Breschini (personal communication, 2003), a number of charcoal scratchings exist on rocks on the Hunter-Ligget Military Reservation and in adjacent portions of the Monterey Ranger District.

One famous rock art site exists at the head of Mission Creek, just to the east of the Monterey Ranger District on Military Reservation land and private land. The site is La Cueva Pintada, called “Cave of the Idols” by Junipero Serra during a 1773 visit (Tibesar 1955:355). This 35 acre site was briefly described by J. Alden Mason in 1912:

Pictographs are not typical of Californian culture and very few of them are known. ... In the mission area, the coast region in the neighborhood of Monterey and to the south, a few typical Californian pictographs are found. These are always painted in several different materials, probably the same colors as those used for body-painting. ... In the Salinan area but one collection of pictographs is known, a cave known as “la cueva pintada” near the top of the hills forming the eastern wall of the valley of the San Antonio River and about five miles above San Antonio Mission....

The figures themselves are in many cases truly pictographic, the human figure, turtle, and sun being among those recognized, while others are unidentifiable, and some must be either devoid of meaning or else ideographic (Mason 1912:153-155).

Four colors of pigment were used at “la cueva pintada,” black, blue, red, and yellow-white (Mason 1912:129, 153). The site, CA-Mnt-256, was well-documented by Breschini and Haversat (1980).

No ethnographic accounts describe the reasons for creation of rock art in the South Coast ranges. Mason offered the following explanation:

The great paucity of pictographs in the country, together with their abundance in a few isolated places, point to a ceremonial explanation. ... The probable explanation for these pictographs in the region south of Monterey is that they were made in some esoteric ceremony, probably that of puberty. No explanation for them is offered by the living Indians (Mason 1912:152).

Rock art scholar Campbell Grant also surmised that California pictographs were painted in conjunction with ceremonial activity, but he suggested that it had something to do with shaman training (Clewlow 1978:623).

Incised stones are found in much of the Salinan territory. Their designs mimic those on some local rock art. Breschini in Chapter 3 has suggested that their distribution matches that of the Salinan language (See Breschini, p. 71). His argument seems good in this case, but I caution the reader that archaeological assemblage distributions do not necessarily correlate to language distribution (Hughes 1992).

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## **Political, Settlement, and Land Use Systems**

The Salinan people in the Monterey District environs were probably organized into small regional multi-village tribes with formal political leaders. On the other hand, they may have been organized into small bands with fluid membership. The ethnographic evidence regarding this question, scant and ambiguous as it is, will be addressed in the first subsection of this section. The second subsection documents the ethnogeography of villages and regional communities in and near the Monterey District. A third subsection discusses the contact period population density of the vicinity, a key factor in determining the spatial reach of family networks, be those families members of fluid bands or formal tribes. The fourth subsection addresses indirect evidence from mission records for nuclear family movement between villages and between adjoining regional territories from year to year. The final subsection uses a small number of ethnographic accounts to infer some population movement among microhabitats both within and between regional territories for purposes of intensive resource harvest.

### **Probable Tribelet Political Organization**

Few clues are available today regarding contact-period Salinan political organization and settlement systems. The clues suggest that the people controlled their landscape and resources in accordance with one of the two following models, probably the latter:

1. A “local community/regional community” model, within which each casually-named region supported multiple semi-sedentary bands, band leadership was provided by extended family elders, and families often switched membership from band to band and from region to region—analogueous to the band-level society of Service (1962:112-114).
2. A “regional tribelet” model, within which each clearly-demarcated tribelet region encompassed numerous semi-permanent villages and temporary camps, each tribelet region had one or a few formal headmen, families often moved among villages within the tribelet region, but movement between neighboring tribelets was usually limited to newly married individuals—analogueous to the tribe-level society of Service (1962:112-114).

Because these two political/settlement systems are similar, I present here examples of each below, before going on to look at the evidence regarding the Salinan political/land use system in the Monterey Ranger District area.

### ***The Local Community/Regional Community Model***

Among the Washoe, daily life and the yearly life cycle revolved around two levels of self-aware local groups, the local community, and the regional community (D’Azevedo 1986:485). The local community, the basic unit of social organization, was a cluster of closely related households that shared the same winter camp and identified with a single local leader. It generally consisted of a cluster of 2-10 winter houses. The Washoe referred to this group level as “the bunch.” Membership in local “bunches” was fluid, as individuals and families often shifted residence temporarily or permanently “to the households of other relatives in the same or a distant community” (D’Azevedo 1986:483). The local community was the cooperative unit for communal hunts, defense, and group ceremonial expression.

The Washoe regional community, on the other hand, included all the local communities within a region that was 10-15 miles in diameter. For instance, four local communities of the Woodfords-Markleeville area of Alpine County, California, formed a regional community known as the “dwellers in the corner where rivers flow away out” (D’Azevedo 1986:468). Constituent local communities united into regional communities “by identification with place and by loose ties of kinship and constituted a population of hundreds of persons with whom there was some degree of familiarity and mutual trust” (D’Azevedo 1986:484). The regional community, as a cluster of local communities, had a number of headmen, but it seldom acted as a single political unit.

### ***The Regional Tribelet Model***

The Pomo-speaking people of northern California were divided into approximately 70 small independent tribes, which Kroeber (1933) called “tribelets.” Kroeber’s own words best describe the make-up of the unit:

Each of these seemed to possess a small territory usually definable in terms of drainage; a principal town or settlement, often with a chief recognized by the whole group; normally, minor settlements which might or might not be occupied permanently; and sometimes a specific name, but more often none other than the designation of the principal town. Each group acted as a homogeneous unit in matters of land ownership, trespass, war, major ceremonies, and the entertainment entailed by them (Kroeber 1932:257).

Bakamtati in the Stoneyford area in Colusa County, California was a typical Pomo tribelet. It derived its name from its major village, Bakamtati, the permanent winter residence of a large number of families. That major village served as the organizational and ceremonial center of the group. There were also eight subsidiary villages within the territory which served as winter residences for smaller groups of people. In the Bakamtati hinterlands were at least 18 seasonal camps which served as residential bases for summer and fall gathering activities (Barrett 1908).

### ***The Two Models in Relation to the Salinan***

The independent Pomo tribes or “tribelets” were equivalent in scale to the “regional communities” of the Washoe, that is to say they were of equivalent geographic size and equivalent population, about 200 to 400 people living in a number of winter villages. Among both Pomo and Washoe, village residence shifted in a fluid way from one year to the next. At the level of political self-awareness, however, the Pomo and Washoe regional groups were markedly different. The Pomo regional tribelet had well-demarcated territorial boundaries and formal political leadership, while the Washoe regional community was unbounded and informal.

The Salinan who moved to early Mission San Antonio were clearly aware of two levels of social aggregation. The baptismal records list people from rancherías (communities, usually villages) associated with larger regions, such as “Expinit en Lima [Expinit in Lima]” (SAN-B 142), “Zateltecha en Lima [Zateltecha in Lima]” (SAN-B 296), “Onet en Lamaca [Onet in Lamaca]” (SAN-B 464), and “Chitazama de Quigulit [Chitazama of Quigulit]” (SAN-B 911). Other entries do not supply specific village names, but make it clear that the baptized person derives from one village in a multi-village territory. For instance, an older woman was from “una de las rancherías de Papuco [one of the rancherías of Papuco]” (SAN-B 695)



and another was from “una de las rancherías de Lima [one of the rancherías of Lima]” (SAN-B 877).<sup>1</sup>

Early evidence that the Salinan regional groups were tribelets comes from Fages, writing in 1775. In his chapter about the vicinity of Mission San Antonio, he wrote that the people governed themselves “as will be told in the chapter on San Francisco” (Fages 1937:58). In that later chapter, entitled *Plain and Grand River of San Francisco*, dedicated to a description of the San Joaquin Valley, Fages clearly described San Joaquin Valley Yokuts tribal political organization (cf. (Gayton 1930, 1945; Latta 1949). Fages wrote:

Besides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district another one who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinates. Each of them collects every day in his village the tributes which the Indians pay him in seeds, fruits, game, and fish...

Everything that is collected as the daily contribution of the villages is turned over to the commanding captain of the district, who goes forth every week or two to visit his territory. The villages receive him ceremoniously, make gifts to him of the best and most valuable things they have, and they assign certain ones to be his followers and accompany him to the place where he resides (Fages [1775] in Priestley 1937:73-74).

Did Fages err in citing this section as representative of Mission San Antonio vicinity political organization? Other evidence suggests that he did not. Mission San Antonio baptismal registers identify only one headman for each of the multi-village regions of Lamaca, Lima, and Quinau. The early Spaniards were under the impression that the Mission San Antonio Salinan had a tribelet form of regional political organization.

On the basis of the early mission register entries and Fages’s statement of 1775, I conclude that the Salinan people of the present southern Monterey District environs had some variety of a tribelet political organization. It was probably more similar to the tribelet system of the Pomo, with limited authority of headmen, than to the stratified tribelet system of the Yokuts, where powerful leaders were always chosen from a single specialized totemic lineage. The precise mechanisms of group decision-making and social control in the contact-period Salinan villages, however, was never documented.

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<sup>1</sup> The Salinan ranchería names listed in Mission San Antonio registers were abstracted for C. Hart Merriam by Stella Clemence prior to 1920, and were published in 1968 (Merriam 1968:63-77).

## **Ethnogeography of the Monterey Ranger District Environs**

The following ethnogeography of Lamaca, Lima, and Quiquil is based primarily on mission register information. Gibson (1983) first analyzed the Mission San Antonio registers in detail for the purpose of locating districts and villages. He inferred the locations of many villages and regions around Mission San Antonio on the basis of “concentric-circle” studies and family-network analyses. Concentric-circle analysis presumes that villages which appear early in the registers were closer to the mission than villages recorded at later dates. Family-network analysis looks at the home villages of couples, their parents, and their children for evidence of closely inter-married groups. It presumes that groups which inter-marry lived close to one another, while groups that did not inter-marry lived farther apart.

Milliken and Johnson (2003) re-examined Gibson’s conclusions regarding village and region locations around Mission San Antonio, using the same concentric-circle and family-network analysis techniques, including development of scores of new extended family kinship charts from the Mission San Antonio registers. They have concluded that the three Salinan-speaking districts of Lima, Lamaca, and Quiquil, all probably tribelet territories, took in portions of the Monterey Ranger District. The precise boundaries between these three tribelet territories cannot be determined. However, general boundaries are suggested below by a study of the probable locations of the key villages of each group in relation to one another.

The following ethnographic discussion also integrates information about locations documented by J.P. Harrington. Harrington recorded eleven place names in “The Indians” area of Quiquil territory, and another 18 elsewhere in and adjacent to the Monterey Ranger District (Harrington 1985, Jones et al. 2000, Rivers and Jones 1993). Although the number of place names provides more detail for “The Indians” than is available for any other area south of Clear Lake, west of the Sierra Nevada, and north of the San Bernardino Mountains, it is still far short of probably hundreds of place names that would have been known in the southern Monterey Ranger District in ethnographic times.

### ***Lamaca Tribelet Territory and Locations***

Lamaca was a tribelet territory that included part of the Monterey County coast and the upper Nacimiento River drainage up to 10 miles inland. Approximately two-thirds of Lamaca territory is presently within the Monterey Ranger District. Between 1773 and 1795, 77 people were listed in the Mission San Antonio baptismal register from “Lamaca” without further locational data. During that time, a 60 year old woman and a 30 year old man were baptized at “una de los rancherías de Lamaca [one of the rancherías of Lamaca]” (SAN-B 274, 1435). However, two people were baptized in 1785 from “la rancheria de Lamaca [the ranchería of Lamaca]” (SAN-B 1203-1204).

Individuals identified in the Mission San Antonio records as being from Lamaca were members of nuclear and extended family groups that also included people stated to be from a number of specific villages. Most commonly listed among the villages are Chuquilim, Onet, Zatepquex, and Mosjuelet. Other members of the same families hailed from “las orillas del Mar de Lamaca [the shore of the sea of Lamaca]” and the “costa del mar de Lamaca [ocean coast of Lamaca]” (SAN-B 1374, 1544, 2115).

The specific borders of Lamaca territory cannot be determined, but its borders are suggested by contextual study of probable Lamaca village locations relative to those of surrounding tribelets. Lamaca land probably included the coastal watersheds of Prewitt, Willow, and San Carpofofo creeks, as well as the upland Nacimiento River watershed from the vicinities of the Chalk Peak, Sycamore Springs, and old San Miguelito land grant south to the El Piojo land grant (Milliken and Johnson 2003). The land is a mix of small coastal valleys, rugged mountains, and upland flats.

**Interior Lamaca Habitation Sites** - Mission San Antonio registers document two important interior Lamaca villages in the watershed of the upper Nacimiento River, Chuquilim and Onet. Additionally, the ranch of Salinan Dave Mora, a Harrington consultant, was in the inland portion of Lamaca. Those three interior places are discussed in detail below:

**Chuquilim** – Chuquilim seems to have been about five miles southwest of Mission San Antonio, on present Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation lands. The probable area is 4-5 miles east and southeast of Monterey Ranger District lands. Mission register entries mention “Chuquilim, alias de S.<sup>a</sup> Alexos, situado como dos leguas de la Mission en el valle de San Alexos, rumbo el Sueste [Chuquilim, alias San Alexos, situated about two leagues (five miles) from the mission in the valley of San Alexos, toward the southwest]” (SAN-M 2), “Chuquilim al poniente [Chuquilim to the west]” (SAN-B 2949), and “Ranchería llamada Chuquilim encima del Rancho acia el Poniente [ranchería called Chuquilim above “The Ranch” toward the west]” (SAN-B 2233). One mission register entry explicitly ties Chuquilim to Lamaca; an older woman was baptized “en la ranchería de Chuquil en Lamaca... natural de Quiguilit [in the ranchería of Chuquilim in Lamaca... a native of Quiguil]” (SAN-B 500). Many other extended family kinship networks include some individuals said to be from Chuquilim, others from Lamaca, and others not linked to any place. *The general area within which Chuquilim may have been located is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

**Onet** – The other large inland village was Onet, probably in the Piojo land grant vicinity. Mission San Antonio baptismal entries refer to “Monet en Lamaca” (SAN-B 358), “Onet en Lamaca” (SAN-B 464), “del rancho de esta Mission de la ranchería llamada Onét [of the ranch of this mission of the ranchería called Onet]” (SAN-B 2413), and “el rancho del ganado de la ranchería llamada Onet [the livestock ranch of the ranchería called Onet]” (SAN-B 2501). Mission San Miguel was the site, in 1811, of the last Onet baptism, a woman from

“Monet” who was married to a man from the east Coast Range ranchería of Sulaltap (SMI-B 1554, SMI-M 435). *The general area within which Onet may have been located is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

**Historic Dave Mora ranch site** – Dave Mora, a consultant to J. P. Harrington, lived during the 1920s on a ranch on the north side of the Nacimiento River about one mile downstream from the Monterey Ranger District boundary. The site has been recorded as site CA-Mnt-956H-816H. (Rivers and Jones 1993:154; Jones et al. 2000:4-5). It is not known to have been an ethnographic village site. *The vicinity, on the Alder Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon. The polygon was located from a poor map in Jones et al. (1993); it should be re-established on the basis of Los Padres National Forest records.*

**Coastal Lamaca Habitation Sites** - Lamaca’s coastal villages were not noted nearly as often in the Mission San Antonio registers as were inland Chuquilim and Onet. But the registers do show that many Lamaca people came from the coast. One person was baptized from the “Mar del Lamaca [coast of Lamaca]” (SAN-B 576), another from the “Mar en Lamaca [coast in Lamaca]” (SAN-B 1396). Some individuals from the “ranchería del Mar” (1060), “las orillas del Mar [the shore of the sea]” (SAN-B 615, 629, 740), “la Playa [the beach]” (SAN-B 1287), and “la costa del Mar [the sea coast]” (SAN-B 1789) were members of nuclear families otherwise identified with Lamaca. Of named coastal villages, the two important seem to have been Zatepquex and Mosjuelat. Information about them is limited to the following:

**Zatepquex** – The earlier named of the two frequently mentioned Lamaca coastal villages, Zatepquex is associated with Chuquilim on some family kinship charts. Baptismal entries refer to “Zatepquex cerca del Mar [Zatepquex near the sea shore]” (SAN-B 286), “Zetepquex cerca de la playa [Zetepquex near the beach]” (SAN-B 463), and “Zatepquex en la Playa [Zatepquex at the beach]” (SAN-B 3036). We infer that Zatepquex was west of Chuquilim, probably on lower Prewitt Creek, Plaskett Creek, or Willow Creek. *The general area within which Zatepquex may have been located is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

**Mosjuelet** – Mosjuelet, also frequently mentioned in the baptismal register, is associated with Onet on family kinship charts. Mosjuelet’s people were said to be from “Moxjuelit en la orilla del mar [Moxjuelit at the sea shore]” (SAN-B 442), “de la playa de la Ranchería llamada Mosjuelet [of the beach of the ranchería called Mosjuelet]” (SAN-B 2334), “Mosjuelet rumbo del sudoeste [Mosjuelet in a southwesterly direction]” (SAN-B 2577), “Moslijuélet asia la playa [Mosjuélet near the beach]” (SAN-B 2581), and “Moslijuélet en la cercanía del Mar [Mosjuélet in the vicinity of the beach]” (SAN-B 2585). Mosjuelet was probably south of Zatepquex, perhaps in the Salmon Creek vicinity near the present Monterey-San Luis Obispo County border. *The general area within which Mosjuelet may*

*have been located is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

**Zimoupáco Mozzuál** -- Three people in Lamaca kinship groups came from “la rancheria llamada Zimoupáco Mozzuál asia la playa [the ranchería called Zimoupáco Mozzuál near the beach]” in October of 1776 (SAN-B 474-476). Among them was Lamaca headman Zauy, whose parents were from Onet (SAN-B 474). Zauy’s reconstructed family chart shows that he had three co-wives and seven baptized children. One child’s baptismal entry read “hija de PP.s [padres] gentiles, cuyo Padre es conocido por el Nombre de Zauy, y por otro nombre el Capitan Coxo, es natural dicha muchacha de la rancheria llamada Chuquilim [daughter of non-Christian parents, whose father is known by the name Zauy, and by the other name of Captain Coxo (Cripple); this girl is a native of the ranchería called Chuquilim]” (SAN-B 180). The location of this coastal place cannot even be generally suggested. *This coastal village has not been, and cannot be, mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

### **Unlocatable Lamaca Habitation Sites**

Six Lamaca villages or temporary camps mentioned in the San Antonio registers cannot be even generally attributed to coast or upland vicinities:

**Islay and Lechamtilnil** – Rancherías called Islay and Lechamtilnil were both mentioned only once in mission registers. On May 1, 1773 Margarita de Cortona, a young mother of two, was baptized by Father Pieras, who did not note her home ranchería. Her mother and grandmother were baptized two weeks later, at which time they were said to be from “Islay, alias San Juan Bautista.” At her marriage to Spanish soldier Juan Maria Ruiz, Margarita de Cortona was said to be from “Lechamtilnil, alias de San Francisco Solano cituada en las riberas del Mar, por el camino de Lamaca [... situated on the streams of the coast, on the Lamaca road]” (SAN-M 7). Since all lands west of Mission San Antonio were within Lamaca, Lechamtilnil on the “Lamaca road” was certainly within the district. But it is impossible to locate either Lechamtilnil or Islay specifically.<sup>2</sup> *These rancherías are not, and cannot be, mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Maliti, Quixtauay, Silacomap, and Zichuacho Col** – A woman from “Maliti” had one daughter from “Silacomap” (also spelled “Tsila comap”), another daughter from “Qui<sup>x</sup>tauay

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<sup>2</sup> Islay is the Salinan word for the fruit of the holly-leaf cherry [*Prunus ilicifolia* Nutt.]. The term was incorporated into California Spanish before 1775 (see Fages 1937:59). It has subsequently been applied to landmarks through much of the plant’s range. For instance, it appears as “Islay Creek” and “Islay Hill” in the San Luis Obispo vicinity.

en Lamaca,” a son from the inland Quinau district, and another son from Tetachoya in the inland Lima district. That woman was said to have died at “Zichulacho Col en el rio de Chuquilim en Lamaca [Zichulacho Col on the river of Chuquilim in Lamaca]” (SAN-D 91). She had been baptized together with an older woman from Maliti who later died “en el Mar” (SAN-B 137, SAN-D 187). The first-cited woman’s husband was baptized “en Lamaca” and both her parents died “en Lamaca” (SAN-B 248, SAN-D 69, 91). *These rancherías are not, and cannot be, mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

None of the Lamaca village names were specifically identified on the ground by consultants to later anthropologists.

### ***Gathering Areas in Lamaca***

The notes of J. P. Harrington document only one non-village element of the cultural landscape in Lamaca.

*Ke’e’* -- Dave Mora told Harrington that “Ke’e’” was a word for sugar pine, and that it was the Salinan name for the territory of the El Piojo Land Grant on and near the Nacimiento River to the south of Jolon. El Piojo grant is now part of the Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation. Rivers and Jones (1993:165) infer that Ke’e’ refers to a specific site with number of bedrock mortar sites along El Piojo Creek, within the grant but east of the Nacimiento River. That location is one of the possible locations of Onet, a major Lamaca village discussed above. When the first Spanish expedition passed through this general area, they encountered 600 people gathered to harvest pine nuts in the mountains west of El Piojo land grant. The Spaniards called their camp Real de los Piñones (Brown 2001:515). Some yellow pine forest does exist today along the crest of the Santa Lucia mountains west of El Piojo grant, but it includes very little sugar pine. *The k’e’ vicinity is not documented well enough to be mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

### ***Summary Regarding Lamaca***

I estimate that the pre-mission population of Lamaca, adults and children, was about 320 people, although only 271 Lamaca people were baptized at Mission San Antonio (Milliken and Johnson 2003:86). Most Lamaca baptisms occurred between 1779 and 1786; half of the adults were baptized by early 1781. Lamaca descendants baptized at Mission San Antonio carried the surnames Aguilar, Candelario, Cifre, Cota, Focos, Gali, Mora, Moreno, Noceres, Ramirez, Senra, Vadiola, Venezuela and others (San Antonio Mission Registers).

The only ethnographic data regarding Lamaca village names, sizes, and locations is found in the Mission San Antonio registers. The Harrington notes provide no information on villages in the area, and mention only one landscape name.

## **Lima Tribelet Territory and Locations**

Lima villages seem to have been at Mission San Antonio, and to its north. I infer its general boundaries by circumscription. Lamaca held the upper Nacimiento River drainage to the southwest. Quiguil had inland villages to the west in the upper San Antonio River drainage. To the north was Aspasniajan, an Esselen-speaking territory centered on the lower Arroyo Seco and the plain of the Salinas River in the Greenfield area. To the east, the Quinau group held Quinado Canyon and the Salinas River just south of King City. Finally, Papuco was directly south of Lima in the Jolon and Los Ojitos regions of the San Antonio Valley. Lima was an upland territory, with camps and villages both to the north and to the south of the ridge line that separates the San Antonio River watershed from the Arroyo Seco watershed.

The word Lima, like Lamaca and Quiguil, was in reference both to the territory of a multi-village group and the people of that territory. One person was baptized at Mission San Antonio from “una de las rancherías de Lima [one of the rancherías of Lima]” (SAN-B 877) while others were said to belong to “la ranchería de Lima [the ranchería of Lima]” (SAN-B 1449). One person was baptized in 1775 from “Lema chama” (SAN-B 299) while another person was baptized in 1793 from “Lima Záma” (SAN-B 1987). Zama, as written by the Spaniards, probably indicates the Salinan word trám, or “houses” (cf. Turner in Rivers and Jones 1993:166).

### ***Generally Located Lima Villages or Camps***

**Ecjcita** – This village was mentioned only once, as the home of one of the first people to join Mission San Antonio. At his wedding, the young man was said to be from “Ejcita, alias de S.n Josef situada como tres leguas de la mision, rumbo Norte [Ejcita, alias San Jose, situated about three leagues (7.6 miles) from the mission to the north]” (SAN-M 6 on May 1, 1773); his baptismal entry gave no indication of his home group at all (SAN-B 66). This location may have been in the heart of Lima territory, on upper Mission Creek. *Due to lack of specific information, and the fact that it is almost certainly outside the forest, this place is not mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer. It would be possible, however, to tentatively map it with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

**Tilacuzama** -- A young man was baptized in 1773 without evidence of his home group, then at his marriage he was said to be from “Tilacuzama, alias de San Miguel cituada como dos leguas de la Mision rumbo nornorrueste [Tilacuzama, alias of San Miguel, situated about two leagues (5.1 miles) north-northwest]” (SAN-M 76 on May 16, 1773). At the time of this

marriage, the mission was in the process of being moved north to its present location from a point about a mile to the south. Thus, this location was about 4 miles northwest of the present Mission San Antonio location. This may be the same place as Traxumec, discussed below. *This site has not been mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Traxumec** -- Mission San Antonio baptismal entries in 1773 and 1780 list individuals from a village of “Chacoméx” (SAN-B 120, 618). Salinan consultants to Harrington identified the “beautiful plain” of Traxumec 6.3 miles north of Mission San Antonio via “Club Road” and noted that this was the site of a historic “Casa de piedras” (Jones et al. 2000:7). The distance places it just east of the San Antonio River about four miles northwest of Mission San Antonio. Merriam (1968:80) reprints a note from Henshaw regarding “Tes-so-spek, 4 miles NW of Mission.” Jones et al. (2000:7) place this village at the site of a midden and bedrock mortar complex adjacent to the remains of the historic Casa de Piedras, recorded as archaeological site CA-Mnt-860/H. The location is just over three miles outside the Los Padres National Forest boundary within the Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation. *This site has not been mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer, although it could be.*

**San Antonio** -- Two people from the “rancheria de esta mission [village of this mission]” were from families with Lima members (SAN-B 187, 323). Five Mission San Antonio baptismal register entries mention “Lima, alias San Antonio” (SAN-B 90, 97, 104, 115). Maria Yldefonsa Bergas, who married soldier Rafael Villa in 1773, hailed from “Lima, alias San Antonio” according to their marriage entry (SAN-M 12). The present location of Mission San Antonio was probably a small Lima camp or village site. *This site has not been mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

### **Completely Unlocated Lima Villages or Camps**

**Expinic** – The village of “Expinic en Lima” is mentioned in one Mission San Antonio baptismal entry (SAN-B 38). *Due to lack of specific information, this place is not mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Quecau (Quelec)** – This site is only mentioned in two mission register entries. A man was baptized at Mission San Antonio in 1775 from “Lima en la R[anchería] Queca<sup>x</sup>áu” (SAN-B 309). One child died at Quelec, possibly the same place, in 1775 (SAN-D 85). *Due to lack of specific information, this place is not mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Zzatil techa** – This village is mentioned as the home of two baptized individuals. Noted as “Zzatil techa en Lima,” it is mentioned in one San Antonio baptismal entry in 1775 (SAN-B 296) and in the death register entry of the same young girl in the same year (SAN-Difunto



83). In 1783 a sick 50 year old woman was conditionally baptized at “Satiltecha” (SAN-B970). *Due to lack of specific information, this place is not mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Zikiinilo** – This unlocated place “in Lima“ is mentioned in only one Mission San Antonio registers. It was the home of a young man baptized in 1776 (SAN-B 426). *Due to lack of specific information, this place is not mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Reliz Canyon Villages** -- Evidence suggesting that Lima people ranged north of the San Antonio River watershed is found in two Mission San Antonio entries. A woman was baptized who came from “Lima asia Monte=Rey [Lima toward Monterey]” (SAN-B 459). Another woman was said to be from “Lima asia la parte de Monte=Rey [Lima toward the section of Monterey]” (SAN-B 460). *Due to lack of specific information, no Reliz Canyon villages are mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

### ***Gathering Areas Inferred to be within Lima Territory***

Harrington (see Rivers and Jones 1993) obtained the names of two gathering areas or landscape features along the San Antonio River in the area I infer to have been the western portion of Lima. One of them is Soxol, which I will discuss in a subsection below as part of the Quiguil area, because it was on the probable Lima-Quiguil boundary. The other Lima gathering area noted by Harrington was Lotcem.

**Lotcem** -- a flat just west of the confluence of Bear Canyon and the San Antonio River on Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation land about two miles south of the Los Padres National Forest. Harrington’s consultants called Lotcem “Potrero del cacha (Pasture of [cacha]). An archaeological site with two midden areas and a bedrock mortar rock outcrop, CA-Mnt-1858, lies along the San Antonio River in the identified Lotcem vicinity (Jones et al. 2000:7; Rivers and Jones 1993:159). *This site is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

### ***Lima Territory Natural Features***

**Hoy** (rock outcrop) – The Hoy is a ledge of rock about 1.5 miles east of the Los Padres National Forest, and just north of Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation, at the very upper end of the Mission Creek watershed. Mason (1918:92-93) recorded the mythological associations of the Hoy rock, a monster who was “the murder of the people ... used to kill them by throwing them over the hill where some little back birds would et them.” . Harrington was taken to the Hoy Rock by Tito Encinales in 1931 (1985:Reel 88, frame 462-463). Jones et al. (2000:9) note that the site has recently been identified and documented as State Historic

Resources Survey location P-27-002176. *The site vicinity is mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer as a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Tatra atrhay** (stream or canyon) – Dave Mora gave Harrington the Salinan name for Bear Canyon (Jones et al. 2000:7). The canyon extends from the San Antonio River in Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation land northward to Junipero Serra Peak in the Los Padres National Forest. It is mapped on the Bear Canyon, Reliz Canyon, and Junipero Serra Peak quadrangles, in areas I infer to be the western portion of ethnographic Lima territory. *The entire stream route is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer by an overlay line, although Dave Mora may not have meant to indicate that the name Tatra atrhay pertain to the entire length.*

### **Summary Discussion of Lima Territory**

I argue that the Salinan speakers of Lima held both sides of the high ridge separating the Arroyo Seco and San Antonio River watersheds, including south-flowing Mission Creek and portions of the north-flowing Reliz Canyon, Thompson Canyon, and Pine Canyon watersheds. Such Lima territorial boundaries contradict the existing literature regarding the Salinan-Esselen boundary. In 1925, Kroeber placed the Salinan-Esselen boundary along the ridge separating the San Antonio River watershed from the Arroyo Seco watershed. He had no factual evidence for the placement, but assumed that California groups used watersheds and ridges to define their territories. Breschini, writing in this volume, has accepted Kroeber's boundary, and marshals evidence for changes in rock art from one side of the ridge to the other.

The nature of landscape suggests that it would have been much more convenient for Salinan people from the Mission Creek area to hunt, gather, and hold religious activities in the high lands on both sides of the ridge than it would have been for the Esselen speakers of Aspasniajan, centered far below on the lower course of Arroyo Seco. Furthermore, outreach of Aspasniajan south to the edge of the San Antonio River drainage limits Lima to a very small territory and gives Aspasniajan an inordinately large territory. Finally, Mission San Antonio register entries indicate that part of Lima was "toward Monterey," presumably outside of the San Antonio Valley to the north.

My inferred northern Lima boundary places almost 30 sections of Monterey Ranger District land in Salinan speaking territory. The area under question is southeast of Junipero Serra Peak, including the upper Bear Canyon, Coleman Creek, and Reliz Creek drainages. The entire portion of Lima within the Los Padres National Forest may have been utilized for short term hunting and gathering, although a small village may have existed somewhere in upper Reliz Canyon. If my portrayal of Lima territory is correct, then the famous Cueva Pintada rock art site near Oat Hill was centrally located in Lima territory.

I estimate the pre-mission population of Lima to have been approximately 200 people. I identify 180 people from Lima in the Mission San Antonio registers. Only 61 of them were stated to be from Lima or one of its villages in Mission San Antonio register entries. The other 120 people are inferred to have been from Lima, despite the fact that their baptismal entries included no home ranchería information whatsoever. Of those 120, 60 were members of Lima family groups. The other 60 people were not related to any people who belonged to any documented group. They were baptized in the same years as the documented Lima people, and during years in which the missionaries were recording home groups from people from distant areas. Thus it is presumed that missionaries of record, Father Pieras and Father Sitjar, were not marking the homeland of people from the immediate mission vicinity.

Most Lima baptisms occurred between 1773 and 1783; half of the adults were baptized by early 1782. The last Lima convert was not baptized until 1803, however (SAN-B 2892). Lima descendants baptized at Mission San Antonio carried the surnames Brondo, Clavel, Espinosa, Garcia, Hermoso, Mesquida, Peralta, Villa, and others (San Antonio Mission Registers).

## **Quiguil Territory and Place Names**

The borders of the Quiguil tribelet territory cannot be precisely determined from evidence available today. I suggest that Quiguil lands took in the Monterey County coast from the Big Creek drainage south at least to Kirk Creek and Mill Creek, and probably included Wild Cattle Creek, just 2.5 miles north of Pacific Valley. Quiguil's inland area was centered in the upper San Antonio River watershed in the vicinity of "The Indians" and the old Merle Ranch. The district probably extended further east up to the top of Junipero Serra Peak, then southeast along the east side of the Pinal Creek watershed, to cross the San Antonio River about two miles east of the Monterey Ranger District boundary. From that point it continued south, then southwest to Chalk Peak (overlooking the Mill Creek drainage) and down to the coast south of Wild Creek.

An alternative boundary between northern Salinan and Esselen-speaking groups is proposed by Gary Breschini, in the Esselen chapter in this volume. Breschini assigns all southern tributaries of Arroyo Seco to the Esselen, on the basis of his presumption that native Californian groups held complete watersheds, such as the Arroyo Seco, to the ridge tops. Thus, he gives both the Escondido Campground area and the Santa Lucia Memorial Park vicinity to the Ecgeajan Esselen, while I give those areas to the Quiguil Salinan. The area of scholarly dispute is approximately 15 square miles. I base my reasoning on the fact that the Escondido Campground area lies at an important geographic break between the relatively open and flat upland valleys southwest of Junipero Serra Peak, and the deeply incised gorge of the Arroyo Seco to the north. It was an easy walk from the core inland Quiguil villages at "The Indians" to Escondido Campground, while it was a difficult trek to that location from definite Ecgeajan Esselen areas to the north, such as Indian Valley and Tassajara Hot Springs.

## **Coastal Quiguil Villages**

Some references explicitly mentioned villages on the sea shore, such as the “Mar por la parte de Quiguil [the portion of the sea shore in Quiguil]” (SAN-B 305), “Mar de Quiguil [the sea shore of Quiguil]” (SAN-B 575), and “Ranchería del Mar de Quiguil [the village of the sea shore of Quiguil]” (SAN-B 1087). Specific coastal villages of the Quiguil group include the following:

**Matalcé’** – This is a midden deposit, with protohistoric clam shell disk beads and desert side-notched projectile points, at the old Santos Boronda Homestead on a bench above the coast. It lies 3.8 km west of the forest boundary. It was identified to J. P. Harrington by Tito and Felipe Encinales. No equivalent name appears in the San Antonio mission registers. This is site CA-Mnt-1277/H (Rivers and Jones 1993:148,163, 170). ). *This site is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Tejacalem** – One Quiguil family member came from “Tejacalem acia la playa [Tejacalem near the beach]” (SAN-B 466). Its specific location is unknown. *This site cannot be mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Ts’alák’ak’a’** – This midden deposit at the old Gamboa Ranch on a bench on the coastal face of the Santa Lucia Range, 2.5 km west of the forest boundary, was identified to J. P. Harrington by Tito and Felipe Encinales in 1932; they did not designate its use. This site, designated CA-Mnt-0480/H, was excavated by Donald Howard in 1973 (Rivers and Jones 1993:148, 163, 170). *This site is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Ts’ápale’kwél’** -- This place along the coastal face of the Santa Lucia mountains was described to Harrington by Tito and Felipe Encinales as a place where deer meat was cut and jerked. Its location cannot be determined, due to the vagueness of Harrington’s notes (Rivers and Jones 170). The site may or may not be in the Los Padres National Forest. *It cannot be mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer.*

**Tr’akhten** -- This site is a shell midden at a confluence of two tributaries of Big Creek, approximately 4 miles inland from the coast. It lies within the Monterey Ranger District. The site is designated CA-Mnt-0480/H in the State of California system. The place name was said by Dave Mora to mean “redwoods.” Tito and Felipe Encinales called it a hunting camp (Rivers and Jones 1993:148, 162, 169). *This site is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Zmaal (Etsmal)** – We do not know the specific location of this important coastal village. Zmaal, also commonly spelled Etsmal, was listed 19 times in the Mission San Antonio registers. It was probably the largest Quiguil town. References include “Esmal, alias de Sn

Buenaventura, situada en La Playa por el rumbo NorNorueste [Esmal, alias San Buenaventura, situated on the beach on a course to the north-northwest]” (SAN-M 3), “Etsmáal en el Mar [Etsmáal at the sea shore]” (SAN-B 377), “Ze<sup>a</sup>mal asia la Playa [Ze<sup>a</sup>mal near the beach]” (SAN-B 472), “Etzmal asia la playa [Etzmal near the beach]” (SAN-B 1974), “Zmaal al rumbo del Noroeste [Zmaal on a course to the northwest]” (SAN-B 2246), “de la rancheria Zmal, en la Plaia, hacia el norte [the village of Zmal, at the beach, toward the north]” (SAN-B 2443), “de la playa rumbo del carmelo de la ranchería Zmal [of the beach on a course for Carmel, of the village of Zmal]” (SAN-B 2483), “en la rancheria de Stmal [at the village of Stmal]” (SAN-B 2617), “Etsmal a la playa del noroeste [Etsmal at the beach of the northwest]” (SAN-B 2822), and others. These clues indicate only that Zmaal was a coastal town north-northwest of Mission San Antonio. It might have been on a beach in proximity to lower Big Creek, the largest watercourse in the Lopez Point region. Alternatively, it may have been in the vicinity of the modern town of Lucia or further southeast at Limekiln or Kirk Creek.<sup>3</sup>*The general area within which this site may have been located is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS layer with a Possible Location Circular Polygon.*

### ***Inland Quiguil Villages***

San Antonio mission registers identify two substantial inland Quiguil villages, Scama and Squem. The registers provide some evidence for their distance from Mission San Antonio and some indication, at least to an order of magnitude, of their relative size. Consultants showed J. P. Harrington the locations of many other named villages and campsites, but did not rank their importance at the time of Spanish settlement. The inland locations, and their GIS mapping statuses, are discussed individually below:

**Cogy** – Cogy was listed once in the San Antonio baptismal register, as the home rancheria of a member of the Marnes family (SAN-B 342). The only other member of the Marnes family for which homeland information was given was said to be from “el Mar [the sea shore]” (SAN-B 637). Cogy may be equivalent to *khoye*, a rock formation just up hill to the east of the present Santa Lucia Memorial Park vicinity, reported by consultants to Harrington (Jones et al. 2000:8-9). *The possible village of Cogy cannot be mapped because evidence is inadequate to associate it with the Khoye rock. The Khoye rock vicinity, on the other hand, has been mapped on the Los Padres National Forrest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer as a Specific Vicinity Polygon (see discussion in the Natural Landforms subsection below).*

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<sup>3</sup> Zmaal or Etsmal on the Pacific coast is not to be confused with a completely different village of Etsmal, which sent people to Mission San Miguel from the Estrella Creek vicinity. Kinship pattern analysis makes it absolutely clear that the two villages were separate places.

**Khatsáy'trà̀m** -- Harrington consultants applied this name to the area of the east bank of Santa Lucia Creek about one mile southeast of "The Indians." A small midden, some bed rock mortars, and foundation remains of an adobe have been identified here. According to Jones et al. (2000:7), "khat saj means Milpitas in Salinan and tram means house." They suggest that structural remains recently found here represent "Rafael's adobe," shown on an 1873 survey map of Rancho Milpitas (Jones et al. 2000:7-8 supercedes Rivers and Jones 1993:152, 166). A number of archaeological sites have been recorded in this vicinity, including CA-Mnt-757, 766, 769/H, 1045, and 1046. The site cluster is within the forest. It will be discussed again in a subsequent section as part of a recommended "Quiguil Intensive Use Area Cultural Landscape." *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Hollóm** -- One of Harrington's consultants, Maria Jesusa (born Encinales), placed the village of Hollóm at an old ranch home for the Milpitas Grant "over where the Indian Club is" in the Los Padres National Forest (Rivers and Jones 1993:165). Rivers and Jones (1993:165) tentatively place it just south of "The Indians" at a midden site they identify as CA-Mnt-645, but which they map at the location shown by the California Historic Resources Survey map as CA-Mnt-651. Irrespective of the site number near "The Indians," other information suggests that Maria Jesusa was incorrect, that no village of Hollóm existed within Quiguil territory. The San Antonio Mission baptismal registers list people from one or two villages called "Jol al oriente de los Ojitos" (SAN-B 2356, 2361, etc.), Zocolóm (SAN-B 106, 145, etc.), "Zzocolom camino de Monterey" (SAN-B 479), and Zojól (SAN-B 365, 366). The people identified with these places are otherwise parts of nuclear families associated with the tribelet of Papuco, which probably held Jolon Valley, the Jolon vicinity, and the Los Ojitos Rancho vicinity. Harrington consultants Dave Mora and Felipe Encinales both took it for granted that Hollóm was the Salinan name for a village that was actually in the Jolon vicinity, 10 miles east of the Los Padres National Forest (Rivers and Jones 1993:165-166). *The Hollóm location suggested by Rivers and Jones (1993:152) is probably incorrect. It is not marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer.*

**Eusebio Encinales Adobe / The Indians** -- This vicinity is a complex of sites that includes some bedrock mortars, the location of the historic Eusebio Encinales Adobe, an historic Salinan cemetery, a short-lived 1920s hunting and fishing club, and a 1976-1979 Youth Conservation Corps camp (Fleming 1976; Rivers and Jones 1993:166). The complex has recently been assigned the state site number CA-Mnt-788/H, subsuming CA-Mnt-650 and 657, and replacing CA-Mnt-817H. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Lásom/Avila Ranch** -- This is the location of a hill, plain, or village (perhaps all three) at the Avila Ranch, a private in-holding along Salsipuedes Creek in the Monterey Ranger District.

Harrington consultant Maria Jesusa Encinales said that it was a hill where Cipriano Avila lived, while Dave Mora and Maria de los Angeles Bailon called it *lásom trám* and indicated that it was the plain at the Avila Ranch (Rivers and Jones 1993:169). Note, however, that “tram” indicates houses in Salinan (Turner in Rivers and Jones 1993:166). This place is not mentioned in San Antonio mission records. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Scamá** – Two people were baptized at Mission San Antonio who were said to be from a place called Scamá. The first, Maria Clara, was not identified with any group in her May 1, 1773 baptismal record (SAN-B 68), but was said to be from “Scama, alias de Maria Santisima, que es situada en las orillas del rio que pasa por esa cañada rumbo nornorueste [Scama, alias María Santisima, which is situated on the banks of the river that passes through that canyon to the north-northwest]” in the record of her marriage on the same day (SAN-M 5). The second, Marta Sembrano, was said to be from “Escamá” at her baptism as an infant on June 4, 1773 (SAN-B 110); her parents were part of the Quinau group further east (SAN-B 314, 728). The entry for Maria Clara indicates that Scamá was probably a Quiguil camp. It may be the same place as Tcamák, a gathering area near “The Indians” or it may have been at Khatsaytram in the same vicinity. Alternatively, it might have been the same place as Thram a little to the east at Wagon Cave Rock. *Because Scamá cannot be equated with any definitely located place, it has not been marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer.*

**Sk’éyem (Squem)** – The major inland Quiguil village seems to have been Sk’éyem or Squem. It was listed in the Mission San Antonio records in a variety of spellings. It was located by all four of Harrington’s consultants for the area. It was listed as the home of three people in baptismal records: “Easqu<sup>x</sup>em” (SAN-B 386), “la Ranchería Sque-m” (SAN-B 2184), and “Ezquen” (SAN-B 2619). At the end of December of 1775 three people were listed in the San Antonio Death register as having died “por el mes de Septiembre en la ranchería llamada Sque<sup>x</sup>m como 4 leguas de esta mision, por la parte de Quiguil, que es acia el norte [the village called Sque<sup>x</sup>m about four leagues (10 miles) from this mission by that part of Quiguil that lies to the north]” (SAN-D 94). The place is almost certainly equivalent to Sk’éyem, identified as the Hidalgo Ranch location by Maria Jesusa Encinales, Tito Encinales, Dave Mora, and Maria de los Angeles Bailon. Jones et al. (2000:6) equate the location with the place currently mapped as the Merle Ranch, at the confluence of the main and North Fork of the San Antonio River. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Snonlax** -- Felipe and Tito Encinales called the Escondido campground vicinity *el llano perdido* (Lost Flat), according to Harrington’s notes. “Cno nlax is a flat only ¼ mile north of Arroyo Seco, bare and big flat, and there was a good, deep pozo [hole] of water in Arroyo Seco opposite it where Felipe and the Indians fished (Rivers and Jones 1993: 167).

Archaeological site CA-Mnt-408, an area of ashy midden with possible house depressions, has been recorded here. Rivers and Jones (1993:167) speculate that it may have been a post-mission refuge. *The vicinity, on the Junipero Serra Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon*

**Trh'ama** – Trh'ama was at Wagon Cave, between Rattlesnake Creek and the North Fork of the San Antonio River, according to all of Harrington's consultants for the upper San Antonio River vicinity. Maria Jesusa Encinales stated that it was "the big rock where they keep the wagons" (Rivers and Jones 1993:168). The specific location of Wagon Cave, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is a midden with a rockshelter and bedrock mortars that has been recorded as state site CA-Mnt-0307. The vicinity, both upstream and downstream, is covered with a series of midden sites and bedrock mortars. Note that *trám* merely means houses, according to linguist Katherine Turner (in Rivers and Jones 1993:166). Harrington's consonant "Trh" may or may not indicate some other word. I suggest, however, that this entire area was probably part of the Sk'éyem ranchería, as the name was used during the 1770-1780 period. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Historic Pedro Encinales Homestead** -- Pedro Damian Encinales, a consultant to J. Alden Mason and J. P. Harrington, had a homestead on the slopes below Junipero Serra Peak about one mile north of The Indians. This place has been recorded as site CA-Mnt-816H (Rivers and Jones 1993:167; Jones et al. 2000:5). It is not known to have been an ethnographic village site. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon. The polygon was located from a poor map in Jones et al (1993); it should be re-established on the basis of Los Padres National Forest records.*

### ***Gathering Areas near "The Indians"***

The notes of J. P. Harrington document the locations of some gathering areas that do not seem to have been associated with ethnographic village locations. Harrington recorded seven such gathering areas within Quiguil territory, all in the inland valleys within a few miles of "The Indians" adobe location. Two of them were also locations of homesites of members of the Encinales family during the American Period.

**Pelém-’ô/Tito Encinales and Maria Bailon Ranch** – Key Harrington consultants Tito Encinales and his wife Maria de los Angeles, née Bailon, lived on "what is now a private inholding (the Chase Ranch) within the Los Padres National Forest, just north of the former boundary of the Milpitas Rancho" during the early 1930s (Jones et al. 2000:5). Maria Jesusa Encinales remembered its Salinan name, *pelém-’ô*, but not the meaning of the name. The Encinales family had harvested agave there during her youth (Rivers and Jones 1993:167).



*The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon. The location needs double-checking, however, as it was placed from maps in Jones et al. (2000), without checking the true location of the Chase Ranch parcel.*

**Soxol** – Harrington consultants provided the name soxol (also soqol) for a series of pools of standing water on the San Antonio River in a narrow canyon separating the valley in which “The Indians” was located from the next open valley to the east. Archaeological site CA-Mnt-1747, a midden and some bedrock mortar outcrops, lies on the north side of the San Antonio River within this vicinity (Jones et al. 2000:7). I infer that this narrows marked the Quiguil-Lima tribelet boundary. The vicinity is shown on the Cone Peak quadrangle. It is on the Hunter-Ligget Military Reservation, 2.5 km east of the Los Padres National Forest. *The vicinity is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity.*

**Šwal’e-ko/Early Tito Encinales Homestead** – This seems to be the Salinan name for a general landscape, the area at and just east of the Santa Lucia Memorial Park. Dave Mora and Tito Encinales visited the area with Harrington and told him that Tito had once had a homestead here. Dave Mora also said that an old man named Pedro had once cultivated in the area (Rivers and Jones 1993:168; Jones et al. 2000:8). The possibility should be entertained that the old man was Pedro Encinales, grandfather of Tito Encinales, who had been born in 1783 and was still alive at least as late as 1829 (SAN-B 1761, 4340). Jones et al. (2000:8) note that the site is recorded as archaeological site CA-Mnt-772H. *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is tentatively marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon. This polygon location should be adjusted on the basis of specific site location information on file at the Monterey Ranger District office.*

**Tcamakám** – This is a large flat formed by the confluence of the North Fork of the San Antonio River with Santa Lucia Creek. It is well-documented by Harrington’s consultants for the local vicinity. Dave Mora stated that it was named after a cane or reed which grew there, called Canutillo (Jones et al. 2000:8, information supercedes Rivers and Jones 1993:168). *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Tc’áhal** – Maria Jesusa Encinales and Tito Encinales said this was the name of a place on the trail to the coast, “this side of Cone Peak” but about three miles beyond Lásom, and that it means “carrizo de panocha [sugar of sweet grass]” (Harrington 1985:Reel 87, frames 710, 711). The Fresno Flats vicinity on a trail east of Cone Peak is a likely location. Rivers and Jones (1993:169) incorrectly map the site near the confluence of Carrizo Creek and the San Antonio River. *The vicinity has not been marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Tranat** – This is a large flat on the north side of the San Antonio River just east of Rattlesnake Creek, partially in the Los Padres National Forest and partially on the Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation. According to Harrington’s consultants, it is named after some plant with a yellow flower, the seeds of which provided pinole. There is a childbirth rock in the vicinity (Jones et al. 2000:7). *The vicinity, which straddles the Cone Peak and Bear Canyon quadrangles, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Treta’co’ tamkam** – This place was identified as a “green patch” about a half mile south of the buildings at “The Indians” by Tito and Maria Jesusa Encinales in 1932 (Harrington 1985:Reel 88, frame 580; Jones et al. 2000:8). *The vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

### **Quiguil Territory Natural Features**

**Khoye** (rock outcrop) – Just a short distance up hill to the east of Santa Lucia Memorial Park is a distinctive rock outcrop, called Echo Rock by Tito and Maria Jesusa Encinales. It is within the Los Padres National Forest and is noted as site P-27-001862 by the California Historic Resources Survey (Jones et al. 2000:8-9, Rivers and Jones 1993:152, 167). Khoye rock may or may not be associated with a village mentioned in the Mission San Antonio registers, called Cogy, which was discussed in the “Quiguil Inland Villages” subsection earlier in this chapter. *The Khoye rock vicinity, on the Cone Peak quadrangle, is mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer as a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Mislepap** (stream) – Mislepap is shown in the area of Rattlesnake Creek on one of J.P. Harrington’s field trip maps (1985:Reel 88, frame 431). Jones et al. (2000:9) indicate that mislepap means rattlesnake in Salinan and that the Harrington’s mislepap refers to the drainage itself. *Thus, Rattlesnake Creek, on the Bear Canyon quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer by an overlay line.*

**Stáyok’ale** (mountain) – This is the name given to Harrington by Maria Bailon for Junipero Serra Peak, which was called Santa Lucia Peak during the 1930s (Rivers and Jones 1993:152, 166). It is mapped on the Junipero Serra Peak quadrangle. *An arbitrary portion of Junipero Serra Peak, including its higher shoulders, is mapped on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer as a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

**Tsá ttelte’á** (stream) – Harrington obtained the Salinan name for one of the branches of Big Creek from Tito and Pedro Encinales. It is “called in Spanish Arroyo Hondo. It flows southwest, and Devil’s Canyon (=el arroyo que viene del rancho de Arvez) joins it from the

north, 1 mile from the ocean” (Harrington 1985:Reel 88, frame 639, cited by Rivers and Jones 1993:169-170). *The portion of Big Creek mapped as Tsátteltc’á by Rivers and Jones (1993:163), on the Lopez Point quadrangle, is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer by an overlay line. More research and field work is needed to verify that the proper branch of Big Creek has been identified..*

**Ts’owém** (mountain) – Dave Mora told Harrington that a peak he called Pico Blanco was called Ts’owém in Salinan. “Pico Blanco, west of here. Americans call it Cone Peak. Near coast, near here” (Harrington 1985:Reel 87, frame 721 in Rivers and Jones 1993:169) . *An arbitrary portion of the Cone Peak landform, including its higher shoulders along the Santa Lucia Range ridge line, is mapped on the Los Padres National Forrest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer as a Specific Vicinity Polygon.*

### **Summary Regarding Quiguil**

I estimate the pre-mission population of Quiguil, adults and children, to have been about 180-200 people, of whom 133 were baptized at Mission San Antonio (2003:77). Most Quiguil baptisms at Mission San Antonio occurred between 1779 and 1786; half of the adults were baptized by December of 1783. In the mid-1790s, a small number of their relatives were baptized at Mission Soledad (less than ten people). Quiguil descendants baptized at Mission San Antonio carried the surnames Llopis, Marnes, Mugartegui, Nacre, Pastor, Peralta, Pittaya, Sal, Sembrano, Uzon, and Velarde, among others (San Antonio Mission Registers).

To summarize the placename data, the Harrington notes and the Mission San Antonio registers provide information regarding a number of ethnographic village sites and historic Salinan Indian home sites. Eleven of these sites are locatable on the ground and have been mapped as Specific Vicinity Polygons on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer. All of the polygons should eventually be adjusted by Los Padres National Forest personnel, on the basis of the latest field information.

The Harrington notes also provide information regarding seven ethnographic gathering areas, two of which were also the vicinities of historic Salinan Indian home sites. All seven of these sites are locatable on the ground and have been mapped as Specific Vicinity Polygons on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer. All of the polygons should eventually be adjusted by Los Padres National Forest personnel, on the basis of the latest field information.

Some Quiguil area land form names will be discussed with other Salinan land form names below.

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## Regional Population Density

This section documents recent work by Milliken and Johnson (2003) regarding the population density of relevant portions of Salinan territory at the time of initial Spanish settlement. The first systematic attempt to reconstruct the ethnographic South Coast Range population density was undertaken by Sherburne Cook (1940, 1957, 1976). Cook used Franciscan mission register tallies of newly-baptized tribal people to reconstruct regional populations for the South Coast Ranges. He recognized that the number of baptized individuals did not reflect the original population size because of the effect of introduced foreign diseases in non-baptized village populations. He thus developed an empirical equation for approximating the pre-mission tribal populations, finding that a ratio of 1.5 tribal persons per one baptized person worked well when compared with numbers observed by early explorers (1976:25-27). Cook arrived at an average contact period tribal population density of 2.4 people per square mile for the South Coast Range area (1976:37).

Milliken and Johnson (2003) argue that Cook's correction ratio overstates the number of people living directly adjacent to the earliest missions, while it understates the numbers of some groups that came in late from great distances. For groups that lived very near to a mission, the number of baptized individuals should be multiplied only by 1.1 to represent the pre-mission population. There are two reasons for this:

- The Franciscans missed very few deaths of adults from villages directly adjacent to the missions, because they aggressively monitored the health of nearby adults and went out to villages to conditionally baptize sick adults.
- The infant population at any one point in time is actually over-estimated by mission baptismal counts, because many tribal women from near the missions brought a series of new-born children for baptism over a period of years. Thus, many more children were baptized for some families than would have been alive at any single "moment in time."

For villages far from the missions, different factors were at work to distort the ratio of baptized population to pre-Spanish tribal population. Over time, a series of introduced diseases spread out into tribal populations ahead of the mission frontier. By the time the missionaries arrived to bring people in from very distant villages, those over 30 miles from the missions, the detrimental effects of disease were so great that a ratio of 1.5 underestimates the devastation of their populations. Instead, I suggest that a ratio of 1.9 tribal persons per every one baptized person should be used to estimate tribal populations far from the missions.

The 1.1 ratio is probably appropriate for the Lamaca district people, who lived directly adjacent to Mission San Antonio. Most Lamaca baptisms occurred very early, between 1773 and 1786. A total of 274 Lamaca people can be identified—152 directly stated to be

members of the district or one of its villages, and another 112 through their family ties. Of those 274 people, 137 were age 15 or over and 137 were age 14 or under. This is the typical age split of small-scale-society populations and lends evidence to the suggestion that endemic disease had only a small influence on the age structure prior to missionization. Application of the 1.1 ratio projects a tribal population of 301 people for Lamaca.

Quiguil was somewhat farther from Mission San Antonio than was Lamaca, but its time of absorption was only a little later. Most Quiguil baptisms occurred at the mission between 1779 and 1786. On the basis of family-reconstitution work, a total of 132 Quiguilit district people are identifiable in the baptismal registers. Of that group of 132 people, 82 were over age 14 and only 50 were age 14 or younger. I also estimate that a small number of people from Quiguilit, perhaps eight, were baptized at Mission Soledad with Esselen-speaking relatives. The main Quiguil villages were closer to Mission San Antonio than were many of the inner Coast Range villages proselytized at a later date, but they were not as convenient to Mission San Antonio as were the main Lamaca villages. In fact, the largest Quiguil village, Zmal, seems to have been down near the beach. Therefore, baptisms of dying Quiguil people were probably not carried out efficiently, and a correction ratio of 1.4 for tribal to baptized population is suggested. Application of the 1.4 ratio to 140 baptized people projects a pre-mission Quiguil population of 196.

I thus suggest a regional pre-mission population of approximately 500 people for the combined Quiguil (196 people) and Lamaca (301 people) districts. Since the two regions together covered a land area of approximately 330 square miles (870 square kilometers), their suggested average population density is 1.5 people per square mile (0.6 per square kilometer). This population density is lower than the average projected by Cook for the South Coast Ranges (Table 6). However, Cook included the more populated San Francisco Bay area and the large well-watered valleys of the Carmel, Pajaro, and Salinas rivers in his calculations, areas not considered in the population ratios presented for the rugged southern Monterey District vicinity.

**Table 6**  
**Estimated Spanish-Contact Population Densities**  
**for Various Western California Areas**

Sections of California	People per Square Kilometer	People per Square Mile	Source
<b>Quiguil and Lamaca Districts</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>Milliken and Johnson (2003)</b>
<b>South Coast Ranges</b>	<b>0.9</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>Cook (1976:27)</b>
<b>South Coast Ranges</b>	<b>1.4</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>Baumhoff (1963:223)</b>
<b>San Francisco Bay</b>	<b>2.0</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>Milliken (1991:34-</b>

<b>Shore</b>			<b>36)</b>
<b>Malibu to Point Arguello</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>Brown (1967:79)</b>
<b>Malibu to Point Arguello</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>10.0</b>	<b>Cook (1976)</b>

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## Social Networks, Settlements Systems and Regional Resource Flow

The Lima, Lamaca, and Quiguil districts seem to have been distinct tribelet territories, each inhabited by a number of inter-married families, and each with a number of village locations. Specific villages are mentioned too infrequently and haphazardly in the mission registers to provide mission register-based counts of their sizes. However, I suggest that small Salinan villages probably contained about 40 people, while large villages contained no more than 200 people, on the following basis:

- Northern Salinan tribelet populations were in the range of 200-300 persons
- Spanish explorers reported village sizes of 40-200 people in west-central California
- Mission registers suggest three or four important villages for both Quiguil and Lamaca. Lima villages are seldom mentioned more than twice in the mission registers suggesting that its inhabitants were dispersed among a number of tiny hamlets seasonal camps.

I surmise that the population of any specific Northern Salinan village location may itself have changed dramatically from one season to another, as members of the tribelet community moved to take advantage of local resource harvesting peaks.

### Patterns of Regional Inter-marriage

Unfortunately, the evidence in the mission registers for inter-village and inter-tribelet marriage patterns is not systematic in the Mission San Antonio records. Some individuals from specific villages can be shown to have married individuals from other villages, but many more people are identified in the mission registers only by their tribelet of origin, and some are not identified to any home location. The inconsistent records preclude good quantitative counts of inter-village marriage patterns.

The incomplete patterns of inter-group marriage that do emerge meet the theoretical expectations of world-wide studies of regional inter-marriage patterns conducted by John

Adams and Alice Kasakoff (1976). Their field work and literature review led them to conclude that small human groups are never isolated. Families have always participated in local or regional groups of at least 500 persons, so that their young people will be able to find spouses from beyond their immediate families. According to the principal of the 500-person group, the small villages of Quiguil, Lamaca, and Lima had to be exogamous. Even the 200 people of Quigulit and the 300 people of Lamaca should have had to inter-marry with neighboring groups.

High levels of regional inter-marriage are, in fact, suggested by the existing data for the Mission San Antonio area tribelets. Each tribelet was involved in marriage with its immediate neighbor, irrespective of language similarities or differences. Thus Esselen speakers from tribelets further north were living in Quiguil and Lima. Presumably, a few native Salinan speakers were living in the adjacent Esselen tribelet territories of Ecjeajan, Imunajan, and Aspasniajan at the time of Spanish contact.

### ***Quiguil Outmarriages***

Quiguil extended family kinship charts document numerous outmarriages with families from Lamaca, Lima, Quinau, and Esselen-speaking groups to the north. This is not unexpected, since I believe that the overall Quiguil population was approximately 200. According to the results of Adams and Kasakoff (1976), that small population would necessitate outmarriage and make it probable that almost half of the adults in Quiguil villages derived from neighboring regions. Because Quiguil was on the Esselen-Salinan boundary, marriages to Esselen families to the north was just as convenient as marriage to other Salinan families. The missionaries noted the results of such marriages. One person was baptized at San Antonio “de Quiguil, y de distinta nación (from Quiguil and from a distinct nation)(SAN-B 837) and another person “de Quiguil de la nación Tesmaymanil (from Quiguil, of the Tesmaymanil nation)” (SAN-B 1324). The missionaries were using the term “nation” to define a distinct language group. Tesmaymanil was a Mission San Antonio designation for the Esselen-speaking tribelet of “*El Pino*” (Aspasniajan at Mission San Carlos) and more generally for speakers of the Esselen language.

### ***Lamaca Outmarriages***

The Lamaca population was probably around 300. Perhaps 35 percent percent of the Lamaca adults were born in other tribelet districts. Most Lamaca district out-marriages were to people from neighboring Quiguil, Quinau, and Lima districts. However, toward the end of the period of Salinan mission migration, a Lamaca woman came to the mission who had been living with a husband in Sulaltap, at least 60 miles further inland near the edge of the San Joaquin Valley.

## ***Lima Outmarriages***

I have not studied the patterns of Lima outmarriages. The group probably numbered no more than 200 people. Such a small group would have been highly intermarried with its neighbors. I am aware of one marriage between Lima and Quiguil families, and one marriage between Lima and Quinau families. As Lima was bordered by Esselen-speaking “*El Pino*” (Aspasniajan) to the north, it is expected that some Lima adults were first language Esselen speakers. (Kinship charts show two Esselen spouses among the Quinar tribelet of Salinans of the San Lucas vicinity further east.).

## **Tribelet Residential Flexibility**

The degree of residential stability at specific village locations within the Salinan tribelet territories is unknown. In some of the less densely populated areas of California, villages directly on the sea shore were the seasonal camps of groups that had more permanent towns one, two, or three miles inland. This was the case for the Rumsen Costanoans of the Carmel River Valley (Milliken 1987), the Costanoan groups along the San Mateo County coast (Milliken 1995), and the Kashaya Pomo of coastal Sonoma County (Kniffen 1939). None of those groups, however, lived on landscapes with the severe geographic break between the seashore and inland valleys that is presented by the face of the Santa Lucia Mountains within the Monterey Ranger District.

Coastal and interior villages of the Quiguil and Lamaca tribelets were actually 8 to 10 miles apart, as will be documented in the following section of this chapter. The difficulty of movement between them leads me to suggest that both the coastal and inland villages had fairly permanent populations, each village group spending most of the year harvesting a variety of resources within its local environment. Within each local village area, however, the specific location of the cluster of houses probably changed from year to year. Also, segments of village populations may have been constantly moving out to temporary camp sites and over the mountain to visit relatives at villages in the other environmental zones.

To illustrate the pattern of land use that I envision, I take the liberty to introduce documentation of seasonal residence flexibility elsewhere in California. For the Ipai/Tipai, to the south of Salinan lands, Luomala wrote:

Many villages were only campsites that a band occupied in its territory during a year ... By a “permanent rancheria” nineteenth-century observers apparently meant that more band members gathered there for more months than at their other campsites.... A campsite was selected for access to water, drainage, boulder outcrops or other natural protection from weather and ambush, and abundant flora and fauna of that ecological niche (Luomala 1978:597).



To the north of Salinan lands, a missionary described the seasonally-flexible residence among the Ssalson, a Costanoan-speaking multi-village tribelet of the bay shore of the San Francisco Peninsula:

I baptized... a girl of about six months age... Her father... and mother... are native of the village of Olestura, who, like all the aforesaid [baptized on this day], live without partiality, now along the tributaries of the San Mateo River, again at the aforesaid village, as well as at Sycca, and they come as far as Guriguri and San Burno [Noriega, entry 178 in the Mission San Francisco Asis Register of Baptisms in 1778].

I infer that the contact-period Lamaca and Quiguilit people had some fairly permanent villages and some that were merely seasonal sites. Families lived a semi-nomadic existence among a small number of coastal and inland villages, with strongest roots in a particular village, but with those roots easily changed over time.

## **Resource Flow across Group Boundaries: Trade and Regional Harvests**

Early reports suggests that people from multiple villages and tribelets occasionally gathered together from distances as great as 40 miles apart for regional harvests.

The Portolá expedition of 1769 documented an aggregation of 600 people gathering pine nuts near the Santa Lucia Range crest on September 20, 1769. Diarist Juan Crespí reported:

Having reached here we were visited by five big villages of very tractable friendly heathens that they said had their villages in the immediate vicinity. (The 6 or 7 villages [corrected from five] we guessed to be at least about 600 souls; they presented us with a great many pine nuts.) Some, they say, are shore dwellers, others mountaineers belonging to this range, and still others from a river that they say is near by, with a harbor, and that we guess to be the Carmelo River [Crespí in Brown 2001:515].

The pine-nut gathering location was along either Los Burros Creek or Little Salmon Creek at the very southern edge of the Monterey Ranger District. It was in southern Lamaca, in the mountains west of the permanent Lamaca village of Onet. It is likely that most people from the coastal and inland Lamaca villages were gathered here, along with friends and relatives from villages in the Janulo and Papuco districts farther east. Of note, it is not clear what pine nut was being gathered in the area. Pinyon pine (*Pinus monophylla*) is absent from the Santa Lucia Range, and sugar pine (*P.lambertiana*) is now quite rare in the specific area. Grey pine (*P.sabiniana*) is common in the area, but is also common over a much wider region. Ponderosa (*P.ponderosa*) and coulter pines (*P.coulteri*) are common in the immediate vicinity, but they are not known as a food sources in the ethnographic literature.

Also, marine resources may have been gathered intensively by groups that did not normally live on the coast. Although no ethnographic details are available for such a subsistence strategy west of Mission San Antonio valley, clear evidence is available that inland people crossed through the territories of their western neighbors to secure coastal strip resources at the mouth of Carmel Bay to the north. In the quote below, Father Serra at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel) described the arrival of people at Carmel Bay from as far inland as Soledad in July of 1775:

From rancherias very far distant, and lost in the folds of the mountains, they arrive every day. At the present time there are some from Eslén, called La Soledad, a place halfway on the road between this mission and that of San Antonio...

Great schools of sardines appeared near the beach, close to the mission. After two weeks of fish eating, on the Sunday following, leaving the sardines in peace, they went hunting for the nests of sea birds that live in rocks and feed on fish. They caught a lot of young birds which were, generally speaking, as big as good sized chickens. And so they passed Sunday, camping on the Carmel beach, divided into countless groups, each with its fire, roasting and eating what they had caught [Serra 1956:140-142].

Such occasional intensive use of Carmel Bay and the Monterey Peninsula probably contributed to the development of midden accumulations that suggest far greater populations than were actually the case. Similar patterns may have pertained during historic-contact times in Salinan lands along the Pacific Coast adjacent to the Monterey Ranger District.

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## Summary and Recommendations

This summary section lists four highlights of the chapter that may be useful in Forest planning. Additionally, the importance of “The Indians” vicinity as a cultural landscape is stressed. Documentation of the values and viewpoints of contemporary Salinan is found in the concluding chapter of this volume.

### Highlights

The following points represent highlights regarding the ethnographic Salinan people of the Monterey Ranger District and vicinity.

- Three contiguous Salinan-speaking groups, Lima, Lamaca, and Quiguil, held portions of the southern Monterey Ranger District. Each group had a number of seasonal and semi-permanent villages and camps and each was closely inter-married with its neighbors.

- The people of Lima, Lamaca, and Quiguil joined Mission San Antonio between 1771 and 1806. Despite a drastic reduction in population due to introduced diseases, many descendants survived. Salinan people continue to live in the region today.
- The precise Salinan-Esselen language boundary within the Monterey Ranger District is a continuing question of debate. In this chapter, I have proposed that small upland portions of the Arroyo Seco watershed west and east of Junipero Serra Peak were within Salinan territory, Quiguil territory on the west side of the mountain and Lima territory on the east side. (Breschini's work on incised stone [see Chapter 3, p 71] illustrates the value of the archaeological perspective on this issue).
- None of the three Monterey District Salinan groups should be considered Playanos, a separate Salinan or possible Chumash dialect group of the northern San Luis Obispo county coast that was incorrectly mapped in Monterey County by A.L. Kroeber in 1925.

## **Proposed Special Management for “The Indians” Vicinity**

Beyond standard protections of cultural resources, one area of the Monterey Ranger District clearly deserves special management protection and possible future public interpretation. It is a five-square mile area in “The Indians” vicinity. The area is important for the following reasons:

- It contains eleven named Salinan village and/or gathering locations, identified by early twentieth century Salinan consultants to J. P. Harrington
- No other small valley in west-central California between Clear Lake on the north and Tejon Pass on the south contains nearly as many named ethnographic locations
- It contains two homesites of early twentieth century Salinan families
- It contains one or two locations of early nineteenth century Mission San Antonio outstations
- It contains one or two Spanish-contact period Quiguil village sites that were named in Mission San Antonio records
- It contains over sixty recorded discrete archaeological midden and/or bedrock mortar outcrops

The minimal area for the proposed special management is marked on the Los Padres National Forest ethnographic cultural resources GIS mapping layer with a Specific Vicinity Polygon. The polygon overlaps the Los Padres National Forest and the Hunter-Liggett Military Reservation. This area is important enough to merit consideration for mutual land management or land exchange between the two federal agencies<sup>4</sup>.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented an analysis of archival and published ethnographic information. Complete documentation of ethnographic values on the southern portion of the Monterey Ranger District must also consider the values and viewpoints of contemporary Salinan people.

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<sup>4</sup> Unbeknownst to the author, the Forest Service has already proposed this area as a Special Interest Area, with boundaries generally matching those suggested by the author. Based on the high cultural values, the area will be subject to special management (Heritage Resources Manager for the Los Padres National Forest, Joan Brandoff-Kerr, personal communication, February 3, 2004).

## **Chapter 5 - Ethnography of the Chumash – *by Chester King***

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### **Overview of Chumash Life**

Chumash territory includes most of San Luis Obispo, all of Santa Barbara, most of Ventura, southwestern Kern, and western Los Angeles Counties. The Spanish responsible for the conquest of California considered the Chumash to be the most advanced native society in California. Spanish explorers observed that the Chumash differed from surrounding nationalities in their emphasis on manufacturing and trade. Trade was facilitated by a bead money economy. The Spanish admired the Chumash for their skill as craftsmen and traders and their work ethic. The Spanish also observed that the Chumash were unique in their development of maritime fishing. They noted that the Central Chumash population was greater than the populations of other areas of California. Because of the large number of men who could be organized for warfare, the Spanish feared the Chumash more than any other group encountered during the establishment of Spanish rule.

At the time of initial European colonization, the area inhabited by the Chumash measured approximately 200 by 70 miles. In size, this compares to the smallest states of the eastern United States. The Chumash population included between 15,000-20,000 people. Chumash population estimates are based on counts of the numbers of people observed at settlements during the 1769 Portola expedition which traveled along the densely populated coast, numbers of baptisms from settlements at Spanish missions, comparison of the ratios between 1769 expedition counts and baptisms, data concerning population from later expeditions to the interior and the sizes of archaeological sites. It is possible to conduct a thorough analysis of mission register data using sophisticated models to determine the probable size of the population in 1770. The analysis remains to be conducted. The Chumash did not have standing armies or full time police. However, despite its small size, Chumash society developed institutions that maintained regional political and administrative organizations, a market economic system, and a complex belief system. Chumash society was similar in scale

to other societies that occupied the more densely populated areas of western North America before European colonization. Research with mission registers indicates Chumash (in common with people in many societies studied by anthropologists) could identify kinship ties with almost all of the people with whom they would normally interact. Kinship relationships integrated the families of political leaders throughout the Chumash national area.

At the time of the Spanish missions, the native name *chumash* referred to inhabitants of Santa Cruz Island. In 1891, Powell referred to languages related to the Santa Cruz Island language as Chumash (1891). The name Chumash is now accepted as an ethnic designation by anthropologists and descendants of people baptized at the Spanish missions in Chumash territory.

A succinct discussion of old Chumash culture and society is presented by Blackburn (1975). The term Tataviam refers to the Uto-aztecan speaking eastern neighbors of the Chumash who lived along the Santa Clara River drainage east of Piru, in the lower Piru Creek drainage and at La Liebre.

## **Chumash Language**

### ***Linguistic Relationships***

When the Spanish colonized California, the Los Padres Forest south of Paso Robles included territories of people who spoke two distinct languages, Chumashan languages and Tataviam. Tataviam is a member of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Chumashan languages included an Island Chumash language, a Central Chumash language group that included many relatively closely related languages and a Northern Chumash language group at San Luis Obispo Mission. It appears that there may have been two Northern Chumash languages at San Luis Obispo (Klar, Whistler and McLendon 1999:20-27).

At San Luis Obispo Mission it appears that the people who lived near the coast north of Morro Bay were most different from the other recruits in terms of marriage ties and recruitment pattern. Late Middle period burial practices at Pico and Little Pico Creeks are very similar to the Arroyo Grande area south of San Luis Obispo. Burial practices reflect the religious and social organization of societies. Highly similar burial practices indicate membership in common social groups. Differences in burial practice are highly correlated with differences in language. Most names recorded from Chotcagua at Morro Bay and Sepjala at Cayucos are apparently Chumash. Relatively few marriages occurred between Chotcagua and Sepjala and Interior settlements. The second northern Chumash language may have been spoken in this area.

## ***Known and Contentious Boundaries***

Most boundaries are well documented. Many of these are different from those indicated on maps in Handbook of California Indians (Heizer 1978). The northern boundary of the Chumash in San Luis Obispo County is not well documented. Linguistic analysis of names in the registers and other historic studies will help resolve contentious boundaries. The people who lived in the vicinity of the Los Padres Forest in San Luis Obispo County before European colonization were apparently all Chumash.

## **Socio-Political Organization**

Present knowledge of Chumash social organization before Spanish colonization comes through the synthesis of documents produced during the Spanish conquest, ethnographic notes collected by John Harrington and others, and archaeological data. The historic documents include mission registers and diaries. As historic research progresses, ethnographic notes, and archaeological data (including material in museum collections) are studied further, and theories explaining differences in social organization are developed, knowledge of Chumash society before Spanish colonization will become more refined. Fernando Librado provided an oral history of the Lulapin confederation which included the Channel coast from Mugu to Point Concepcion and the Santa Ynez and Ojai Valleys (Figure 44). Other information includes long distance marriage ties between members of the most important chiefly families. In 1542, Cabrillo described the presence of a woman chief at Santa Barbara said to have power over other coastal villages. At the beginning of Spanish colonization with the construction of the Santa Barbara Presidio Yanolit the chief at Santa Barbara was said to have control of thirteen villages. The scale, duration, and importance of multiple village political organization is a subject of dispute among Chumash ethnohistorians. Most scholars recognize that villages had political systems that controlled the use of the land used by members of villages.

The hereditary chief (*wot*) was the central authority of the political system. There was sometimes more than one chief at a village. In Chumash folklore, the primary village chief was Eagle (*Slo'w*), the second chief was his nephew Falcon (*Xelex*), and the third chief was Raven (*Qaq*). Chiefs are described as having great prestige and moral authority. They were wealthy and capable of buying costly items, providing hospitality to guests, sponsoring fiestas, and rewarding those who had helped them. The most important duty of chiefs was the management of stores containing food and wealth. These were used to maintain the chief and his family, to feed visitors, to aid the needy, and to give fiestas. Stores were filled by donations from families that could afford them. Additionally, chiefs managed the territories under the control of their villages and decided if trespassing should be punished by war. Chiefs sometimes instigated wars by taking wives of other chiefs, acts reminiscent of the cause of the Trojan War. Chiefs had two messengers (*ksen*) who relayed messages to other villages concerning ceremonies and other matters. Regional political organizations were

frequently solidified through marriage relationships occurring between people from villages over 50 miles apart.

Another individual important in the Chumash village was the *paxa*. He was the official responsible for training and initiating members of the secret men's '*antap* society. It was his duty to organize ceremonies at the request of his chief. It was also his responsibility to choose new chiefs from legitimate candidates when necessary. '*Antap* membership was based on relationship to a sponsor who paid a large sum of money to the society, or membership could be obtained by abstaining from eating deer meat and following other restrictions while a youth. Chiefs and their assistants were initiates of the '*antap* society. The '*antap* helped the *paxa* and the chief sponsor fiestas. They were also the dancers and musicians at fiestas. They collected contributions for the chief and pointed out those who did not make adequate contributions. Events such as fiestas involved and integrated all the major institutions of Chumash society. Fiestas usually celebrated events that were important in the belief system, such as solstices, and brought people together for economic activity (Hudson, Blackburn, Curletti and Timbrook 1977, Blackburn 1974, Johnson 1988:231, see Appendix C). The '*antap* could kill people by poisoning only if they had the permission of the chiefs. The chief, *paxa*, '*antap* and messengers constituted the basic village administrative unit. It appears that these individuals, with the possible exception of the messengers, were from high-ranking families.

Astrologers and diviners ('*alshuqlash* and '*alaxalapsh*) were apart from the '*antap* society. These individuals did not seem to have a particular village affiliation and could travel freely. It was their duty to name children, counsel them concerning their future, administer Datura (Jimson Weed potion was drunk to alter the state of mind of initiates during initiation ceremonies. Momoy, Datura, was an old woman teacher in legends), forecast rain, and heal the sick. These people were usually old men or women who attained their positions by seeking knowledge.

Households varied in size. On the coast between Ventura and Golta Slough households averaged around fifteen people. In most other areas households averaged between five or six people. The typical household was organized around a nuclear family. At smaller settlements people often married partners who were natives of other settlements. After marriage, men regularly went to live at their wife's village. Sometimes, wives went to live at their husband's native village, and occasionally, both partners moved to another village. Some chiefs had more than one wife. Second wives often lived at their native villages and were visited by their husbands who usually continued to live in their own native villages. In cases, more than one wife might live in the same household with the chief. Chiefs' houses were often larger than those of other families.

In addition to residential houses, sweat lodges and menstrual lodges were present at most villages. Sweat lodges were not only used by men for sweating rituals, but also as a place to



sleep. Sweat lodges additionally served as a place for giving instruction prior to initiation into the *'antap* society.

At the time of Spanish colonization, the Chumash maintained the most complex bead money system documented anywhere in the world. Documentation includes historic accounts, ethnographic notes, and beads from archaeological sites.

## **Material Culture**

The Chumash of the Channel coast fished with nets, hooks, and harpoons. They fished from shore and from boats. The boats were made of planks sewn together with yucca cordage and caulked with asphaltum. The maneuverability and speed of these boats impressed Spanish explorers (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1977). The boats were also used for trade with people living on the Channel Islands.

The Mainland Chumash hunted deer, rabbits, and ground squirrels. They gathered many types of small seeds, acorns, wild cherry pits, yucca, bulbs and corms and many types of berries and herbs. They used baskets to transport foods, to store food and to process food by boiling. The Chumash made many types of baskets. The Chumash had domed hemispherical shaped houses made of willow branches and thatching. Because of the importance of manufacture for trade the Chumash were recognized as expert craftsmen. The five volume study of Chumash material culture by Hudson and Blackburn document Chumash and Tataviam material culture (1982, 1983, 1985, 1986, and 1987).

Because many protohistoric period Chumash specialized in manufacturing there are often differences in the type of manufacturing debris and manufacturing tools found at different settlement and quarry sites. Extensive trade resulted in the distribution of artifacts from many particular sources throughout the area and artifacts such as mortars, pestles, arrows, beads, ornaments, and baskets were essentially the same throughout the area where Chumash languages were spoken. The largest portion of the Los Padres Forest in the Chumash area is in the interior. The people who lived in interior areas of the forest traded seeds, other plant and animal foods and materials including serpentine, jadeite, Franciscan, and Temblor Range charts to other Chumash. They obtained fish, sea mammal meat, and other ocean products from coastal people.

## **Populations, Settlement Systems, and Regional Interaction**

The coast of the Santa Barbara Channel trends east to west as do the Channel Islands that form the southern edge of the Channel. This resulted in the formation of many places well suited to boat launching and to conditions of upwelling which provided a rich marine environment. These conditions contributed to a high density of population along the coast.

Figure 44 indicates the number of people recruited from different settlements. Observation of the map and the descriptions of Spanish explorers indicate that the largest population concentrations were in the middle of the Channel. The size differences of Coastal settlements were not due to the local availability of resources, but rather their location in trade networks. Likewise the high concentration of population in the immediate interior was made possible by trade. Trade encouraged interior people to harvest more plant foods than they could consume. Trade enabled Chumash people to pool their resources (King 1976).

Chumash settlements, except in the far interior and the northern coast, were permanently occupied and their members often chose marriage partners from neighboring settlements. People at Chumash settlements obtained plants and animals from territories controlled by the settlements.

Chumash territory included many different resources that varied over short distances. The Chumash of the islands depended largely on fishing and manufacturing for trade. They traded with the mainland Chumash for many resources that were not available or were available in low quantities on the islands. The Chumash of the mainland coast traded plant foods, raw material and baskets and arrows to the islanders. They traded fish and manufactured products to people in the interior. People in the interior traded plant foods and raw materials including serpentine to coastal people. The linking of different areas by an economic system encouraged specialization in the procurement of resources and manufacturing. People in the interior gathered more plant foods than they would have if there were no markets. In return, they obtained fish and sea products not available locally. People were able to obtain food from neighbors when it was not available locally by trading stored wealth (King 1976).

Studies of marriage ties that existed prior to recruitment at missions indicate that in the area where Central Chumash languages were spoken, men most often went to live at their wife's villages. Johnson concluded from a study of Chumash kinship terminology and ethnohistoric data concerning pre-recruitment ties between Santa Barbara County settlements:

The Chumash economic system linked together villages in different ecological zones, making them interdependent on one another. Not every village held the same function, economically or politically, in this network. By considering the system as a regional whole, geographic variables were discovered that correlated with ethnohistorically observed patterns of political affiliation and importance. Economic behavior influenced settlement patterns, which in turn determined political centrality. Two types of economic exchange, intraregional, based on redistribution, and interregional based on long distance trade, resulted in two different types of network centrality, one based on accessibility and the other based on betweenness. Political importance of settlements in Chumash society was dependent on the extent that a village's geographic position resulted in central roles in both intraregional and interregional economics [Johnson 1988:297, see Appendix C].

## **Comparative Ethnographic Lifeways**

At the time of European contact, the Chumash had an elaborate oral literature, knowledge of astronomy, an elaborate material culture, and thorough knowledge of their natural world. The Chumash assisted with propagating plants and animals and collected them for food. Protohistoric Chumash society was one of the most complex non-agricultural societies documented anywhere in the world. The study of the development of Chumash society is relevant to understanding the evolution of complex societies. A succinct discussion of old Chumash culture and society is presented by Blackburn (1975).

## **World Views and Ritual Practices [as it helps interpret sites]**

Harrington gathered a great deal of information concerning oral tradition and ritual practices of the Central Chumash. Much of this information has been published. Blackburn published folk tales gathered by Harrington (1975). Hudson, Blackburn, Curletti, and Timbrook published parts of a traditional history of the Central Chumash and information concerning Chumash dances and ritual practices (1977). Hudson and Underhay studied information related to Chumash astrology. They studied information from the Harrington notes and made observations of solstice events at sites with Chumash paintings (1978). Other students of Chumash paintings have also related some of the sites with paintings to Chumash cosmology. Some Chumash paintings are apparently depictions of dancers. Paintings of dancers may be related to instruction concerning the performance of dances at ceremonies.

Chumash oral tradition held that at the time of the winter solstice a peon game (guessing game with hand held counters) was played in the sky between sky coyote (the north star who is always watching over us and is dependable because he is always in the same place) heading one team and the sun heading the other team. If coyote's team won there would be a good year, if the sun won he would take his winnings as people's lives and it would be a bad year. Chumash astrologers studied the sky to gain insight to the outcome of this game (Blackburn 1975). The main panel at Painted Rock in the Carizo Plains has been interpreted as representing the peon game in the sky (Schupp-Wessel 1982).

In addition to places where rock paintings have been found, Chumash oral tradition indicates that hilltops, mountaintops, springs, and caves are often important places. The places include Mount Pinos, the tallest mountain in Chumash territory. It is probable that many important places are not listed in the Harrington notes. The notes are most thorough in the Santa Barbara-Goleta area and along the lower Ventura River and other places close to Ventura Mission where many Chumash lived after mission secularization.

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## Ethnographic Locations on the Landscape

### Sources

The Native American place names listed in this paper are words of Chumash and Tataviam languages. The place name list begins south of Paso Robles and ends at Piru. The Chumash place names used on Figure 44 and as headings of the listing of settlements are transcribed as they are frequently transcribed in mission registers. Pronunciation and orthography for Chumash names collected by Harrington generally follows Applegate (1974, 1975), Blackburn (1975), and Hudson and Blackburn (1982). The place names include names of native settlements, shrines, mountaintops, and ridges. Many hills and mountains were the locations of shrines. Many Chumash place names do not contain locative prefixes or suffixes. Descriptive prefixes such as s'ap- = "house of" or ka- = place, are used in some Chumash place names. Information concerning native settlements and place names is not of the same quality in all areas.

Information concerning Native American place names in the vicinity of the Los Padres National Forest is derived from many sources. In 1542, Cabrillo was the first European explorer in the area. He made lists of Chumash village names along the coastline between Point Mugu and Point Concepcion (King 1975). After Cabrillo, there is no known evidence of anyone recording native place names until the founding of missions in California. Mission registers and correspondence during the mission period often included native place names. In Southern California, the baptismal records of recruits to the Spanish missions usually listed native names of settlements. The names and locations of Indian settlements have often been recorded in land title documents, on maps, and as modern place names.

Alexander Taylor resided in California and was interested in the traditions of California Indians he began recording native place names during the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1863, Alexander Taylor included information on place names in a series of articles in the *California Farmer* entitled "The Indianology of California" (1860-63). Taylor used archives as well as information from interviews with native people to prepare his descriptions of native Californian societies.

Taylor was followed by ethnographers employed by various institutions. Herbert Henshaw, an ethnographer from the Bureau of American Ethnography, worked with Indians in the Ventura area. He collected several lists of Chumash place names. The most extensive list contains 106 place names and was prepared by Juan Esteban Pico in consultation with elders. The list includes four columns. The first column contains a sequence of numbers from 1 to 106, the second column Pico's transcription of the Spanish name for the place, the third column Pico's transcription of the Chumash place name using Spanish orthography, and the fourth Henshaw's phonetic transcription of the names. Henshaw also added marginal notes.

The place name list was prepared by Juan Esteban Pico and Herbert Henshaw in 1884. The original was discovered in the ethnographic notes of John P. Harrington. It is included as Appendix IV in McLendon and Johnson 1999.

Alfred Kroeber, who began work at the University of California at Berkeley in 1901, collected information concerning southern California place names. Kroeber summarized information on place names in a paper (1916) and in his *Handbook of California Indians* (1925).

In 1912, John P. Harrington began collecting information concerning the native languages of southern California. He was employed by the Bureau of American Ethnography. He used mission registers and lists of place names to compile lists of names that he used while interviewing native consultants. He took trips with consultants for the purpose of obtaining place name information. Harrington's skillful use of ethnographic techniques allowed him to collect more information on native place names than anyone else. It is necessary to assess the information gathered by Harrington in terms of the context of his questions and consistency of information given by particular consultants with other sources. Sometimes Harrington collected native translations of Spanish place names or attempted to obtain pronunciations of names given in historic records. In conducting his research, Harrington attempted to record as much information as possible. Validation of the information requires the determination of consistency with information provided by other consultants and historic documents. Harrington made summary lists of the place name information that is scattered through his notes. The lists were made for different regions and are organized alphabetically for each region.

In the Central Chumash region, Harrington worked with Fernando Librado Kitsepawit (1839-1915). He provided Harrington with much detailed ethnographic and linguistic information and was Harrington's most important coastal Chumash consultant for place names in both the Santa Barbara and Ventura areas (Blackburn 1975:18, Johnson 1982, Hudson 1979:146), Juan de Jesus Justo (Blackburn 1975:20) and Luisa Ygnacio (Blackburn 1975: 19) provided much information concerning Santa Barbara coast place names. Juliana Ygnacio, daughter of Luisa Ygnacio, was also interviewed along with her mother.

Harrington worked with three Chumash consultants on place names in the Ventureño region. Fernando Librado Kitsepawit and Simplicio Pico Pamashkimait (1839-1918) provided much information concerning Ventura area place names (Hudson 1979: 152). Fernando and Simplicio both spent their childhood at Ventura Mission and were personally familiar with settlements that were present in the region in the late 1840s and early 1850s. José Juan Olivos, a speaker of the Castac dialect of Ventureño Chumash was interviewed in 1917-1918 (Hudson and Blackburn 1982: 32). He apparently was the husband of Candelaria Valenzuela (Hudson 1979: 150). He was familiar with place names in the Santa Clara River. Candelaria Valenzuela was said to have been born at Sespe. She provided information concerning the Santa Clara River area to Henley and Binzell (Blackburn 1963:139) and Harrington (Craig 1966:

202-203.; Hudson 1979:156-157). Maria Solares provided information concerning Santa Ynez area place names. Harrington obtained information concerning San Luis Obispo area place names from Rosario Cooper (Klar 1977).

Eugenia Mendez was an elderly full blooded Kitanemuk from the Tejon Reservation (Hudson and Blackburn 1982:32). She provided Jaminot [Kitanemuk language] names of places in the Santa Clara River area.

Richard Van Valkenburgh was employed by the Los Angeles County Museum between 1930 and 1935 under the sponsorship of the State Emergency Relief Act. His main emphasis was archaeology. He obtained ethnographic information concerning archaeological sites. He interviewed Native American consultants concerning places in Ventura and northern Los Angeles Counties. He also consulted with J.P. Harrington concerning native place names. Van Valkenburgh compiled lists of archaeological sites that included native names (1933, 1935). Documentation of his sources for many names has not been found.

Thomas Workman Temple III abstracted information from the registers of California missions for genealogical research. He made useful abstracts of the registers of San Fernando mission (Temple n.d.). These abstracts were used to obtain information on Tataviam and eastern Chumash villages.

Alan Brown has translated the original full versions of the diaries of the Portolá expedition kept by Friar Juan Crespi (2001). He conducted research to annotate the diaries that involved the use of mission registers and analysis of place name information. A product of this research was a study of the size of the native population of the Santa Barbara Channel (1967). His research demonstrated the potential of using historic data to map the distribution and sizes of native villages in California. It also indicated the potential of discovering kin relationships between people in different settlements and the locations of linguistic boundaries. Brown's 1967 map and discovery of Harrington place name information, that allowed refinement of the map, resulted in efforts to synthesize the ethnographic and historic information.

Richard Applegate wrote an article concerning Chumash place names that made significant observations concerning the types of names used and their linguistic structure. (1974). Applegate used Harrington's notes and his own knowledge of Chumash languages to produce the article. In 1975, he published a list of Chumash place names that includes linguistic transcriptions and translations of most known Chumash place names (1975).

In 1975, Chester King prepared a map indicating the distribution of Chumash settlements at and before European colonization (1975). He correlated names and information in Harrington notes with historic documents and archaeological data to make the map.

In 1977, Kathryn Klar published an article that presented data on San Luis Obispo Chumash place names not included in Applegate's list. The place names were taken from Harrington notes of interviews with Rosario Cooper.

In 1978 John Johnson published an article concerning the location of the Chumash village of Cashtec mentioned in historic and ethnographic sources. Many anthropologists and linguists had mistakenly identified Cashtec with the modern place of Castaic in Tataviam territory (1978).

Robert Edberg conducted research concerning ethnohistory and place names in the Santa Paula - Santa Clara River area using ethnographic and ethnohistoric information he discovered kin ties between the settlements he studied (1981). In 1982 Johnson, Warren, and Warren prepared an ethnohistoric study of settlements in the vicinity of Goleta Slough (1982)

In 1983 Robert Gibson completed a study of the ethnogeography of the Salinan for his masters' thesis. The study relied on analysis of registers of San Miguel and San Antonio Missions and included preliminary analysis of information concerning people recruited at San Luis Obispo Mission (1983). The study proposed boundary changes from those shown by Kroeber and others. Some of the changes have been substantiated by further research and others are debated (Milliken and Johnson 2003).

In 1984, Chester King produced an ethnogeographical study of settlements on and in the vicinity of Vandenberg Air Force Base. The study involved the use of registers of San Luis Obispo and La Purisima Missions to discover ties between the settlements that were studied. The study synthesized historic information concerning Chumash society in the Vandenberg area. Research with the San Luis Obispo registers involved correlating confirmation register entries with baptism, death, and marriage entries. The study of the confirmation registers was necessary because many people were baptized at the beginning of the mission without information concerning rancheria of origin. The confirmation register consistently provided information on village of origin. This was the first study of Chumash ethnohistory that attempted to diagram all the recorded kinship relations from a group of settlements. The study emphasized study of political relationships (King 1984). In 1988 King produced another ethnohistory for Vandenberg AFB. The study emphasized the use of plant and animal resources. The study included information from ethnohistoric documents concerning temporary settlements. The kinship ties and changes in names of settlements recorded for individuals in different registers were thoroughly studied for the settlements of Pismu and Chotcagua to discover differences between permanent and temporary settlements. Charts were made that illustrated the relationships of all people baptized and or confirmed at San Luis Obispo from Pismu and Chotcagua (King 1988). The information concerning temporary settlements in the San Luis Obispo area was also included as background concerning temporary or short-term settlements in a study of the Santa Monica Mountains (King 1994).

Between 1984 and 1987, John Johnson produced ethnohistoric studies of a number of villages in Santa Barbara County (1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986, 1987). These were all produced while Johnson was preparing his dissertation that included a study of ties between settlements on the Santa Barbara mainland coast and the Santa Ynez Valley. The study involved diagramming all relationships described in mission registers for forty settlements. In 1988, Johnson completed his dissertation (1988, see Appendix C).

In 1989, Chester King completed a study of place names along the lower Ventura River. The study was conducted to assist in the assessment of impacts that would be caused by a landfill in Weldon Canyon (King, Johnson and Gamble 1989). The study involved locating many places in the Harrington notes and lists made by Henshaw.

In 1993, Chester King completed an ethnohistoric study of places in the vicinity of the Pacific Pipeline. The pipeline route followed railroad tracks along the coast from Gaviota to Ventura. It then followed the Santa Clara River to Newhall. King used Harrington notes and mission registers. Plat maps, diseños, and USGS quadrangle sheets were consulted for place name information. The plat maps provided important information concerning the location of adobes associated with post mission native settlements. An historic atlas of Ventura County that includes parcel maps for every school district in the county as of 1912, when Harrington began his fieldwork, proved useful for locating properties mentioned in Harrington's notes (Alexander 1912).

In 1994, Betty Rivers and Glenn Farris completed a study of the El Morro village site. They synthesized information from Spanish period documents, extracts of Harrington notes and the registers of San Luis Obispo Mission (Rivers and Farris 1994).

Beginning in 1993 and ending in 1999, John Johnson compiled a summary spreadsheet of the San Fernando Mission baptism, marriage and death registers, and he and Sally McLendon prepared a study for the National Park Service concerning descendants from Chumash settlements in the Santa Monica Mountains and on the Channel Islands. The Appendixes in Volume 2 contain information relevant to virtually all Chumash and some Tataviam settlements (McLendon and Johnson 1999). Johnson has recently completed a study of the settlement of Mat'apxwelxwel at the mouth of Las Uvas (Grapevine Canyon) in the northeastern Chumash area. The study involved the use of mission registers, Harrington notes and American period historic documents (2000).

In 2000, Farris published clues that he has retrieved from land grant case records regarding the locations of Cholame, "Tisaizues" (Tisagues), Camate, "L'huegue" (Lehuege), Sataoyo, Stemetatimi, and Lospe rancherías listed in mission registers (Farris 2000:131-140). The information concerning Satahoyo resulted in differentiation of Satahoyo from a similar name for San Simeon and the placement of the settlement on the Salinan River



Milliken and Johnson have recently completed a study of Salinan and Northern Chumash ethnogeography. They incorporate the results of most previous research in their synthesis of information. They conclude further research is necessary to document the Chumash – Salinan boundary. Their study is most detailed along the coast (2003).

In addition to studies of Chumash ethnohistory, Johnson and Earle have also conducted studies of Tataviam ethnohistory (Johnson 1978, 1997a and b, 2000, and Johnson and Earle 1990).

The study of Chumash ethnohistory has progressed since the publication of Alan Brown's 1967 study of Chumash villages. Milliken and Johnson have entered information from all missions in and near Chumash territory into computerized data files. Research has resulted in matching many places with historic archaeological sites. Documentation has been discovered in historic and ethnographic sources concerning the locations of most villages. Small interior villages in the northwestern part of Chumash territory have not been located.

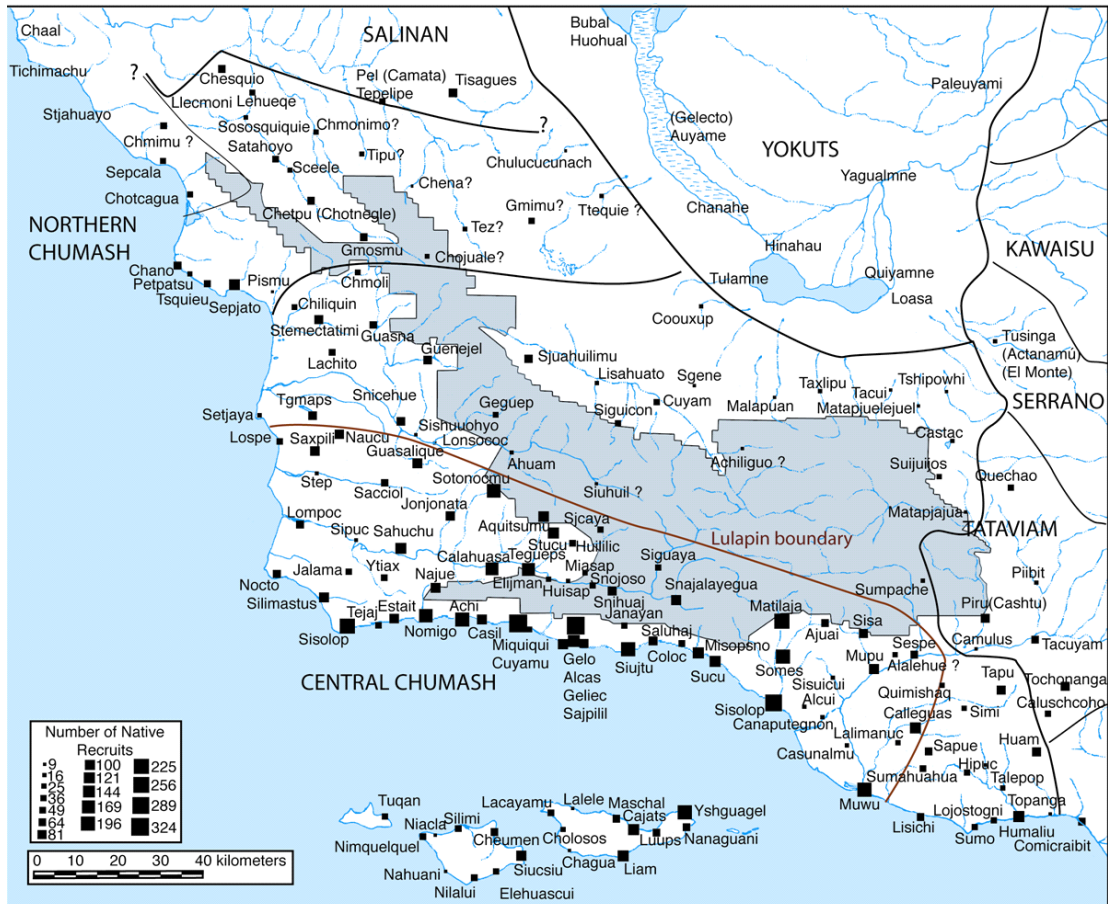
## **Chumash Settlements near the Los Padres National Forest**

Settlements listed here are adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest or within the forest. Most are adjacent to the forest and are on drainages that originate in the forest. The listing is intended to include the settlements that most used the forest. The occupants of the settlements recruited into the Spanish Missions were the closest relatives of people buried at the settlements and the closest relatives of the people that most intensively used the lands. The modern descendants of occupants of the settlements are their ancestors' representatives and are considered most likely descendants. This study concentrates on the identification of settlements. It does not contain all the information contained in Harrington's place name notes and other sources concerning places other than settlements in the forest.

Figure 44 indicates the distribution of Chumash and Tataviam settlements in the vicinity of the Los Padres National Forest. Table 7 indicates the numbers of people recruited from studied settlements.

Figure 45 indicates the areas recruited at the different missions in the Chumash area. This map indicates that the missions recruited from defined areas that had a small amount of overlap. The map indicates the missions where descendants of people recruited were most apt to be living when the missions were secularized in the 1830s.

**Figure 44**  
**Map of Distribution of Chumash and Tataviam Settlements in Relation to the**  
**Los Padres National Forest**



The listing of settlements is organized according to ranger districts. It begins in the north and tends to the east and the south. It begins in the Santa Lucia Ranger District. Northern Chumash locations are given first and then Central Chumash locations. It is followed by the Mount Pinos Ranger District, which includes northeastern Central Chumash settlements. Settlements in the Mount Pinos Ranger District are listed roughly from west to east. The Mount Pinos District is followed by the Santa Barbara Ranger District. Here settlements in the interior are followed by settlements along the Santa Barbara Coast. The last district is the Ojai Ranger District. Settlements include the coastal settlement of Rincon at Rincon Creek and interior settlements of the Santa Clara and Ventura River drainage. They are listed roughly from west to east. The easternmost settlement in the Ojai District is Piru, a Tataviam settlement.

**Table 7  
Chumash and Tataviam Settlements  
near the Los Padres National Forest**

List	Settlement	F Recruits	V Recruits	B Recruits	I Recruits	P Recruits	L Recruits	M Recruits	Total	Diaries	Sites
	<b>CHUMASH</b>										
1	Chmimu-Szajuc						46	3	49		
2	Sepjala						28		28	1769 Portola- Crespi	Cayucos ?
3	Chotcagua						36		36	1769 Portola- Crespi	Morro Rock area
4	Chano						53		53		
5	Petpatsu						19		19		
6	Tsquieu					1	53		54		Pecho Creek
7	Sepjato						94		94		Avila Beach
8	Pismu						27		27	1769 Portola- Crespi	Pismu Creek
9	Satahoyo						38		38		Salinas River
10	Sceele						17		17		Assencion
11	Tipexpa						11		11		
12	Chetpu					1	47		48		Santa Margarita
13	Chotnegle						14		14		Santa Margarita
14	Gmosmu						54		54		
15	Guejetmimu						6		6		
16	Chmonimo						23	1	24		
17	Tipu						21		21		
18	Tez						29		29		
19	Chena						11		11		
20	Chajuale					1	31	2	34		
21	Gmimu-Sicpats						26	16	42		
22	Chulucucunach						9		9		
23	Ttequie						14	2	16		
24	Chmoli						33		33		Arroyo Grande
25	Chiliquin					2	41	0	43		Arroyo Grande
26	Guasna			1	1	24	33		59		Guasna Creek
27	Guenejel					87	1	1	89	Tapis 1797	
28	Sjuahuilimu		1		10	66	3	1	81	1806 Zalvidea	
29	Lisahuato				8	3	1		12	1806 Zalvidea	
30	Siguicon			28	11					1806 Zalvidea	
31	Sishuuohyo					5			5	Tapis 1797	
32	Lonsococ				2				2	1806 Zalvidea	
33	Geguep			1	23	9	1		34	1806 Zalvidea	
34	Ahuam			7	20	7	2		36		
35	Siuhuil			0	2	6			8		
36	Cuyam			5	25	11			41	1806 Zalvidea	SBA-556
37	Achiliguo			2					2		
38	Sgene			4					4	1806 Zalvidea	
39	Malapuan		6	3					9	1806 Zalvidea	
40	Tashlipun		5	10			2	1	18	1806 Zalvidea	
41	Tacoya, Tacui		1*						1*	1806 Zalvidea	
42	Matapjuelejuel	1	2						3	Johnson 2000	KER-4465
43	Cashtec	3	16	1					20	1790: 39 warriors1806 Moraga	KER-307
44	Suijuiyojos	19	2						21	1806 Moraga ?	
45	Matapjajua		5						5		
46	Tachicoyo, Tasicoo		1						1	possibly Tataviam settlement	

**Table 7 (continued)**  
**Chumash and Tataviam Settlements**  
**near the Los Padres National Forest**

47	Jonjonata			1	16	80	1		98	Tapis 1797	SBA-235
48	Sotonocmu			15	121	57			193	Tapis 1797	SBA-167 and SBA-564
49	Aquitsmu		1	44	46	7			98	Tapis 1797	SBA-809
50	Stucu			102	9				111	Tapis 1797	SBA-1645?
51	Huililic			50	2				52	Tapis 1797	SBA-871?
52	Sajcaya			37					37		SBA-1283?
53	Najue		2	14	6	84			106		SBA-1183?
54	Calahuasa			61	86	35			182	NOTE Calasaugi in 1811 at F	SBA-516
55	Tegueps		1	169	10	0			180	Tapis 1797	SBA-477
56	Huelecmen			5					5		
57	Elijman			17	0	0			17	Tapis 1797	SBA-485
58	Huisap			55	1	0			56		SBA-865?
59	Miasap			25	0	0			25		SBA-842?
60	Siguicon			28	11				39		
61	Siguaya			35					35		SBA-1800
62	Snihuaj			83					83		SBA-823?
63	Snojoso			31					31		SBA-123?
64	Snajalayegua		22	84					106		SBA-1309
65	Nomigo			19	2	163	2		186	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-97
66	Achi			158	6	42			206		SBA-91
67	Casil			92	21	2			115		SBA-87
68	Miquiqui		2	315	2	5			324	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-78
69	Cuyamu			27	0	0			27	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-77
70	Geliec			102					102		SBA-47, 48 and 1695?
71	Gelo		2	150					152	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-46
72	Sajpilil		1	319	0	4			324	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-60
73	Mismatac			2					2	1769 Portola- Crespi?	SBA-35
74	Alcas		1	77					78		SBA-42 and 1696?
75	Janayan			37					37		SBA-22
76	Siuju			201					201	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-27, 28 and 29
77	Saluhaj		11	76					87		SBA-19?
78	Coloc			6	42				48		SBA-12 or 13
79	Misopsno			64	71				135	1769 Portola- Crespi	SBA-7
80	Sucu		118	13					131	1769 Portola- Crespi	VEN-62
81	Somes			211	5				216		VEN-5 or 142?
82	Matilaja			225					225		VEN-139?
83	Ajuai			60					60		VEN-132?
84	Sisa		1	73					74		VEN-404
85	Mupu			100					100		
86	Alalehue		2	20					22		
87	Sespe		7	56					63	1769 Portola- Crespi	
88	Chumpache		5	11					16		VEN-74 Squaw Flat
	<b>TATAVIAM</b>										
89	Pirubit		1	89					90		La Esperanza Ranch

**Figure 45**  
**Recruitment of Native People at San Luis Obispo,**  
**La Purisima, Santa Ynez, Ventura, and part of San Fernando Missions.**  
**Frequencies of total baptisms at Spanish Missions**

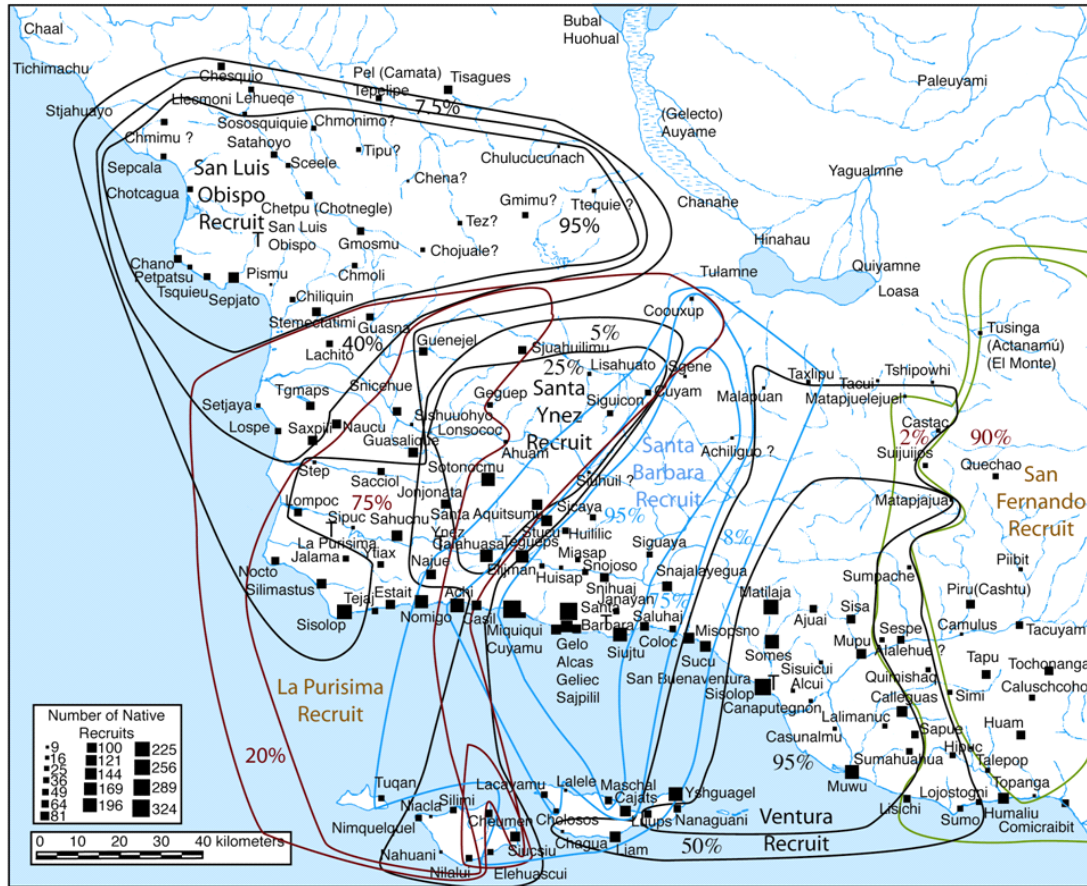


Figure 2: Recruitment of Native People at San Luis Obispo, La Purisima, Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara, Ventura and part of San Fernando Missions. Frequencies of total baptisms at Spanish Missions.

Note most missions recruited from from pie shaped pieces because there is more distance along the coast than in the interior [the coast bends at Point Concepcion] and and all missions were approximately equal distance from Yagualmne at Bakersfield. Most deviations from rather straight line boundaries between missions are on the Channel Islands where there was nevertheless more or less even apportionment of Isalnd areas to the Central Chumash Missions. Tashlipum was a station of Mission Santa Barbara at San Emigdio Creek, This explains recruitment of Tashlipum people at SB. The actual locations of Coochup, Siuhuil and Elehuascui are not well documented so the geometry may be simpler than shown. Perhaps the more aggressive recruitment by San Miguel to the east was driven by a greater need at the young mission to increase the number of working age recruits.

Starting at the northern end of the map black contour lines indicate recruitment by San Luis Obispo Mission, red lines indicate recruitment by La Purisima Mission, black lines indicate recruitment by Santa Ynez Mission, blue lines indicate recruitment by Santa Barbara Mission, black lines recruitment by Ventura Mission and orange lines recruitment by San Fernando Mission. Percentages indicate the minimum percent of people recorded within a

contour interval at the mission indicated by the contours. The map indicates areas of significant overlap in recruitment by adjacent missions.

## **Santa Lucia Ranger District, Southern Portion: Northern Chumash Locations**

The locations of Northern Chumash settlements in the interior of San Luis Obispo County are the poorest documented of all Chumash settlement locations. Excepting the interior San Luis Obispo County settlements the locations of most historic Chumash settlements are well documented with archaeological, ethnographic, and historic evidence. Because the interior of San Luis Obispo settlement locations are poorly documented, I will present available information concerning ties between northern Chumash settlements located in the area. In 1769, Miguel Costanso observed:

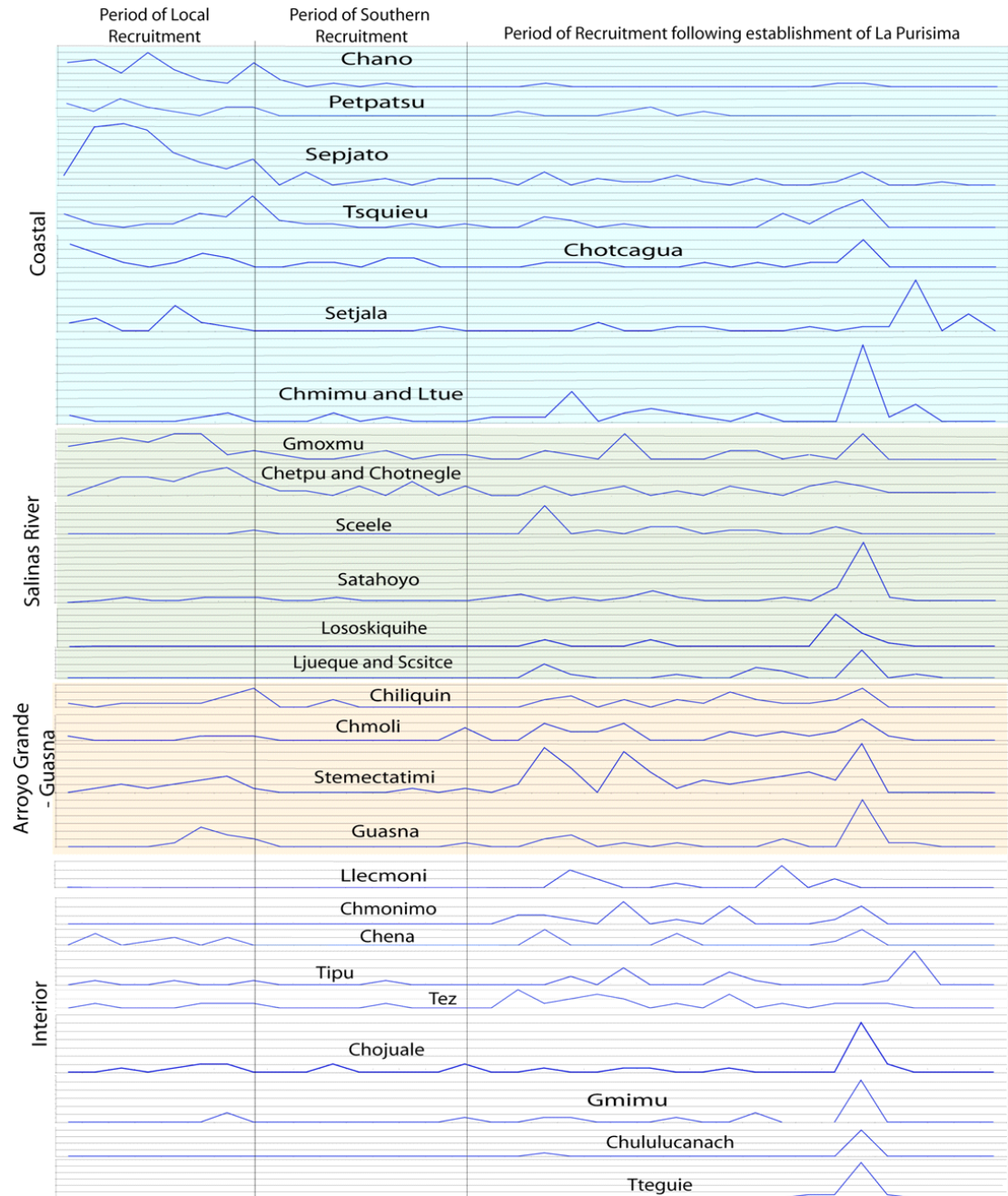
From the Santa Barbara Channel on, the country is not so thickly populated, nor are the Indians so industrious, but they are equally affable and gentle [Hemert-Engert and Teggart 1909:141].

The number of people in the Northern Chumash area was less than in the center of the Central Chumash area. Figure 46 presents information concerning the dates of recruitment from Northern Chumash settlements. The first grouping is settlements located near the shore in the vicinity of San Luis Obispo. The second grouping is settlements located along the Salinas River south of Paso Robles. The third is settlements located on Arroyo Grande and its vicinity to the south and east. The last listed settlements are poorly located with historic data. Most are apparently east of the Salinas River. They all had ties to Salinas River settlements. After 1780 and before the foundation of La Purisima Mission in 1788, there was little recruitment from settlements in the San Luis Obispo area and most recruitment was from settlements that would later be recruited at La Purisima Mission. This was probably part of a strategy to gain control over the Central Chumash from San Buenaventura in the east and San Luis Obispo in the west. Recruitment at the most distant settlements including Tteguie, Chuluculanash, Chmonimo, Llecmoni, Lososkiquihe, and Ljueque did not begin until after 1788. For settlements whose locations are known, there is a rough correlation between distance from the mission and times of recruitment. The pattern of recruitment at Chiliquin, Chmoli, Stemetatimi and Guasna was similar and recruitment at these villages was later than other San Luis Obispo area settlements located a similar distance from the mission. Many people were recruited at La Purisima Mission from Guasna. I interpret the later recruitment and the patterns of marriages at these villages as indicating the presence of a boundary separating these Central Chumash settlements from northern Chumash settlements.

Table 8 presents information concerning ties between settlements in the interior of San Luis Obispo County. The data used to construct the table is included in Appendix 1. This data includes ties between settlements taken from charts I made indicating the kin ties described in

the San Luis Obispo Mission records. Data concerning kin ties along with data concerning pattern of recruitment is used to estimate the locations of settlements whose locations are otherwise unknown.

**Figure 46**  
**Recruitment from Northern Chumash Villages**



**Table 8**  
**Ties between Interior San Luis Obispo Settlements and Other Settlements.**

	Satahoyo	Sceele	Chetpu	Gmoxmu	Chojuale	Chmonimo	Chmimu	Tipu	Chena	Tez	Gmimu	Ttequie
Satahoyo	x	1	3.5		1		1	2	1	1		2
Sceele	1	x	3									
Chetpu	3.5	3	x	5	2.5			2	1	4.5	1	
Gmoxmu			5	x		1		1	3	2	1	1
Chojuale	1		2.5		x		2		3.5	1		2
Chmonimo				1		x		2		1		1
Chmimu	1				2		x			1	3?	
Tipu	2		2	1		2		x		3	1	1
Chena	1		1	3	3.5				x	1		
Tez	1		4,5	2	1	1	1	3	1	x	1	5
Gmimu			1	1			3?	1		1	x	1
Ttequie	2			1	2	1		1		4.5	1	x
Tsquiueu			2	5			4	1	1			1
Sepjato	1		2	7.5	2		3					
Chano			1	4			1					
Petpatsu			1	2?								
Chotcagua							3		1			
Sepjala							4		1			
Lososquiquihe		1	1				1		2			
Lhueque		2					2					
Llecmoni	2							1				
Chesquio	1					1	1	1				
Chmoli	1				1				1		1	1
Chiliquin			1	2							1	
Guasna					1			1			1	
Stemectatimi	1			1							1	
Guasalique			1		1						1	
Lquichechs			1		1					1		
Chulucunash				1			1				2	
Elmismey										1		1
Tamaltaya					1			1				

Satahoyo- Xsocia, Lualato, Topocolo, Chano-n,  
 Chetpu- Sacciol, Laxito, Sjuahuilimu, Guenejel, Choquino.  
 Gmoxmu - Quejetmimu (3), -Tipexpa (Temacoco), and Ltipe  
 Chojuale- Tachia  
 Chmonimo- Tgmaps, Xoxtepax ?  
 Chmimu- Chotquacilul, Txpalala en la Playa, Tecoco,  
 Tipu- Tstapoto  
 Chena- Estatjoto



Table 9 presents the same data as presented in Table 6 but is ordered to demonstrate that the groups did not freely intermarry. The villages are divided into two groups that rarely married within themselves and usually selected spouses from the opposite group. This indicates the presence of moieties in interior San Luis Obispo County. When moieties are present, marriage ties do not directly indicate proximity. Often two villages are close together and have no marriage ties. The San Luis Obispo registers often give the same native names for the children as their father or other male relative. Perhaps the Northern Chumash, at least in the interior, had clans and moieties like their eastern Yokuts neighbors and differed from the Central Chumash who lacked unilineal descent groups and practiced simple village exogamy. Further analysis of names in the registers and the patters of marriage and residence at San Luis Obispo and San Miguel Missions should elucidate protohistoric social organization in the area.

**Table 9**  
**Evidence for Moieties among Interior San Luis Obispo Settlements**

	Ttequie	Tipu	Chetpu	Chena	Chmimu	Tez	Gmimu	Chojuale	Satahoyo	Chmonimo	Gmoxmu	Sceele	
Ttequie	x	1				4.5	1	2	2	1	1		16
Tipu	1	x	2			3	1		2	2	1		21
Chetpu		2	x	1		4.5	1	2.5	3.5		5	3	48
Chena			1	x		1		3.5	1		3		11
Chmimu					x	1	3?	2	1				49
Tez	4.5	3	4,5	1	1	x	1	1	1	1	2		29
Gmimu	1	1	1		3?	1	x				1		28
Chojuale	2		2.5	3.5	2	1		x	1				34
Satahoyo	2	2	3.5	1	1	1		1	x			1	39
Chmonimo	1	2				1				x	1		25
Gmoxmu	1	1	5	3		2	1			1	x		54
Sceele			3						1			x	17
Tsquieu	1	1	2	1	4						5		
Sepjato			2		3			2	1		7.5		
Chano			1		1						4		
Petpatsu			1								2?		
Chotcagua				1	3								
Sepjala				1	4								
Lososquiquihe			1	2	1							1	
Lhueque					2							2	
Llecmoni		1							2				
Chesquio		1			1				1	1			

The list of Northern Chumash settlements begins on the coast near Cayucos. It continues south to San Luis Bay and Pismo Creek. It then lists the Chumash settlements known to be on the Salinas River and they are followed by a list of settlements east of the Salinas River.

The lists follow from north to south. The listing of settlements in Appendix 1 follows the same order.

## **Chmimu**

Milliken and Johnson observed:

Approximately 44 people from Chmimu were baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo, most between 1802 and 1805 (Appendix E, Figures E-33-37). The first Chmimu convert, however, was Doroteo Estrada, who renewed his marriage to Rosa of Chotcagua on the day he was baptized in 1773 (Appendix E, Figures E-35). The ranchería “*Szajuc*,” listed in the San Miguel Baptismal Register in 1803 as the home of the father and brothers of Graciono Sucumusu of Chmimu, could conceivably be a synonym for Chmimu. ... we suggest that it may have been in the Toro Creek watershed at the north end of the region. Surprisingly, 21 individuals baptized at Mission San Antonio, from places identified as the Ranchería del Mar de San Luis, Zatzama, and Zoacáu Zey seem to have come from the Morro Bay region [2003: 100-101].

Chmimu had close ties to Chotcagua and Setjala and it appears that the people from these settlements often lived together at each others settlements. (See Appendix 2 Figures 5-9). Chmimu had more ties to interior settlements on the Salinas River than Sepjala and Chotcagua. It is mapped near the headwaters of a coastal drainage in the vicinity of Cayucos.

## **Sepjala**

Milliken and Johnson concluded:

We suggest that the place name Setjala at San Luis Obispo is equivalent to Tsetacol at missions San Antonio and San Miguel. Time of baptism for the 33 people from Setjala at Mission San Luis Obispo was split, with some baptisms in the 1773-1779 period, the preponderance in the 1803-1805 period (Appendix E, Figures E-33-37). An important Mission San Luis Obispo Death Register entry places Setjala about 20 miles up the coast from the mission; “*en la rancheria llamada Chedcala como ocho leguas distante de la mission murio una Christiana llamada Candida... y en la rancheria llamada Chotcagua la enteraron* [in the ranchería named Chedcala some eight leagues from the mission a Christian named Candida died... and in the ranchería called Chotcagua they buried her]” (SLO-D 176; Appendix E, E-34). The general distance of eight leagues (20 miles) north of San Luis Obispo would place Setjala on Cayucos Creek. Setjala had numerous family ties with Chano, Chotcagua, and Chmimu. Setjala family connections have been documented to El Pinal up the coast, to Lehuege further inland, to Tsquieu in the Point Buchon region, and to all of the Morro Bay region rancherías (Appendix E, Figures 33-37) [2003: 98].

The San Luis Obispo baptisms and confirmations indicate the villages of Chotcagua and Chmimu were closely tied to Sepjala. It appears that many of the same people lived seasonally at all of the settlements.

ci' tqala' = red ants' cave (JPH translation 'cave of the big red ants) = Avila Ranch [sic] (Klar 1977:52)

On December 25, 1769 the Portola expedition found people near Cayucos. The settlement was not mentioned in the northward diary entries. Crespi observed:

we came to a stream and small-sized village belonging to the ensenada del Morro. ... We made camp close to this stream and village of very friendly heathens, who at once on our arriving came to the camp to present us some fish [Brown 2001:641].

The expedition found the Morro Bay village empty. Apparently Crespi recognized the Morro Bay villagers he had seen earlier as the people living near Cayucos. This is consistent with data from the mission registers that demonstrate the close ties between Chotcagua and Sepjala.

### ***Chotcagua***

Crespí first described the village of San Adriano on September 8, 1769: "At this spot there is a good-sized village of very poor heathens who possess no more than a single underground house" (Brown 2001:489).

Portola noted concerning the same village: "We halted in a canyon near the seashore where there was much pasture and water, and in which there was a village of about sixty inhabitants" (Smith and Teggart 1909).

December 26, 1769, on their return march after visiting a settlement near Cayucos of Morro Bay people, Crespí noted that the San Adriano Village was empty (Crespí in Brown 2001:643).

On May 13, 1770, Crespí observed:

This time we did not see any of the great many people belonging to the village here whom we saw on the way going and returning during the other voyage; all that we saw was three or four empty houses; they must be in the fields gathering their seeds [Brown 2001: 719-721].

The second Portolá party observed a battle between men from Buchón's village and some men from the Cambria vicinity as they continued north on May 14, 1770. That morning at

Morro Rock they were joined by a group of men from the Cambria area, twenty miles to the north:

At about sunrise today, before we set out, eight or ten heathens came to the camp, heavily painted, wearing their feather headdresses, and all of them heavily laden with their usual good-sized quivers full of arrows and their bows. Seemingly, they had news of us and had come to greet us...[Brown 2001:721].

The San Adriano village can be identified as the village of Chotcagua = El Morro in the registers of San Luis Obispo Mission. The registers indicate that Chotcagua was a more village like settlement than Pismu. There were however many baptisms from this village of people who were later confirmed as from other settlements. There were also people baptized as from other villages listed in the confirmation registers as natives of Chotcagua. There were relationships between and ambiguities concerning nativity at Chotcagua and the villages of Sepjala, Chmimu, and Tsquieu, neighboring villages located to the north and the south.

$C^h\ddot{i}$  tqaw $\ddot{i}$  = dog's cave (Klar 1977:52).

Milliken and Johnson noted:

Chotcagua sent 36 people (21 adults) to Mission San Luis Obispo, over half between 1775 and 1786, the remainder through 1803. It is one of the few rancherías well located in the Mission San Luis Obispo registers. In 1778 a girl from “*El Morro*” was baptized (SLO-B 290); she was identified with “*Chotcagua*” at her confirmation (Appendix E, E-36). In 1801 a boy was baptized “*en la ranchería del Morro, llamado Chotcagua* [in the ranchería of El Morro called Chotcagua]” (SLO-B 1643; Appendix E, Figure E-37)[2003:100].

Ties between Chotcagua and other settlements are shown in Appendix 2 Figures 5 through 9.

## **Chano**

The registers indicate the presence of two settlements named Chano, one near Islay Creek on the coast and one near San Simeon near the northern boundary of the Chumash, both of which supplied recruits to San Luis Obispo. The village was apparently abandoned early as a consequence of mission recruitment possibly as a result of its chief being chief at the mission. Later baptisms from this Chano are of people married into adjacent settlements.

Milliken and Johnson observed:

Chano was the first major village to send a significant number of people to Mission San Luis Obispo; by the end of 1776, 29 of its eventual 57 converts (35 adults) had moved to that mission (Appendix E, Figures E-34, 35, 38-

40). Miguel Robles (SLO-B 25) of Chano was identified as a godparent and “*Capitán de la Ranchería de dicha mission*” in a 1775 baptism (SLO-B 120; Appendix E, Figure E-38). These bits of evidence suggest that it was the closest major village to the mission. However, in 1792 Fr. Giribet baptized a young man “*natural de la Ranch.a de Chano, sita cerca de la Ranch.a de Scahuayo* [native of the ranchería of Chano, located near the ranchería of Scahuayo]” (SLO-B 1098; Appendix E, Figure E-40), providing what would appear to be convincing evidence that Chano was up the coast from Mission San Luis Obispo, probably in the Estero Point region. Later Mission-period references mention that the “*Campamento de Chano*” was the principal landing for ships that traded with Mission San Luis Obispo (Luis Martínez 1815-1825).<sup>27</sup> Of 12 identified pre-mission Chano out-marriages, three were to other Morro Bay region rancherías, two each were to Gmosmu in the inland Garcia Mountain region, two were to Sepjato in the San Luis Obispo Bay region, two were to Tsquieu in the Point Buchon region, and one each were to Chliquin in the San Luis Obispo Bay region and the southern rancherías of Ajuaps and Stemectatimi. After discussing all of this evidence, the two authors of this report disagree regarding the probable specific location of Chano. Johnson considers it probably that it was at Cayucos in the southern part of our Estero Point region, citing Giribet’s baptismal register entry and historical evidence that an important port for San Luis Obispo was once located in the Cayucos area (Angel 1883:341; Hoover et al. 1948:304). Milliken, on the other hand, believes that the original Chano ranchería was an interior Morro Bay region village on Chorro Creek or in the Los Osos Valley. Milliken explains later references to Chano further north as an indication that the village name eventually came to be used as a cover term for Estero Bay and the shoreline as far as Estero Point [2003:99].

King (1984:1-3a) located Chano just west of Avila Beach. Gibson (1992) and McLendon and Johnson (1999) placed it on the outer coast, south of Point Buchón and west of Pecho Creek. All three authorities based their locations upon Rosario Cooper’s general statement in the early twentieth century to the effect that a place called “Chhanu” was at a canyon west of See Canyon (Klar 1977:52; see also “Tshanu - arroyo between Avila and J. M. Soto ranch” in Greenwood 1972:83) [2003:99-100 footnote 28].

My latest maps indicate Chano was located near Pecho Creek on the basis of a study conducted by Larry Wilcoxon that John Johnson told me about. I am working on locating the source.

The following Chano baptisms are associated with a Chano located near Satahoyo which was on the Salinas River north of Santa Margarita. These people have ties to Llecmoni, Lhueque, and Tuaya located near the northern edge of Chumash territory and north of the area adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest. It is possible that some earlier baptisms (especially those of people married into Chotcagua and Sepcala) may be from the northern Chano. This Chano was apparently north of the areas adjacent to Forest Service lands.

Lb 1098, Lipsus, of Chano located near Satahoyo (Lc 931 of Chano) brother of Lb 1503 of Chano. Lb 1098 and Lb 1503 were sons of Lb 1661 mother of Lb 1554 of Llecmoni. Their father was Sucucuu also father of Lb 1375 of Llecmoni. Lb 1538 of Lhueque who transferred to San Miguel (Ld 2161) was a blind nephew of Lb 1098.

Lb 1065 of Chano was brother of Lb 1063 (Lc 949) of Topocolo. They were sons of Lb 1073 (Lc 939) of Llecmoni. Lb 1073 was also father of Lb 1147 (Lc 948) of Topocolo.

Lb 1146 (Lc 932) of Chano was father of Lb 1064 of Llecmoni. The mother of Lb 1064 was Lb 1089 (Lc 959) of Tuaya sited on the Nacimto River.

Lb 2016 of Chano was the wife of Lb 1974, of Ltue (Lm 549).

### ***Petpatsu***

Petpatsu had strong ties to Chano and Sepjato. Kinship ties indicate Petpatsu was a coastal settlement located between Sepjato and Chano.

Milliken and Johnson observed:

Petpatsu was a small hamlet that supplied 11 adults to Mission San Luis Obispo. Its temporal pattern of baptisms was similar to Chano; more than half its converts were baptized by the end of 1776. Three people recorded from Chano at baptism were identified with Petpatsu in their confirmation records. Mission register evidence points to numerous family ties to Chano, as well as family ties to Sepjato, Chliquin, and the interior ranchería of Gmosmu. Although mission registers give no clues regarding Petpatsu's location, it has been mapped on the coast between Avila Beach and Shell Beach by King (1984) and Gibson (1992), and on the coast further northwest at the mouth of Islay Creek by McLendon and Johnson (1999). A clue to the location of Petpatsu may be found in the name of the Mexican Period ranch *Pecho y Islay* which lay along the coast just south of Morro Bay. Klar (1993) notes that "pete" is the Northern Chumash word for "abalone." The rancho's coast, from Islay Creek to Point Buchon, includes good abalone habitat. The Spanish name *Pecho* may have been derived from its perceived similarity to the Northern Chumash name pete ....Petpatsu is thought to have been a coastal hamlet in the Islay Creek vicinity [2003:100].

### ***Tsquieu***

The village of Tsquieu was located at the beach and was probably in the vicinity of Pecho Rock and Pecho Creek between Sepjato at San Luis Bay and the village of Chano at Islay Creek. Pecho Creek was apparently named after Pecho Rock. The breast shaped rock was apparently also inspiration for the Chumash place name.

ct<sup>v</sup>iwi = chest, breast = Rancho del Pecho (Klar 1977:52).

Milliken and Johnson observed:

We have identified 37 baptized adults from ... the ranchería of Tsquieu. Fr. Tapis baptized a woman from “*Tsquieu, situada en la Playa* [Tsquieu, located at the beach]” in 1791 (SLO-B 931). Rosario Cooper remembered, “*Tst<sup>s</sup>cw c, rancho del Pecho*” [Harrington 1986, Reel 1, Frame 399]. On the basis of these clues, the village may have been at the mouth of Pecho Creek, five miles west of Avila Beach. Tsquieu sent people to Mission San Luis Obispo from 1781 to 1803; half the adults were baptized by October of 1788. One Tsquieu person was baptized at Mission La Purísima in 1803

... We agree with King (1984:1-3) and McLendon and Johnson (1999:31) in their placement of Tsquieu [2003:102].

## **Sepjato**

Buchon was chief of the San Luis Obispo area in 1769-1770. He died before baptism. His principal wife was Lb 1170 (Lc 989) of Chiliquin. Her children were Lb 246 of Sepjato (Lc 57 Chiliquin, Lb 318 (Lc 159 of Chiliquin and Lb 341 (Lc 343) of Chiliquin. Lb 82 was a ‘concubine’. Her son, Lb 8, was taken to Mexico by Anza (Bolton 1930: 453-4). Lb 82 had a vested right to Santa Margarita (Kenneally 1965: 205). Buchon apparently lived at Sepjato. In a 1772 letter, Palou called San Luis Obispo Bay the ‘Bay of El Buchón’ (Bolton 1926: IV: 22). The Avila Beach site was occupied during the historic period and is probably the location of Sepjato.

C<sup>h</sup>tpqatu, C<sup>h</sup>tpqata – “whale’s cave”(Klar 1977:52).

Lb 2150 Sepjato at the beach.

The village of Sepjato appears to have had its strongest kin ties with nearby coastal villages and the relatively large villages located to its east. Perhaps the lack of overlap between charts of people from Pismu and Chotcagua is the result of the basically northern emphasis in affiliation of the natives of Chotcagua and a southern and eastern emphasis at Sepjato.

Palou observed that “... the mission of San Luis, which was to be founded in the valley of Los Osos, territory of Chief Buchón, was delayed because of the lack of Soldiers” (Bolton 1926a: 359). This indicates that people from Sepjato probably camped in Los Osos Valley.

Johnson and Milliken concluded:

Klar (1977:52) has suggested that Sepjato is equivalent to the term “Tsipxatu = ‘whale’s cove [sic.]’,” documented by Harrington as a Northern Chumash

ranchería near Avila Beach. On the basis of these clues, we place Sepjato at Avila Beach, as did King (1984), Gibson (1992), and McLendon and Johnson (1999) [2003:103].

## ***Pismu***

During his first visit to Pismu on September 4, 1769, Portola noted: “We observed that the villages have a small number of inhabitants, and that these do not live in regular houses as [do the Indians] on the channel, but they are more docile (Smith and Teggart 1909: 61).”

At this time, Crespí observed: “...we found at the creek a village of some very poor heathens without a single house among them; they must have amounted to forty-some souls. They greeted us with a row of reed mats placed on the ground...(Brown n.d. : 24).

On their return on December 29, 1769, the Portola expedition camped at Pismu and was visited by the people of Buchón’s village who provided the expedition with a feast (Brown n.d. : 29).

On May 10, 1770, the second Portola expedition stayed in the vicinity of Pismu and were brought food by the people of Buchón’s village (Brown n.d. : 51).

The village name Pismu is listed in the early registers of San Luis Obispo mission.

Perhaps both Pismu = del Buchón (pismu= San Luis Chumash, tar ) and Chotcagua = El Morro (cagua= San Luis Chumash, dog. chot=San Luis Chumash, hole ?- perhaps referring to Morro rock as having a dog house like shape) became more important during the mission period because of their location near the road used by the Spaniards.

In the registers of San Luis Obispo mission after about 1780, Pismu was apparently equated with Sepjato, a large village located at Avila Beach, and may have been abandoned. Most people baptized as from Pismu are later listed in their confirmation entries as from Sepjato. The registers indicate that Pismu was a satellite of Sepjato and substantiate the association between Buchón and both Pismu and Sepjato. At least three men baptized as from families of Pismu natives became accolades at the mission. Other people baptized from Pismu were from important families as indicated by the positions of their members and their marriage ties. Pismu was between the village of Sepjato and the village of Chiliquin where Buchón’s principal wife resided (King 1984:41, A62). I have interpreted the tie between Buchon and his Chiliquin wife as indicating the presence of an alliance between two groups. Milliken and Johnson interpret it as a marriage tie uniting a single group.

Ties between Pismu and other settlements are shown in Appendix 2 Figures 1 through 4.



## **Satahoyo**

Satahoyo was located near the Salinas River north of Santa Margarita. It is the first settlement near the Salinas River in this list. The settlements that follow are listed roughly from north to south. Milliken and Johnson discussed the location of Satahoyo:

By examining early maps, Farris (2000) discovered that the Salinas River just north of Santa Margarita was once called the “Arroyo de Satagollo.” However, this fact does not necessarily imply that the ranchería of Sataoyo was located as far south as our Santa Margarita Region, so we have adjusted its position northward from that shown on the McLendon and Johnson map (cf. Figures 8 and 11) [2003:123].

## **Sceele**

The mother of Lb 1734 of Sceele was Mb 504 of La Assuncion. Sceele is identified with the place of **La Assuncion**. Sceele had ties north to Santa Ysabel (Lososquiquihe) and ties south to Chetpu and Chotnegle at Santa Margarita. It also had a north or south tie to Satahoyo. La Assuncion was located on the Salinas River.

Lb 2054 death entry of Lb 1990 of Lososquiquihe: “had been devoured by bears at the willow thicket of the place of la Assuncion” (Ld 1085). Lb 1677 lists Lososquiquihe as an equivalent of La Assuncion. At San Luis Obispo, baptisms Lb 1694 and Lb 2194 equate Lososquiquihe with Santa Ysabel. Lososquiquihe was apparently the next settlement north of or Sceele on the Salinas River and Lehueqe was to its north

Lb 1833 was baptized at La Assuncion. She was grandmother of brothers Lb 1760 and Lb 1838 of **Lhueque** [San Miguel Mission “*de Lhuejge rumbo de las Gallinas*” Martín on January 28, 1800 [SMI-B 295]. [Milliken and Johnson 2003:62].

## **Chetpu**

Two references in registers indicate that Chetpu was located at Santa Margarita: “place of gchetpu, vulgo Santa Margarita” (Ld 238) and “Sitpu (alias Santa Margarita)” (Pb 2284). The places of Chotnegle and Topomo were also equated with Santa Margarita. Close ties between Chetpu, Chotnegle, and Topomo indicate that people born at the different places often lived together. Baptism of Chetpu people at Chotnegle may indicate Chotnegle was more often occupied during the period of mission recruitment.

Lb 82 was the mother of Pedro, Lb 8 (Lm 147). Font said “Pedro son of the famous Capitan Buchon and an Indian woman, his concubine” (Bolton 1930:453-4). Kennaelly says Lb 82

had a vested right to Santa Margarita (1965:205). This information indicates an important tie between Chetpu and **Sejato**.

### ***Topomo***

Topomo had ties to Lososquiquihe, Tejami, Chetpu and Gmoxmu. It was apparently in the vicinity of Chetpu. It was equated with Santa Margarita : Lb 147 Topomo alias Santa Margarita.

### ***Chotnegle***

Chotnegle was closely tied to Chetpu and was apparently in the vicinity of Chetpu. Lb 1627 was baptized at Santa Margarita alias Chotnegle. She was mother of Lb 409, Sua, of Sepizali (Lc 361 of Chiliquin and Lb 413, Chul, (Lc 356) of Chiliquin.

Lb 1034 at Chotnegle of Chetpu (Lc 954 Chetpu).

### ***Gmoxmu***

The village of Gmoxmu was close to the Mission. Its pattern of recruitment was similar to Chano, Tsquieu and Sejato and it was probably located at a similar distance from the mission. Gmoxmu had ties to the villages of Sejato (7 or 8), Tsquieu (5), and Chetpu – Chotnegle (5), Chano (4), Quejetmimu (3), Chena (3), Tex (2), Chiliquin (2), and Petpatsu (2?). One tie has been identified between Gmoxmu and Tipexpa (Temacoco), Tipu, Teguie, Stemectatimi, Chulucucunax, and Ltipe. Milliken and Johnson placed it near the headwaters of the Salinas River (2003).

### ***Guejetmimu***

Guejetmimu was closely tied to Gmoxmu. It also had ties to the coastal settlements of Chano and Sejato. Perhaps it was a campsite near the mission. Ties to other settlements are listed in Appendix A.

### ***Chmonimo***

The dates of recruitment from Chmonimo indicate it was distant from San Luis Obispo. Its ties indicate it was located in the interior east of the Salinas River. It was possibly north of the forest boundary

### ***Chena, Chojuale, Tipu, and Tez***

The patterns of recruitment from these four settlements indicate they were located east of the villages listed along the Salinas River. At least some of these settlements were adjacent to or were in the eastern part of the Los Padres Forest in San Luis Obispo County.

One child was baptized at Carmel as of the Rancheria of Chojuen pertaining to the conquest of San Luis Obispo. She was Carmel baptism 2475 on May 20, 1804. Her father was Chojuis. The father's name is similar to the settlement name.

### ***Gmimu***

Gmimu, Cmimu, Tamimu, Squimimu, and Stamimu in the registers of San Luis Obispo Mission are possibly the same place.

Milliken and Johnson observed:

The terms "Sicpats" and "Gmimu" may be references to the Carrizo Plain in Salinan and Northern Chumash, respectively. Klar (1993) glossed Gmimu as "'*t-qmimu*' 'carrizo'," probably on the basis of Harrington's Obispeño notes. Harrington elicited "Sepk'áts' (carrizo, willow)" from Salinan María de los Angeles (Harrington [1980]: Box 3, file 1). Sicpats, said at Mission San Miguel to have been "*al oriente alla de Pel* [to the east beyond Pel]" (SMI-B 337), was probably in the northern portion of the region and may be an alias for the Tez group of Mission San Luis Obispo (see the Garcia Mountain section above for a discussion of the Tez ranchería). All groups of this region probably spent the dry months in the blue oak woodlands along San Rafael Creek in the southwest portion of the region [2003:123].

### ***Ttequie and Chulucucunash***

The late baptism of people from Ttequie and Chulucucunash indicate they were far from the mission. Chulucucunash was possibly located on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. In May of 1816, Father Martínez of Mission San Luis Obispo traveled eastward, with an escort of soldiers and Indian auxiliaries, to proselytize among the Yokuts villages. He first went to Lucluc, 28 leagues distant from the mission, at the edge of the plain; from there he went to Thuohuala [Wowol at Tulare Lake], about 9 leagues (Martínez in Cook 1960:271).

Milliken and Johnson observed:

At the village of Lucluc on the west side of the valley, Martínez encountered "about fifty Indians with their women and children." (The village name Lucluc appears in no other historic records; it may have been the

westernmost Wowol village or it may have been the eastern Coast Range village called Chulucucunach at Mission San Luis Obispo.)[2003:30].

I have found no data that indicates the location of Ttequie other than its exclusively late recruitment and its ties to other settlements. Milliken and Johnson chose to group Ttequie and Tez together.

## **Santa Lucia Ranger District, Southern Portion: Central Chumash Locations**

The boundary between the Central and Northern Chumash is not well documented. I have included the Arroyo Grande watershed, Guasna Creek and other settlements on the Santa Maria River drainage and the area between them as the northern most Central Chumash settlements. This is based on frequencies of ties between settlements, the pattern of recruitment at San Luis Obispo and recruitment from the area by La Purisima Mission where the languages were Central Chumash. Twenty four people were baptized from Guasna and ten were baptized from Nipomo at La Purisima Mission. When the distance from La Purisima and San Luis Obispo Missions is compared and the rates of baptism from interior settlements is compared it appears that San Luis Obispo recruited later in the area than would be expected if they were part of the same group as villages to their north.

### ***Chmoli***

San Luis Obispo baptism 2070 identifies Chmoli as located at Arroyo Grande. Baptisms from Chliquin also at Arroyo Grande tend to come in before those from Chmoli. Chmoli was probably away from the road and upstream from Chliquin.

Milliken and Johnson observed:

The pattern of Chmoli baptisms was like that of Chliquin and Stemetatimi. People joined Mission San Luis Obispo over the long period from 1773 to 1803, with fewer than half of them baptized by 1794. The last Mission San Luis Obispo Baptismal Register entry for the group, in 1804, is for a person “*de la Ranhería Etsmoli en el Arroyo Grande* [of Etsmol: Ranhería on the Arroyo Grande]” (SLO-B 2070). The ranhería had only five identifiable pre-mission marriages, two to Stemetatimi, one to Sepjato, one to Ajuaps to the south, and to one to Elmismey far inland to the northeast. Additional nuclear family links are indicated to Stemetatimi and Chano. King (1984) located Chmoli 19 miles east of Pismo Beach at Pozo. Gibson (1992) located it 7 miles east of Pismo Beach, in the headwaters of Arroyo Grande. McLendon and Johnson (1999) located Chmoli, with a question mark, along the middle course of Arroyo Grande about four miles from the beach. Because Chmoli is closely associated through family ties with Stemetatimi

on Los Berros Creek we suggest that it was in the Lopez Lake vicinity on Arroyo Grande Creek [2003:103].

### ***Chiliquin***

San Luis Obispo death 642 says Sclegin was next to the Arroyo Grande.

Milliken and Johnson observed:

The ranchería of Chliquin sent some people to Mission San Luis Obispo during the 1773-1781 period, but its neophyte conversions did not reach the half-way point until more than a decade later in 1793. This pattern of baptisms over time is similar to Chmoli, also in the San Luis Obispo Bay region, and Stemetatimi on Berros Creek just to the south. Chliquin's seven permission outmarriages include two ties to Gmosmu further east and one each to Chano, Sepjato, and the more southerly towns of Stemetatimi, Guasna, and Nauco.

King (1984) and Gibson (1992) placed Chliquin on Arroyo Grande about five miles inland from the beach. McLendon and Johnson placed it, with a question mark, 10 miles inland, on the headwater area of Arroyo Grande where Lopez Lake now lies. If Chliquin was Chief Buchón's village, it was probably on lower Arroyo Grande Creek [2003:103].

### ***Guasna***

Guasna was probably located on the Huasna land grant on Huasna Creek.

Maria Solares told two stories that placed the road to the sky near Huasna. In the story of Anucwa, two sisters traveled to sun's house in the sky. When they left home they first "left for Huasna, for somewhere in that region is the path that climbs up to the sky" In another story Coyote and Momoy's grandson traveled north to Huasna where he and Coyote found the road that leads to the sky (Blackburn 1975:235, 130). Apparently Guasna was perceived by the Central Chumash at Santa Ynez as being near the edge of the world,

### ***Guenejel***

Guenejel was described by Tapis as being 12 leagues from the site of Santa Ynez Mission and having 50 houses in 1798 (Englehardt 1932). Eighty seven people were baptized at La Purisima from Guenejel and one each at San Luis Obispo and San Miguel Missions. The large historic village site on the lower Cuyama River called Wâ-lê-khe by Schumacher was probably the site of Guenejel (Schumacher 1875:343).

At La Purisima, Guenejel had marriage ties to Snicehue (4), Ajuaps (5), Stemectatimi, Naucu, Guasna, Sjuahuilimu, and Asaju.

The La Purisima 1814 padron was organized by village names. The index to the padron is a list of settlements in the order they are contained in the padron. In places where settlement locations are known the names follow in order in groups. The list starts at Gaviota and follows the coast to the west and the north including nearby interior settlements. After listing villages in the Casmalia –Los Alamos area it continues with : Nipomo, Silegini.[Chiliquin], Esqueue [Tsquieu], Xujuale [Chujuale], Esgeliulimu [Sjuahulimu], Laxauato [Lisahuato]. Coouxup, Ejpe [Geguep], Uasna [Guasna], **Uenejel**, [Guenejel] Esniceue [Snicehue], Sisuou, Cuiam, Guaslaic, Aguam and Jonjonata. The list continues with other Santa Ynez Valley settlements, settlements on the coast east of Gaviota and concludes with villages on Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands. The order of the list provides information concerning the locations of otherwise unlocated settlements.

### **Sishuohyo**

siswow P. in the thick tule (Applegate 1975:42).

Fernando Librado provided information to Harrington concerning Sishuohyo:

After telling about Old Santa Maria, Fernando gave the following information. '*asoskwa* is the Purisemeño name of a village that was at the mouth of a canyon where one goes into San Emigido Canyon. There is a new church built there, but the village was on the other side of the church.

There used to be an abundance of wild horses up there, and they would get into '*asoskwa* canyon and run up until they got into Canada la Larga [Tepesquet Canyon]. When would start drive from Guadalupe to Avantar, once in a time all the vaqueros in the country would get together and build long lines of fences and commence at the head of the Canada la Larga and the men would string out and drive everything in sight before them. ... '*asoskwa* means in the Purisemeño language, Spanish "paraje," English "stopping place." This is the same name which is still used in the form of Sisquoc. The canyon was long, and it comes far from the east and passed the Julian Foxen Ranch, and a little lower down passed the church and the old village site [pre indexed Harrington notes].

Harrington also gave the transcription *siswa*'

The 1798 Goycochean and Tapis list included Sishuohuo and said it had eight houses and was nine leagues from the site of SantaYnez Mission (Englehardt 1932). Five people were baptized at La Purisima Mission from Sishuohyo. It was possibly not a permanent settlement..

## **Lonsococ**

On July 20, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

... we came upon another [village] called Olomosong [Olomosoug], consisting of three houses. In this village there are living 2 old women and 4 young women with the chief. Here I baptized 2 old women one of eighty years, the other of seventy [Cook 1960:245].

Only two people were baptized at Santa Ynez Mission from Lonsococ. The Zalvidea diary does not provide information concerning the specific location of the site. It was near the Sisquoc River.

## **Ahuam**

Twenty baptisms at Santa Ynez Mission, seven at Santa Barbara, seven at La Purisima and two at San Luis Obispo. Johnson and King have both placed this village that has no specific location information in the Sisquoc River drainage. The presence of historic sites within the Los Padres Forest indicate it was within the forest.

Merriam lists: “Me-wah’-wan, at the base of a big white mountain in the San Rafael Mountains, about twelve or thirteen miles north of Santa Ynez” (Merriam 1967:252). This is probably the same place as Ahuam

The La Purisima 1814 padron was organized by village names. The index to the padron is a list of settlements in the order they are contained in the padron. In places where settlement locations are known the names follow in order in groups. The list starts at Gaviota and follows the coast to the west and the north including nearby interior settlements. After listing villages in the Casmalia –Los Alamos area it continues with: Nipomo [Lachito?], Silegini.[Chiliquin], Esqueue [Tsquieu], Xujuale [Chujuale], Esgeliulimu [Sjuahulimu], Laxauato [Lisahuato]. Coouxup, Ejpe [Geguep], Uasna [Guasna], Uenejel, [Guenejel] Esniceue [Snicehue], Sisuou [Sishuuohyo], Cuiam, Guaslaic, **Aguam** and Jonjonata. The list continues with other Santa Ynez Valley settlements, settlements on the coast east of Gaviota and concludes with villages on Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands. The order of the list provides clues concerning the locations of otherwise unlocated settlements.

## **Siuhuil**

McLendon and Johnson place *Siwl* in the interior mountains in the upper Sisquoc River drainage (1999: Vol 2 Appendix V111-5).

There were two baptisms at Santa Ynez Mission, and six at La Purisima Mission.

## ***Gequep***

There were twenty three baptisms form Geguep at Santa Ynez Mission, one at Santa Barbara, nine at La Purisima and possibly one at San Luis Obispo.

On July 21, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

... we came to a village of five houses inhabited by 4 men and 7 women. In this village called Gecp, I baptized 2 old women of eighty to ninety years [Cook 1960:245].

Harrington unindexed notes concerning heKèp: “heKèp – back of Santa Maria in Mountains towards the Cuyama – formerly ‘ap’anish [village] muy grande, but almost everyone was a hechicero [sorcerer].”

Taylor California Farmer August 21, 1863: Near Santa Inez were ... Geguep ...

Johnson places this settlement on the Sisquoc River where I indicate Ahuam. I place it according to my reading of Cook’s translation of Zalvidea’s diary and the above information from the Harrington notes.

## ***Sjuahuilimu***

Sjuahuilimu is the first Cuyama Valley settlement listed here. The list continues east across the Cuyama Valley into the Mount Pinos District and ends at the eastern edge of the Mount Pinos District.

On July 22, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

... we reached the village of Talihuilimit [Jalihuilimu] where I baptized 3 old women the first of sixty years one of whose leg was paralyzed... This woman has a son at Santa Ynez. The second may have been sixty-five years old and had been bitten in the hip by a bear. She has a Christian son at La Purisima. The third whom I baptized might have been over one hundred years old... This village may contain 25 heathen Indians. I baptized 3 old women of seventy to eighty years old and one old man of the same age [Cook 1960:245].

J.P. Harrington unindexed notes: sqaliwilimu’ = up La Paleta way.

## ***Lisahuato***

On July 22, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:



This village [Lisahua] consists of 28 heathens of whom I baptized 5: 4 extremely old women and one old man. ... Near this village flows a stream of water like that at Mission San Fernando. The land is arid and saline. There is no grass or timber [Cook 1960:245].

Lb 1819 of **Secto** transferred to La Purisma where he was listed as of Lisahuato. He was the only person baptized at San Luis Obispo from Secto.

### ***Siguicon***

On July 23, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

Four leagues south of this village [Cuia] is the village of Siguicin [Siguicon]. The later has 10 men, 19 women, and a few children. I baptized here 2 old women, one of more than one hundred, the other of seventy, years of age. In these two last villages there are two little wells. The country is arid and alkaline and there are no trees in the neighborhood [Cook 1960:245].

J.P. Harrington, Fernando Librado [unindexed]: tsiwiko'n: A place over by Tejon or La Paleta.

### ***Coouxup***

This is possibly the same place described by Kroeber as Hoschiu a Yokuts village on Bitterwater Creek. Alternatively it may be in the vicinity of Painted Rock or the Washburn Ranch in the Carrizo Plains.

The La Purisima 1814 padron was organized by village names. The index to the padron is a list of settlements in the order they are contained in the padron. In places where settlement locations are known the names follow in order in groups. The list starts at Gaviota and follows the coast to the west and the north including nearby interior settlements. After listing villages in the Casmalia –Los Alamos area it continues with : Nipomo, Silegini.[Chiliquin], Esqueue [Tsquieu], Xujuale [Chujuale], Esgeliulimu [Sjuahulimu], Laxauato [Lisahuato]. **Coouxup**, Ejpe [Geguep], Uasna [Guasna], Uenejel, [Guenejel] Esniceue, Sisuou, Cuiam, Guaslaic, Aguam and Jonjonata. The list continues with other Santa Ynez Valley settlements, settlements on the coast east of Gaviota and concludes with villages on Santa Rosa and San Miguel Islands. The order of the list provides information concerning the locations of otherwise unlocated settlements.

## Mt. Pinos Ranger District: Central Chumash Locations

### **Cuyam**

JPH unindexed: *kujam* – on ranch of Don Alexandro Godóy near ranch of Gaspar Oreña.

On July 23, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

... we found a village called Cuia, with nine houses and 14 men, 19 women , 8 children, all heathen. I baptized here 5 old women and 2 old men. ... Near the village are three small springs which are of little consequence. The land is arid, saline, and without any timber in the vicinity [Cook 1960:245].

Later in the day, Zalvidea noted at Siguicon that there were wells at Cuyam and Siguicon (Cook 1960:245).

Strong excavated at the historic site of Cuyam SBA-556 on the Cuyama Ranch (Strong 1935:

### **Achiliguo**

In 1805, Tapis wrote:

... in April 1801 a certain **Lihuiasu** came with six others from **Atsililihu** and **Sihuicon** to set fire at night to Eljman, where they killed five persons and wounded two, because the heathens there were relatives or friends of Temiacucat chief of the Cuyamu rancheria belonging to Dos Pueblos, whom they thought to be the author of the epidemic of the dolor de costado [Engelhardt 1932:7]

Two people were baptized at Santa Barbara Mission from Achiliguo. It may be one of the sites excavated in by Strong east of Cuyama (1935), an historic site in the upper Sisquoc River drainage or an undiscovered site.

### **Sgene**

Spanish La Paleta means shoulder blade. Fernando told Harrington that Ventureno call back *mitoŋko'j* or *lijek' sip'que'n* (=en medio de las paletas). Apparently the Spanish name La Paleta is a translation of the Chumash word for shoulder blade. Fernando said *sqenen* = La Paleta on the way to Tejon. Kroeber 1925 gave the Yokuts name Gapisiau for La Paleta. Juan José Olivas told Harrington that *kaseqenen* was the name for La Pateta.

On July 24, 1806 Zalvidea wrote:

... we reached the village of Sgene. This village consists of 7 men, 16 women and 3 children. I baptized 3 old women of seventy to eighty years old and one old man of the same age [Cook 1960:245].

### ***Malapuán***

On July 24, 1806, Zalvidea wrote:

... we encountered the village called Malapoa, which has 29 men, 22 women, and 8 children. I baptized at this village an old woman of eighty years ... The territory covered today is arid without herbage or trees. In the afternoon of this day I went out with the Lieutenant and a few soldiers to a little settlement of Indians belonging to the village of Napolea, the settlement being three leagues from the village. There is a small spring a league from the village of Napolea and on the way from Napolea to the little settlement there are lands good for sowing crops. One can see mountains which have a few pine trees and in the near-by hills there is some pasturage. In the little ranch mentioned I baptized five old women and one old man. ... A league away from this settlement one sees a range of mountains on which pine forests are growing [Cook 1960:245].

Malapuan was probably on Santiago Creek.

### ***Tashlipun***

Harrington place name notes: tashlipum – San Emigdio. Jam. [Kitanemuk] kukawpea. Both José Juan Olivas and Juan Lozada knew Alejandro Godoy.

On August 4, 1806, Zalvidea wrote:

... we entered a canyon where some years ago the Indians killed two soldiers. At the entrance of this canyon a stream of water flows out carrying a quantity equal to the San Gabriel River. Soon we came to a village of five houses called Taslupi, but at present there are no Indians living on it [Cook 1960:247].

Merriam recorded: Tash'-le-poom. Chumash tribe at San Emigdio. Closely related to Santa Barbara Chumash (Merriam 1967:436).

Luisa told Harrington:

Luisa Ignacia volunteers that the San Emigdio Indians were brought in great numbers to Ventura. They talked the dialect resembling but not identical with Ventureño – different. But Luisa understands most words. It was not Tulareño but a dialect of Chumashan.

Santa Barbara Mission maintained a station at San Emigdio. An 1824 account by Pablo de la Portilla mentions the station:

..., we went toward the place called San Emigdio, a ranch of Santa Barbara Mission, ... San Emigdio is 9 leagues from the exit of Grapevine Canyon 5 or 6 from the lake [Buena Vista Lake] [Cook 1962:155].

The 1851 Tejon Treaty chief of San Imirio was Jose Maria. An 1856 census of the Tejon reserve indicates that there were 7 boys, 16 men, 9 girls and 12 women = 43 people from or at Jose's San Emigdio settlement.

### ***Tacoya, Tacui***

Tacui was located on Tacoya Creek one league west from Grapevine Canyon

On July 29, 1806, Zalvidea wrote:

... the village of Tacui lies in a valley. It consists of twenty-three souls. There I baptized two old men [Cook 1960:246].

Johnson discussed the one Ventura baptism from Tacui. He was baptized by Zalvidea during his 1806 visit (2000:25).

### ***Matapjuelejuel***

John Johnson has summarized information concerning this settlement that was located at the mouth of Grapevine Canyon. He notes that two baptisms from the settlement indicate it was occupied in 1759 and 1788. The 1806 Zalvidea and Moraga expeditions apparently observed no settlement at the location. A baptism at San Fernando Mission indicates the settlement was occupied in 1827. The community was occupied between 1840-1860 according to historic records (Johnson 2000).

Archaeological site KER-4465 is the remains of the settlement.

The 1851 Tejon Treaty chief of Uvas was Antonio. An 1856 census of the Tejon reserve indicates that there were 15 boys, 28 men, 14 girls and 22 women = 79 people living at Las Uvas.

### ***Cashtec***

On August 29, 1790, two soldiers who were part of an expedition to capture a runaway neophyte named Domingo were killed by Indians. On September 17, 1790, an expedition

was sent out to apprehend the guilty Indians. Thirteen days later the expedition returned with two non-Christian captives, Soxollne of the rancheria of Tasicoo and Samala little chief of the rancheria called Siza. Later Domingo surrendered himself. Interrogation of the three captives provides information concerning the Cashtec area prior to recruitment at Spanish missions.

Indians of the rancheria of Najalayegua had killed two Indian men and one woman and their kinsmen organized a group to take vengeance. Fifty-eight Indians comprised the war party. Thirty-nine were from the village of Cashtec. Loasi (at Kern Lake) a Yokuts village with 28 houses in 1806 contributed a chief who led the expedition and seven other warriors.

The composition of the group indicates close connections between the interior "Ventureño" Chumash settlements Cashtec, Tashlipun, Matapuan, Sespe and Sisa. It also indicates ties between the Chumash and the Yokuts people of Kern [Loasi] and Buenavista [Mitunami] Lakes. The Chumash names Mismisaq and Tasicoo are of settlements in the Cashtec Chumash or Tataviam area. One or both, may be the Chumash names of Tataviam settlements.

Tashlipu with five houses in 1806 contributed four men. The soldiers were killed in the near vicinity of Tashlipum. If Cashtec participated to the same degree as Taslipum, the thirty-nine warriors from Cashtec indicate that the village of Cashtec had forty-nine houses and a population of over 240 people.

**Table 10**  
**Settlements Mentioned in Investigation of 1790 Incident**

Settlement	Participants	Notes	1806 size
Castec	39		-moderate sized
Loasi	8	chief who lead expedition	28 houses
Taxlipu	4		5 houses
Cecpei	3		
Tasicoo	1	Soxollne, Captive	
Mismisaq	1		
Mitunami	1		218
Matapuán	1	called Tueuchaná one who arranges campaigns	59 people
	58		
Siza		little chief Samalla, Captive	
Tinoqui			

Source: Mexico, Archivo General de la Nacion - Californias. Volume 46, reel 40 f. 2-20. Microfilm at Bancroft Library.

On August 7, 1806, Zalvidea traveled along the San Andreas Rift Zone between San Emigido Creek and the Antelope Valley. Zalvidea made a detour to the NE to visit the village of Cashtec:

I went out with the sergant and seven soldiers to the village of Casteque. We found no Indians for they were all away at their fields of Guata [wata = Serrano for Juniper Berries][Cook 1960:247].

On November 1, 1806 the Moraga Expedition reached the top of Grapevine Canyon. Father Pedro Muñoz observed:

... we found the source of the stream. It is a marsh well covered with grass. The open area may be entered by a valley filled with oak trees. At the end of it one sees a lake which however is pure salt water. To the east is located a moderate-sized village, the Indians of which seemed to us altogether too cunning and crafty in trading [Cook 1960:253].

Moderate sized villages visited by the 1806 Moraga Expedition contained around 200 people. This is consistent with the estimate of 240 people derived from the number of warriors who participated in the 1790 attack.

Eugenia Mendez told Harrington that the Fernandeano name of Cashtec was *ats̄nga*. Perhaps Siutasegena was the Tataviam name of Cashtec.

According to the 1851 Tejon Treaty, Rafael was the chief of Castake. Johnson has identified Raphael as a Tataviam man (1997:263).

John Johnson wrote an article discussing the location of Cashtec and its relevance to understanding ethnographic and linguistic data (1978).

Archaeological site KER-307 contained many historic period artifacts and is the remains of the village of Cashtec (Jennings 1976).

### ***Suijuiyos***

Suijuiyos was probably in the upper Piru drainage. In 1806, people of Cashtec led the Moraga Expedition to a village on the trail to San Fernando.

... we came to another of the same size but hidden among ravines and badlands. The number of inhabitants could not be determined because they were absent at a fiesta in another village nearby [Cook 1960:253].

Most Suijuiyos baptisms were at San Fernando Mission and most Cashtec baptisms were at San Buenaventura Mission. Suijuiyos had ties to Cashtec. The three Cashtec baptisms at San Fernando include two sisters baptized in 1837 whose parents were from Suijuiyos. Johnson notes that Raphael and “Chico” were co-chiefs of the “Surillo” or “Cartaka” [*sic*] tribe in 1862. He notes this referred to the Suijuiyos and Cashtec settlements (Johnson 1997:264, 286). Possibly Cashtec and Suijuiyos were seasonal settlements of the same people.

### ***Tachicoyo***

Soxoline from Tasicoo who participated in killing soldiers in 1790 was one of two non-Christians taken captive. On September 28, 1790, 8 year old Sebastian Antonio Sumgiyuqui of Tachicoyo was baptized at Ventura Mission (Vb1 537). He was the only person baptized from the settlement. The time of baptism corresponds to the period that the September 1790 expedition to apprehend Indians was conducted, and he was probably baptized during the expedition. No entries for his death or marriage were found at Ventura. Perhaps Sebastian Antonio transferred to another mission. He was baptized on the same day as his sister, the only Tacuyaman baptism at Ventura Vb1 538.

Vb 538, Japutammegue, of Tacuyaman [the Chumash name for the Tataviam settlement of Chaguayanga in Santa Clarita] was daughter of a Cashtec father and sister of Vb 537, Sumgiyuqui, son of a dead father of **Tachicoyo**; his mother was Sicsayeulelene of **Sespe**. Possibly Tachicoyo is the Chumash name of a Tataviam rancheria such as Tochonanga whose Chumash name is not known.

In January 1788, Sargent Pablo Cota led twelve soldiers into the mountains somewhere northwest of San Fernando to recapture Domingo, a refugee. The natives of Tachicoó village were frightened and a battle ensued in which three soldiers and eight Indians were wounded and three Indians killed [Forbes 1966:142].

Tochononga was located in the mountains northwest of San Fernando and may be the same as place as Tachicoyo. When Harrington asked about Tachecoyo, Jose Juan Olivos told him tats'ik'oho was over by Los Alamos somewhere here in the Tejon Ranch. It is therefore included in the list here.

### ***Tshipowhi***

José Juan Olivos told Harrington that *tshipowhi* was at La Pastoria. It was a village at the mouth of Pastoria Creek inhabited by Castequeño and other Indians in Spanish times.

### ***Mismisaq***

Mismisaq- mentioned in 1790 list of participants in attack on Spaniards near Tashlipun.[note Elmismey at San Luis Obispo]. The location of this possible Tejon area settlement is not known.

### ***Matapjahua***

Vb Matapjahua. This place was known to Harrington's Tejon consultants. The location was apparently not visited by Spanish expeditions.

Matapjahua means place of the fox *ha'w* according to Harrington consultant Jose Juan Olivas (Jam. paKahung= reed place). Mat'apqa'w – up Piru Creek in an area of a large Cienega. Most of Harrington's information concerning this place came from Eugenia. Fernando did not know the place.

Eug locates it clearly on the same arroyo as the Piro. You go down the arroyo from mat'apqaw and without passing any ridge at all you reach Piro. It is over west of La Liebre. Mat'apqa'w is a great cienega that extends far up and down the creek. An American whose name Eug does not know, has lived there for many years, raising potatoes. In former times when the arroyo at mat'apqa'w was high, one could not cross it. A great volume of water ran down to El Piro, thence to Saticoy and to the sea.

I asked Eugenia if she knows the name of the big mountain immediately back of el Piru. Eugenia says that mountain is called KihKitKing. The trail that led from the Piro to mat'ap qaw ascended that mountain going straight up. The trail was all hidden with chamiso. It was steep , muy feo. It is a big



mountain. When I ask whether it was this side or the other of El Piro Creek, Eug says it was this [Tejon?] side. Es nombre de ellos, a V. name.

John Johnson has identified the location indicated on the map on the basis of historic and ethnographic information.

## Santa Barbara Ranger District: Central Chumash Locations

### Santa Ynez Valley

The following table lists sixteen Santa Ynez Valley settlements that are on or near the Los Padres Santa Barbara Ranger District. The information is taken from Johnson (1988:98, 99) and McLendon and Johnson (1999 A VIII-7). The table lists villages from west to east on the northern side of the Santa Ynez Valley. It then lists the villages on the south side and on the Santa Ynez River from west to east.

**Table 11**  
**Santa Ynez Valley Chumash Settlements in and adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest**

Settlement	Chumash name	Translation of Name	Site	# of Bapt	1797 Houses
Jonjonata	xonxon'ata	tall oak	SBA-235	98	16
Sotonocmu	soxtonokmu	?	SBA-167 & 564	193	50
Aqitsumu	'aqitsu'm	sign, landmark, boundary	SBA-809	98	20
Stucu	stuk	wooden bowl	SBA-1645?	111	25
Huililik	wililik'	<i>Baccharis plummerae</i>	SBA-871?	52	8
Sajcaya	saq'ka'ya	?	SBA-1283?	37	-
Najue	naxuwi	meadow	SBA-1183?	106	20
Calahuasa	kalawashaq'	turtle shell (?)	SBA-516	182	30
Tegueps	teqepsh	seed-beater	SBA-477	180	25
Elijman	he'lxman	the chaparral mallow	SBA-485	22	10
Huisap	wishap	yerba santa	SBA-865?	56	-
Miasapa	mi'asap?	antlers place (?)	SBA-842?	25	-
Snojoso	shnoxsh	its nose, point of land	SBA-123?	31	-
Snihuaj	shniwax	crossroad	SBA-823?	83	-
Siguaya	siwaya	suwa'ja = to hang, earrings?	SBA-1800	35	-
Snajalayegua	shnaxalyiwi	?	SBA-1309	106	-

Johnson's detailed ethnohistoric studies of settlements in the area and his dissertation provide information concerning Santa Ynez Valley area settlements. Details concerning the settlements listed above can be found in Johnson (1984, 1987 and 1988).

### ***Santa Barbara Coast***

The following are places along the Santa Barbara Coast. The list begins at Gaviota and continues east to Carpinteria. This listing of coastal places includes places that are not listed in mission registers. Some are places were listed by Cabrillo and others are places mentioned by consultants as settlements to Alexander Taylor and John Harrington. Alan Brown's study of the population of coastal Chumash villages contains additional information concerning settlements occupied during the period of the Portola expeditions and the period of mission recruitment (Brown 1967). The original Crespi diaries also contain important information not included in the following summaries (Brown 2001).

**Nomigo** - Harrington from Fernando - 'onomyo. Pico-Henshaw 5 *La gaviota* Onomio

*O-no'-mu-o.* - The Spanish name gaviota means seagull. Crespi notes that the soldiers call the place Gaviota because they had killed a seagull there (Brown 2001:651). The Chumash word for seagull is listed by Pinart as - Inzeño - *aneso*, Ventureño - *anesô*, Barbareño - *aniso* and Purisimeño - *côlo* [Island Chumash].

Fernando Librado told Harrington he: "knew an Indian named 'onot' (Torivino) for La Gaviota. Harrington listed Santa Barbara register entries Onosyot and Anosio for '*onomjo*'. The La Purisima registers list Nomigo and the San Luis Obispo registers list Lomio [Lb 561, 566]. The names may all mean seagull in Chumash languages spoken at the different missions. Alternatively, and probably, Johnson has suggested that *nomyo* might mean canyon (1988:93).

Archaeological site SBa-97 is part of the historic settlement of Nomigo.

In 1769 Crespi described a political leader El Loco from Nomigo who traveled with the Portola expedition to and from the Pismo area and arranged for the expedition to be fed (King 1984: I-38 and Brown 2001).

**Lehpew** - lehpew = P. 'the white one', village at Canada del Cemeterio (Applegate 1975:34)

SBa-95 and 2038 are sites that may be the remains of Lehpew.

**Uctc'ymatc'mu** - uctc'ymatc'mu - 'cemetery'

Harrington notes: Fernando Librado: There was an Indian village at Alcatraz, just east of Gaviota where oil works are now. That village was called uctc'ymatc'mu that means cemetery. The Indians named that village after the cemetery there, but why, Fernando does not know.

In 1776, Font observed an abandoned village "which had nothing but the cemetery" between La Quemada and Gaviota (Bolton 1931:262). This cemetery may have been part of the remains of the village of uctc'ymatc'mu or Tuqmu. The next canyon west of Alcatraz is called Cañada del Cementario (Cemetery Canyon in Spanish).

Archaeological sites in area include SBA-94, 1870 and 2189 ?. Stephen Bowers excavated extensively at Cemetery Canyon in 1876-1878 (Benson 1982:68, 76, 176-177).

**Hyp'i mehweneec** - Fernando in Harrington unindexed notes: There was a small Indian village at Piedras de Molar Canyon. Which means in Spanish grindstone or sharpening stone canyon. The Indian name is qyp'i meqweneec which means the same as the Spanish name. This Indian name is in the Santa Barbara language. Both Santa Barbara and Cruzeno were talked at this village. This was possibly a post-secularization settlement

**Tucumu** - tuḥmu'. village at Arroyo Hondo (Applegate 1975:45). Pico-Henshaw 7 *Arroyo ondo* Tujmu, Tu'k'-mu

Alexander Taylor reported in the California Farmer (April 17, 1863) : "Tucumu or playa of Arroyo Hondo."

One of the mainland coast Chumash town names listed in the narrative of the 1542 A.D. Cabrillo expedition was Tucumu (Wagner 1929: 86).

Harrington notes: Fernando Librado: Tuqmu was Arroyo Hondo; it means "as long as there is anyone living there, I have a right to harvest whatever there is." Fernando also identified Tuqmu with the "rancho de piedra (Pedro) Ortega." He said both Cruzeno and Santa Barbara dialects were talked there. Juan Justo also identified Tuqmu with Arroyo Hondo.

Tuḥmu and some of the other villages that can be identified with names in the Cabrillo lists were apparently abandoned prior to the 1769 Portola land expedition (King 1975: 172). Tuḥmu is not listed in the registers of any of the missions that recruited from the coastal villages of Nomgio at Gaviota and Sisuchi at Quemada located respectively west and east of Arroyo Hondo and was therefore probably abandoned before the period when the missions recruited from villages in the area.

Silverio Konoyo apparently spent the last years of his life at Tuḥmu. Described as being very old in 1855, Silverio was a Santa Rosa Island Indian, a fishing partner of José Venadero (Hudson, Timbrook , and Rempe, 1978:178), and a member of the Brotherhood of the Canoe.

Silverio was also one of the men who took part in the disastrous voyage from Cojo to San Miguel Island around 1815. He was in one of two boats that returned. *Konoyo* means “always green” (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe, 1978:149). In 1855, Silverio, Aniceto (a Santa Barbara Indian), Pedro Ortega (Anacito’s brother-in-law), and Jose Manuel constructed a dugout at Arroyo Hondo (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe, 1978:170). In 1857, Silverio was said to be living in a hut on the lower end of Arroyo Hondo (McGowan 1857:77).

Villages such as Tuhmu that were named in the Cabrillo logs but were not occupied in or after 1769 are of particular interest because of their early abandonment. It is possible that SBA-1151, 1982 or another other site near the mouth of Arroyo Hondo is the remains of Tuqmu.

**Sisuchi, Achi** - shushutshi shishuch’i’ = B. ‘den of the woodrat’, village at Arroyo Quemada (Applegate 1975:41). Pico-Henshaw 8 *La quemada* Shushuch,y, Cú-cu-tcí. Henshaw list C. 8. Su-su-tej (Heizer 1955:199).

Taylor California Farmer 13,22: The following of these rancherias we had located by an old Indian Martin, now sixty years old --- Sisichii, in Dos Pueblos, Sauchu or the Quemada, Sisuchi, Situchi, Sisichi.

At La Purisima Mission the village was called Achi and at San Luis Obispo Mission confirmation 492 lists Vache.

Sisuchi is listed in the Cabrillo narrative as Susuquei (Wagner 1929:86).

Sisuchi was a Mission Period village located at Arroyo Quemado (Brown 1967:22-23).

Harrington notes: Juan Justo shishutsh’i’i and shushutsh’i’ = La Quemada. Fernando Librado: *cuqkujni* means “burned.” The B. word *ashushto* means ‘burned’. The B. Indians called Pot rests *ashushto*. They used three. The I. *shushushtoj*, meaning burned. ‘*ashushto* in I. means a stone with a hole in it used for cooking acorn mush. The V. call this kind of stone *shushto*’. This name is applied to the Rancho de Don Pedro Barron a Frenchman. Cañada de la Quemada old Indian name. Shushítshi = La Quemada, between Arroyo Hondo and Tajiguas.

During the protohistoric period, it appears that many small settlements were abandoned at the same that time large centers were growing. During many prehistoric time periods populations were more dispersed among small settlements than after 1769. Along the coast, the distance between most settlements was probably less than four miles. People would usually travel only a mile and a half and at most four miles to reach the boundary with the next village area. Given these conditions there was little need for camps other than day use areas along the coastal terrace.

Table 12 lists villages between Arroyo Hondo and Refugio and the times that historic documents indicate they were occupied.

**Table 12**  
**Protohistoric and Historic Settlements**

Village	Location	References to Villages in Historic Sources				
		1542	1769-70	1776	Missions	1796 Census
Tuqmu	Arroyo Hondo	Yes	-	-	-	-
Sisuchi	Arroyo Quemado	Yes	-	small	Yes	250 people
Tajiguas	Tajiguas Creek	-	400 people	abandoned	-	-
Casil	Cañada del Refugio	Yes	abandoned	new	Yes	142 people

Historic and ethnographic information document the founding of new villages and the abandonment of others as a result of wars with powerful neighbors. This information indicates that, although villages were occupied throughout the year, villages did change location as the result of warfare and other causes.

The villages of Casil and Sisuchi were recorded as the birthplaces of many Indians baptized at Santa Barbara, La Purisima and Santa Ynez missions. The villages of Sisuchi and Casil apparently grew as a result of immigration during the Spanish conquest of the region. This growth occurred while other coastal villages were decreasing in size largely as a result of increased mortality from disease and recruitment into Spanish missions. Sisuchi and Casil were apparently occupied in 1542 since their names appear in lists of Chumash village names made by Cabrillo (King 1975). At the time of the Portola expedition in 1769-1770, the villages were not occupied. At Refugio Creek, Crespi noted there was “an old abandoned village, and it seemed a better place to me than this one (Tajiguas), and more extensive” (Brown 1967 24).

In 1776, the Anza expedition observed a new village (Nueva) at Refugio, an abandoned village at Tajiguas, and a small village that was probably Quemada. In 1782, Pantoja y Arriaga plotted a large village that appears to be located at Quemada. His journal described “a large village on the height of the bluff and very close to shore, with the trees nearby.” In 1796, Goycochea reported a population of 250 people at the town of Quemada that by then was the highest population of any Channel town. He recorded 142 at Nueva. In 1798, Fr. Tapis mentioned “Casil or Nueva, and Sisuchui or Quemada, where many mountain Indians (people from the Santa Ynez Valley region) are living” (Brown, 1967: 22-23). The Spanish name Quemada means burnt and may refer to an early destruction of the village by fire.

Stephen Bowers excavated on both the east and west sides of Quemada Canyon in 1876 and 1877 (Benson 1982:68, 135). CA-SBa-91 is part or all of the remains of the historic village of Sisuchui.

**Tajuigas - Tahiwah** - I. 'to leak', Tajuigas Creek (Applegate 1975:43)

Tajuigas was a protohistoric village located at Tajuigas Creek (Brown 1967:23-24). It is not mentioned in mission registers.

Harrington notes: Fernando: Tajuigas is the next canyon beyond del Corral Canyon. There is a fine lemon orchard there. Tajuigas is an Indian name. There is a fine beach, a fine little cove. There is quite a bit of back country. That is the old Ortega place. The Ortegas were swindled out of it. The Indian name for Tajuigas was taqiwaq, a word in the Cr. language that means "there passed one or some," meaning that one or some passed thru there.

The protohistoric village of tahiwah was abandoned prior to the Mission Period. It was called San Guido by the 1769 Portola expedition. At the time of the Portola Expeditions in 1769-1770 Tajuigas was estimated to contain 400 people. The settlement was described as containing clusters of 42 and 37 houses on opposite sides of the creek. (Brown 1967:23-24).

On December 29, 1775, Rivera, the military governor of California, mentioned the destruction of what was probably the village of tahiwah during a recent war.

I pity the people of a rancheria (settlement) where at another time the houses were counted and they exceeded 90; this time besides finding them in a different place, there are fewer than 35 (houses). It (the village) was destroyed by the unconverted of San Pedro and San Pablo (Dos Pueblos) who are the neighbors to the east (Burrus, 1967: 223).

In 1776, the Anza expedition members also found tahiwah abandoned and Font observed that its people had gone to Rancheria Nueva (Casil or Refugio) because of a war with their enemies (Brown 1967:23-24).

SBa-90 was considered by David Rogers to be a companion village to SBa-89 on the opposite side of Tajuigas Creek (Rogers 1929: 247). The frequencies of artifacts recorded from the surface of the site indicate that the site was probably occupied during the Early Period. Perhaps the historic village was located at a lower elevation as indicated by Crespi's statement that the village was on the very edge of the sea with the creek separating the two areas (Brown 1967: 23). Site SBa-1988 may represent a portion of the east half of the historic village at tahiwah along the edge of Tajuigas Creek.

**Casil** - *qasil* = 'beautiful'? in Dos Pueblos dialect, village at Canada del Refugio (Applegate 1975:38). Pico-Henshaw 9. *El Refugio* Kasil, Ka-sil. Henshaw list C. 9. Ortega's Ranch (Heizer 1955:199).

Taylor in Farmer, 13,22: Casalic, at the Refugio playa and Canada; Cascili, in the Refugio playa.

Casalic in Cabrillo narrative between Aguin (Las Llagas) and Tucumu (Arroyo Hondo) (Wagner 1929)

Casil was a Mission Period village located at Refugio Beach (Brown 1967:24).

Harrington notes: Juan Justo: *kasil*, Refugio Arroyo. Luisa Ygnacio = *kásił*. Fernando Librado: *kasil*, next canyon east of Tajuigas apparently = Refugio. The old rancheria was at the west side of its mouth. The Indian village at Refugio was called *kasil*, a word of the Cr. language. Informant says that *kásił* means in Spanish "una extension de belleza ó hermosura." It is so called because it is a very pretty place. In Santa Inez, the principal dialects heard were those of *soxotonok'mu* [Almo Pintado] and *kasil*. Refugio was a big village, was a center for it was a port of the *tshumash* [Santa Cruz Islanders] and trail led to Santa Ynez and [there was] much trade in bellotas [acorns], *islay* [wild cherry] etc. from Santa Inez when the Islanders came.

Fernando Librado discussed the protohistoric colonization of the village of *shawa* on Santa Cruz Island by people from *qasil* and the failure of the colony. He said that the colonists were not well received when they returned to *qasil* and most moved to the Santa Ynez Valley where they founded a colony at *soqtonk'mu* (Harrington 1912-1917).

*qasil* was apparently an important trade center. In 1913, Fernando told Harrington about trade between the islands and the interior.

There was commerce between inland and island Indians at Casil; they exchanged otter skins. .... Refugio was a big village, a center, for it was a port of the Santa Cruz Island Indians; a trail led to Santa Ynez, and there was much trade in acorns, *islay*, etc. from Santa Ynez when the islanders came.

In December 1804 after the termination of native coastal villages, Governor Arrillaga wrote the following note to the commander of the Santa Barbara Presidio. "It shouldn't be your duty to transfer the mountaineers who solicit at the Arroyo of El Capitan and at the Arroyo of Casil" (King 1976: 294).

Johnson has identified several descendants from the family of Juan de Jesus Justo, a Harrington consultant, whose parents, Juan and Cecilia, were from *qasil*. These descendants

now live in Santa Barbara, Ventura, and at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation (John Johnson, personal communication 1987).

CA-SBa-87 is probably the location of the historic village of qasil or Nueva at Refugio. CA-SBa-87 contains a known cemetery, a temescal, earth ovens, and other significant Chumash remains (SLC, 1986: 3-109). SBa-87 is composed of several areas that were not all occupied at the same time. A cemetery at the site that was excavated by David Rogers was used during Middle Period Phase 4 (ca. A.D. 700-900) and the higher ground that was excavated prior to widening of Highway 101 in 1969 also contained artifacts and features characteristic of Middle Period occupations. In 1969, a bulldozer was used to remove overburden at the site and a shell midden was found on the floodplain on the west side of Cañada del Refugio Creek. Shovel test pit excavations also discovered midden deposits on the east side of Cañada del Refugio Creek (Neff and Rudolph 1986, Vol. II: CE-001-5). The site areas adjacent to the creek may be the remains of part of the historic village of Casil.

**Ajuawilashmu** - 'ahwawilashmu = B. 'dancing place'?, village at El Capitan (Applegate 1975:25)

Pico-Henshaw 11. *Punta capitan Ajuawilashmu, A-wha'-whi-lac-mu* a star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held.

Alan Brown noted:

In May 1770 a "small sized Village" was encountered at what appears to have been Capitan Creek (or a bare possibility, Corral Canyon) and named Santísima Cruz by Crespi (1967:24-25)

The settlement was apparently temporary or abandoned before recruitment to missions and is not mentioned in later documents.

Harrington notes: Fernando: Thought this might be for apanishmu. 'aqwawilashmu would mean merely Spanish "bailadero," "dancing place."

Stephen Bowers excavated at El Capitan Canyon in 1877 (Benson 1982:76). SBa-64 and 131 are near the mouth of Cañada del Capitan.

**Aguin** - 'ahwin - village at mouth of Las Llagas Canyon (Applegate 1975:25)

Taylor in Farmer, 13, 22 (April 17, 1863): Aguin at the beach of Los Llagos Canada.

Aguin in Cabrillo narrative in order after Susuquei [shushitshi, Quemada], Quanmu [kuya'mu, Dos Pueblos], Gua [quwa', Mescalitan Island in Goleta Slough], and Asimu



[unidentified] and precedes Casilic [qasil, Refugio] and Tucumu [tuhmu', Arroyo Hondo] (Wagner 1929:86). This listing is clearly not in order, although the identified places are in the same general area of the coast between Arroyo Hondo and Dos Pueblos.

Harrington notes: Fernando Librado: First comes the Canada de las Llagas - Buell's ranch used to be there. Then comes the Canada de la Aguillilla, "Canyon of the Little Eagle," then comes Naples Canyon. 'ahwin = The "estiladero" (means in Spanish "where the water seeps through from estilar, to seep through). The place is now generally known as El Estiladero. Two hundred yards west of Las Llagas Canyon there used to be some little pools there. Sort of spring on beach-- a short distance up from base of cliff. Traveling people used to stop to drink. Las Llagas is now the Buell ranch but was formerly part of the Dos Pueblos ranch and owned by Mr. Nicholas Den. El Estiladero is called in Indian 'aqwín. The name is connected with 'aqwí, covija. This name means "covered rock" = piedra covijada (por agua). Means that water seeps out all over the rock, runs all over it, covers it. That is the way it used to be -- it must be the same way now. Ortega: All vicinity of Las Llagas was under mikiw -- but had provisional or temporary rancheria thereabouts. Informant knows no name for whole. seqpewejòł was the name of capitan of mikiw rancheria. He had a son named Francisco Solano, also called seqpewejòł (junior). He was capitan of whole territory between the baranco west of Las Llagas canyon as far west as Cañada Corral.

Artifacts recovered by David Rogers from archaeological site CA-SBa-82 indicate it was occupied during early Phase 2 of the Late period. CA-SBa-82 was probably the settlement of 'ahwin at the time of Cabrillo's voyage.

**Dos Pueblos** - It is believed that SBA-78 on top of the mesa on the west side of Dos Pueblos canyon was the settlement of Miquigui and that the smaller settlement in the canyon was Cuyamu.

On August 22, 1769, Crespi observed:

... close to two large villages, of which one is on a tableland at the edge of a hollow with a good sized stream of running water, while the other is in the hollow itself at the very edge of the stream. They are well populated villages with a great many houses in them, and a great many heathen folk of all sorts who must number no less than six hundred souls [Brown 2001: 429-431].

*Miquigui* - **Mikiw** = 'on the other side'? in **Dos Pueblos dialect of B.** (Applegate 1975:36)

Pico-Henshaw: 12. *Los dos pueblos* Migiw, Mi-gi-w. A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held. Henshaw list C. 12. Mi-ki-wi (Heizer 1955:199).

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 22, July 24, 1860: The following of these rancherias we had located by an old Indian Martin, now sixty years old --- Miguigui, on the Dos Pueblos. Mekewe. Farmer 13, 11, May 4, 1860: Los Dos Pueblos Mickiwee -- about 18 miles from Santa Barbara Mission. Mekewe.

Johnson has suggested that *mikiw* may mean place of mussels (1988:93).

This village may be listed in the Cabrillo narrative as Maquinonoa or Micoma (Wagner 1929:88). It is possible that like the other largest Santa Barbara (and largest in Southern California) villages of *sahpilil* and *helo*, the historic town of *mikiw* was not founded in 1542. Most of the beads and other artifacts found at these sites are consistent with foundation after Cabrillo and before the 1769 Spanish land expedition.

Miguigui ò Los Dos Pueblos was a Mission Period village located at Dos Pueblos Canyon. Crespi estimated that the village on the west side of Dos Pueblos Canyon had a hundred houses and 800 people (Brown 1967:25-28).

Harrington notes: Juan Justo: *mikiw*, Dos Pueblos. Old rancheria site of *mikiw* is south of adobe house and north of railroad track, in canyon. Mission used to have a garden there. The other village was on the hill west [sic.?] of *mikiw*. Luisa Ygnacio: Dos Pueblos Canyon is next after Eagle Canyon. Called Dos Pueblos canyon *mikiw*. Fernando Librado: [discussion with Harrington- The Pico-Henshaw list order indicates] It is therefore perhaps likely that *Migi-u* refers to the village on the west side of the creek. Informant corrects: *mikiw*, which applies to the whole arroyo. There was a pueblo at the east side of the mouth of Dos Pueblos canyon, and one at the west side. Informant does not know any place name there except that one of the two villages was called *mikiw*. Simplicio Pico: *mikiw* = one of the Dos Pueblos - may have heard. Never heard of two pueblos there. But knows name is Dos Pueblos. Does not know how to say *lindero*, boundary of land in Ventureño. Fernando Cardinas: Juan Maria Olivas was an old Spanish soldier who came along with Fr. Junipero told informant that dos Pueblos was so called because there was a rancheria at each side of creek. The rancherias were on mesas. Indians went down for water. The rancheria was on mesa a little further back than the ranchhouse of Nicolas Den. Old road used to pass between Den's house and the rancheria. Were also Indians living by mouth of creek. Was permanent water at mouth of canyon. Informant has heard nothing about these rancherias being enemies.

*Mikiw* was apparently the larger of the two protohistoric-historic towns "Dos Pueblos" at the mouth of Dos Pueblos Canyon. It has been tentatively identified with CA-SBa- 78. The historic cemetery at this site was excavated in by several archaeological expeditions in the later part of the 19th century. In 1875 Yarrow and Rothrock who were part of the U.S. Geographical Survey Expedition for Exploration West of the 100th Meridian conducted excavations in the historic cemetery at CA-SBa-78 (Yarrow 1879:40-42). They were followed in the same year by Paul Schumacher. He described the settlement:

“One town was very prominently located on the mesa land, on the right side of the stream, near the shore; the other one, below on the sloping left bank of the same creek. It is said that the creek had been the boundary-line between two tribes, distinct in language as well as in customs” (Schumacher 1877:52).

Harrison excavated at CA-SBa-78 in 1958. He excavated an historic period sweatlodge, parts of several Early period cemeteries and in midden that contained Middle period artifacts (Harrison 1964: 203-234, 1965).

In 1979, a thorough surface survey was conducted on the mesa on the west side of Dos Pueblos Canton of both CA-SBa-78 and CA-SBa-79. One of the conclusions of the study was:

William Harrison used the road to the Dos Pueblos orchid farm to define the northern boundary of SBa-78. In our survey, we found artifacts and other evidence of prehistoric human activity from the orchid farm road to the Pacific Coast Highway. We have therefore decided to arbitrarily use the orchid farm road as a division between SBa-78 and 79 [King and Gamble 1979:11-12].

The CA-SB-78 and 79 site area appears to consist of many overlapping villages that were occupied during the last 8000 years. Similar concentrations of large village sites have been documented at Rincon (King 1980b) and in other areas of the Santa Barbara Channel where large historic settlements were located (King 1990:90-91). It appears that the historic part of the site complex is concentrated on both sides of the railroad tracks near the mouth of the canyon.

*Cuyamu* - *kuya'mu* (Applegate 1975:34). Pico-Henshaw: 13. *Los dos pueblos Cuyamu, Ku-i-yámu*. A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held. Henshaw list C. 13. *Kui-a-mu* (Heizer 1955:199).

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 22: The following of these rancherias we had located by an old Indian Martin, now sixty years old --- Cuyamu, on the Dos Pueblos. Kuyam or Cuyama.

Johnson has suggested that *kuya'mu* may mean place to rest (1988:93).

Cuyamu was listed in the Cabrillo narrative as Quanmu and Quiman (Wagner 1929:86, 88).

Cuyamu was a Mission Period village located at Dos Pueblos Canyon. The members of the Portola expedition apparently did not give a count of the number of people at this town separate from that of mikiw. Brown estimates that the populations of both settlements totaled approximately 1100 people. It appears that between 300 and 500 people lived at this town (Brown 1967:28).

Harrington notes: Luisa Ygnacio: The two rancherias at Dos Pueblos were mikiw and kujá'mù but Luisa does not know their relative location. For this reason the place was called Dos Pueblos. Luisa does not know of any "last woman of Dos Pueblos" who used to work for and talk with Doña Rosa (Den). Luisa knows of Doña Rosa well. Luisa verifies that she does not know which rancheria was to the west and which was to the east of the two at Dos Pueblos.

The reference to Doña Rosa apparently relates to the following statement by Yarrow:

We were informed by Mrs. Welch that she had heard from an aged Indian woman that two separate tribes, speaking different dialects, lived on opposite sides of the creek, which constituted the boundary line between them, and that the tribes were not permitted to cross this creek without first obtaining each other's consent. This old crone for many years continued to visit this spot annually to mourn the departed greatness of her people [1879:41].

This is the smaller of the two protohistoric-historic towns "Dos Pueblos" at the mouth of Dos Pueblos Canyon. It has been identified with CA-SBa-77. The name of this town is mentioned in the Cabrillo log and it may have been founded before the historic settlement of Mikiw.

#### **Helapoonuch –**

*hel'apunitse* - B. 'the guitarra fish', village at mouth of Tecolote canyon (Applegate 1975:29)

Taylor: El Tecolote--Helapoonuch-- about 15 miles from Santa Barbara Mission (California Farmer 13,11, May 4, 1860).

SBa-73 at the mouth of Tecolote was occupied during early Phase 2 of the Late period and may have been occupied at the time of Cabrillo's voyage. It is perhaps the location of one of the unidentified village names in Cabrillo's log. Sites in the Tecolote canyon area are apparently the remains of settlements occupied during the last 8000 years (King 1980a).

**Goleta Slough Towns** - The records of the Spanish missions and the Pico Henshaw list record four settlement names in the Goleta Slough area. A 1782 map (Figure 47) indicates that presence of seven house clusters. Some of the house clusters have not been identified as archaeological sites. (Johnston, Warren and Warren have summarized information concerning Goleta Slough ethnohistory (1982: 28).

Crespi described the Goleta Slough in 1769:

Of all of the spots upon the entire Channel, this one has the greatest number of heathen folk. There are five villages, three quite large ones which we all

saw, while the other two were reported of by the scouts who had seen them in the surroundings of the place. One of these three lies islanded upon a knoll that must be a quarter league in length, next to the sea, and isolated upon the inland side by a good sized inlet that has one mouth at either end of the said knoll's length, through which the tide comes in with the sea lying upon the other side, the inlets width must be half of a quarter league. The village lying thus islanded is an extremely big one in its heathen population: so far as we could tell from the distance we were viewing it , there must be over a hundred very large round, very well roffed houses, and we guess there can only be less than eight hundred souls in this village alone. They have both water and wood there, or so we understood from the heathens themselves who all came to the camp; and there are sixteen canoes which they use in fishing in the aforesaid inlet and in trading when they come to shore [Brown 2001:421].

**Geliec** - heliyik B. 'the middle', village in Goleta Slough (Applegate 1975:29). Henshaw list C. 16. Near ocean near Moore's Island (Heizer 1955:200). Pico-Henshaw 16 *San Miguel, La Patera, four towns inhabited by the indigenous tribes* Heliyec, Hel-i-uik A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held.

Archaeological site SBA-47, 48 and possibly SBA-1695 are the remains of Geliec (Johnson 1988:94).

*Anac buc* [Cabrillo period settlement] Taylor in Farmer 13,22: Anacbuk or Anacarck , near the islet of La Patera, near the seashore. This settlement was probably near the historic settlement of Geliec.

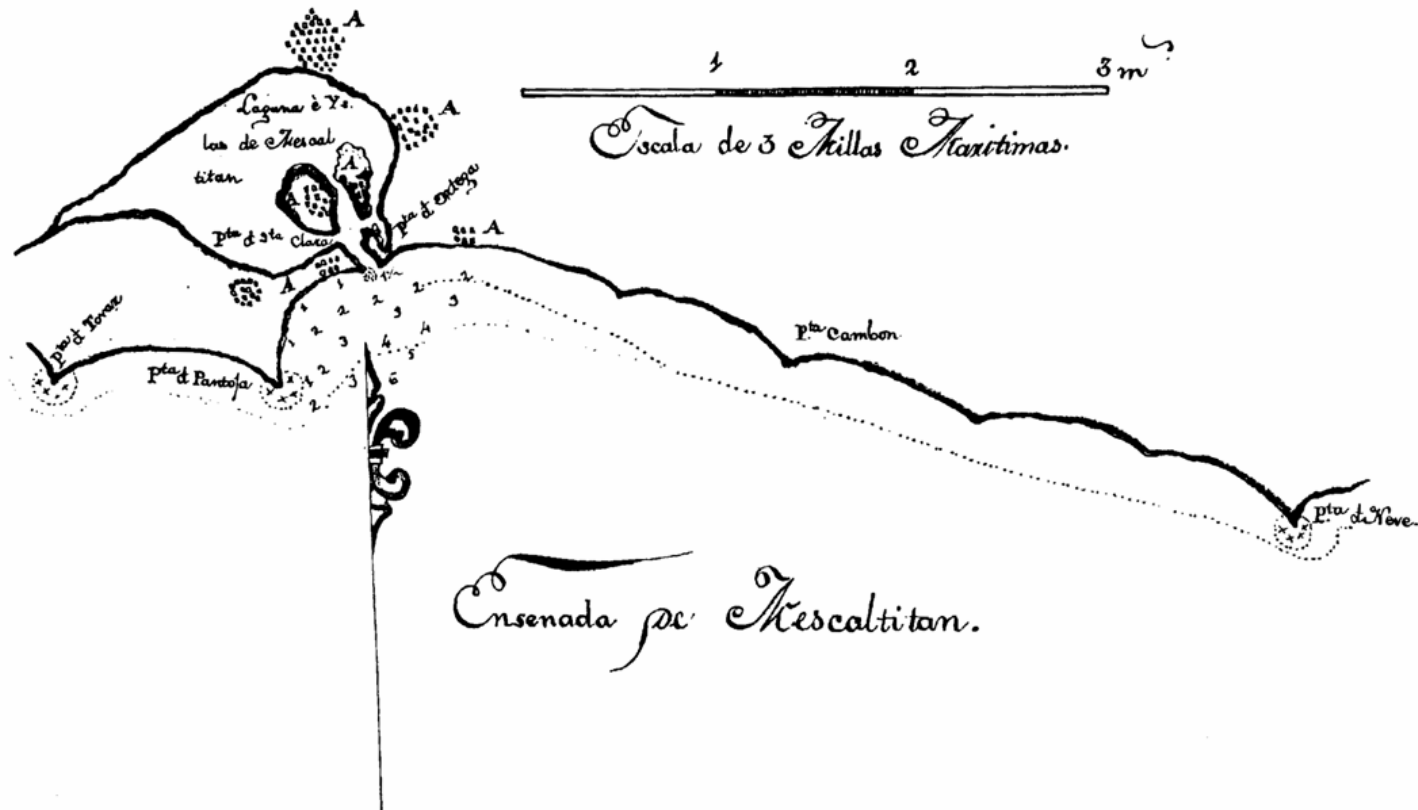
**Gelo** - helo' = B. 'the water', village on Mescaltitan Island (Applegate 1975:29). Pico-Henshaw 15 *San Miguel, La Patera, four towns inhabited by the indigenous tribes* Heloh, Hel-ó. Henshaw list C. 15. At Moore's Island (Heizer 1955:200).

Archaeological sites SBA-45 and SBA-46 contain the archaeological remains of the site of Gelo. Gamble has studied the historic midden at SBA-46 and discovered house remains at the site (Gamble 1990 and 1991). The area of the site that was occupied reduced greatly around 1782. This was possibly the result of migration to other slough towns.

*quwa'* [Cabrillo period settlement Gua= probably Qua] Mescalitan Island (Applegate 1975:39)

(Johnston, Warren and Warren 1982: 28). This settlement was probably the part of SBA-46 that is on the south edge of Mescalitan Island. The historic residential area of Gelo was on the east edge of the island.

Figure 47  
Pantoja map of 1782 of the Goleta Slough area. The large village (cluster of house circles) on the north edge of the slough is the historic village of S'ahpilil (Whitehead 1982:131).



**Alcas** - 'alkash = B. 'one that sits'? Village on E side of Goleta Slough (Applegate 1975:25)

(Johnston, Warren and Warren 1982: 28)

Pico-Henshaw 17 *San Miguel, La Patera, four towns inhabited by the indigenous tribes* Alcaash, Al-ká-ác'

Henshaw list C. 17. Al-ka'c, Near Moore's house (Heizer 1955:200).

Archaeological site SBA-42 and possibly SBA-1696 is the remains of Alcas (Johnson 1988:94).

**paltuq** - [Cabrillo period settlement] = cemetery site in Santa Barbara (Applegate 1975:38). This site was probably on Moore Mesa near the historic village of Alcas.

**Saspilil** - The village of s'ahpilil was adjacent to San José Creek. s'ahpilil 'B. 'root', village on Goleta Slough (Applegate 1975:39). Pico-Henshaw 14 *San Miguel, La Patera, four towns inhabited by the indigenous tribes* S.ajpilil, S'pi'lil. Henshaw list C. 14. Sa-pi'-li', road to island, large village (Heizer 1955:199).

Taylor in Farmer 13,15 May 4, 1860: The district of La Patera was known among them as Mescalitan with four rancherias called Salpalil, Helo or the islet, Alcas and Oksbullow. [This information was apparently obtained by Taylor from his father-in-law Daniel Hill who wrote the same in 1859 (Woodward 1934:120)]. Farmer 13,22 April 28, 1863: Salpilil, on the Patera. 6 miles from Santa Barbara Mission; Cajpilili. Sacsipili.

This village is not listed in the Cabrillo narrative. It is possible that like the other large Santa Barbara villages of mikiw and helo, s'ahpilil had not been founded.

Saspilil was a Mission Period village located on the north edge of the Goleta Slough. Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura Missions baptized people from this village. The Goleta Slough towns were the most populous in all of Southern California in 1769 and were estimated to have 1500 people in 1769 (Brown 1967:29-32). A map made by Pantoja in 1782 (Figure 47) shows this village as the largest in the Goleta Slough area (Whitehead 1982:130-131). In 1776, Font described this as the largest of the Goleta Slough towns (Bolton 1931). It appears that Saspilil did not lose population as rapidly as other slough towns. It is possible that people from other settlements such as Helo' may have migrated during the early historic period to Saspilil (Gamble 1991:31-33, 445).

Harrington notes: Luisa Ygnacio: s'aqpilil rancheria where the town of Goleta (not Patera) now stands. A store there burnt down and has been rebuilt and serves to identify La Goleta. Juan Justo: saqpilil is a little arroyo just east of La Patera. We passed it without seeing it.

Opposite mouth of estero evidently. Fernando: saqpiliḥ means “el nervio” [nerve, tendon rib etc. apparently in Chumash also refers to roots of a tree or bowstring] in the dialect of Dos Pueblos. Why the name was given, informant does not know.

Stephen Bowers excavated burials at this site (Benson 1982:75). Historic and late protohistoric artifacts have been found at CA-SBa-60 (Rootenberg 1960). In 1968 many protohistoric and historic burials were excavated from this site; they are curated at UCSB. CA-SBa-60 corresponds in location with the historic village of s’ahpilil. S’ahpilil was the largest Chumash village in the Goleta Slough and probably anywhere in southern California in 1782 when the Pantoja map was drafted.

**Kaswa’** - kaswa’ = B. ‘the tule’, village at what is now La Cineguita (Applegate 1975:33)

SBa-38 and 39.

Kroeber: Hope Ranch, Cieneguitas -- kaswá?

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 11, May 4, 1860: La Sinaguita -- Cashwah -- about 3 miles from Santa Barbara Mission. Quoted from Father Timeno (1856).

Harrington notes: Juan Justo: kaswa’ = La Cieneguitas. Between Modoc road and Goleta road where there are tunas, old adobe houses and a chapel. Luisa Ygnacio: kaswa’. Much tule; hence name. swa’ tule. Luisa and Juliana Ygnacio: swa’à = tule esquiando. Much tule at kaswa’à hence name. When Indians left mission they went to Cieneguitas. Fernando Librado: kaswa’ = Las Cieneguitas

A study was conducted by Gregory Schaaf of the history of occupation and alienation of the Chumash from their lands at Cieneguitas by racist American settlers (1981). This village was apparently terminated in 1887. Schaaf reports several versions of the termination. One from Miss Pearl Chase follows:

... after the death of Thomas Hope and the purchase of his holdings by the Pacific Improvement Company, the eleven remaining Indians in the rancharia were subjected to a brutal reign of terror designed to oust them from their centuries-old home by the cienega. One adobe hut after another was mysteriously burned to the ground until only three were left. Then came an eviction notice served by the officers of the law [1981:61].

John Johnson has noted that this was one of the most important post-mission Chumash settlements (1990).

CA-SBA-39, was identified by Rogers as the site of Kaswa’. The placement of this site on maps at the UCSB Archaeological Information Center and maps by Rogers appears to be



slightly east of the location indicated by historic maps (Ruhge 1991:170-176). Figure 48 is a map of Kaswa' by David Banks Rogers.

*Mismatac* - mismatuk' 'expanse'?' in Dos Pueblos dialect of B., village in Arroyo Burro (Applegate 1975:37). Henshaw list C. Mis-ma'-tuk, Near mts., Arroyo Burro (Heizer 1955:200).

Johnson notes:

Mismatac was probably the village mentioned by Crespi's diary to have been in ruins near Arroyo Burro (Brown n.d [2001:417]). In 1769 it had been recently burned by raiders from the mountains along with several others in the Santa Barbara vicinity (Brown 1967:75). The mission register evidence would suggest it was never reestablished, because only two old women gave Mismatac as their birthplace when they were baptized (1988:92 footnote 2).

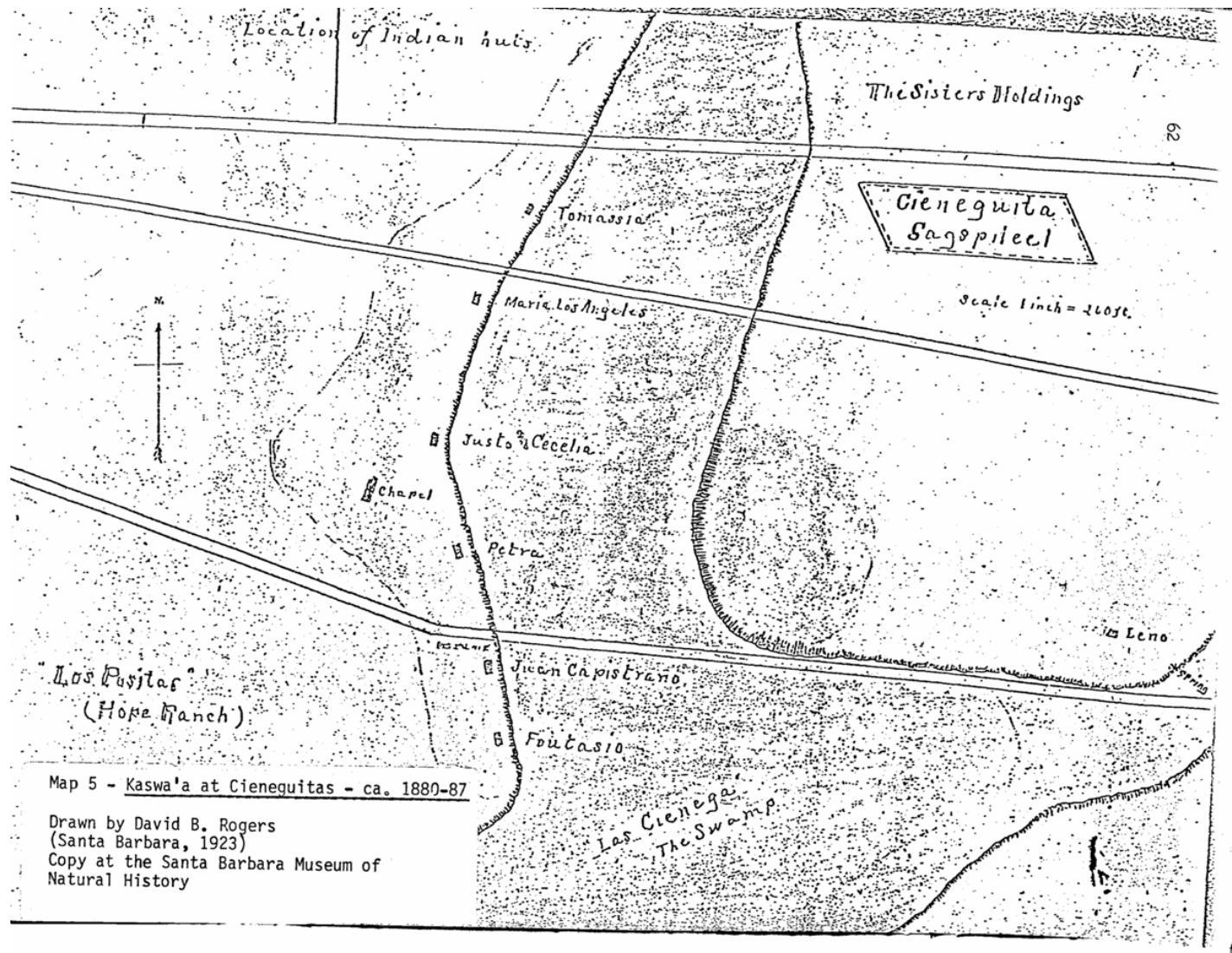
Archaeological site SBA-35 has been identified as the site of Mismatac.

**Jayanam** - *huna'yan* = village in Mission Canyon (Applegate 1975:28). Henshaw list C. *Hana-ya*, In Mission Cañon (Heizer 1955:200).

*qana'jam*: Pinart, B. vocab p 22: Capitan de Santa Barbara - uot siutqon ò uot sx'anaiam imediato. Fernando: Told inf. the wot de sjuqtun was wot of district from Dos Pueblos to mishopshno.

John Johnson has summarized information concerning Jayanam (1986). He says the name means 'rocky' (1988:93). He tentatively identified SBA-22 with Jayanam.

Figure 48  
 Map of Kaswa' by David Banks Rogers.



**Siuju** - syuhtun - B. 'it forks', village near Santa Barbara harbor (Applegate 1975:43)

Pico-Henshaw 20 *El puerto de Santa Barbara* Siuju, Si-uk'-tún Three stars indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held. Henshaw list C. 20. Si-u'k-tun (Heizer 1955:200).

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 11, May 4, 1860: Seyuktoon. Near Santa Barbara were two rancherias called Ciyuktun and Masewuk

Pinart, B. vocab p 22: Capitan de Santa Barbara - uot Siutqon ò uot sx'anaiam [huna'yan = village in Mission Canyon (Applegate 1975:28)] imediato (Heizer 1952:39).

Cabrillo apparently listed this town many times. This is the town called Puerto de las Sardinias from which a woman who was chief of many of the Channel towns visited Cabrillo. It was an important port during Cabrillo's winter in the Santa Barbara Channel (Wagner 1929:88). Cabrillo: "Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc ..." [shuku, mishopshno, q'oloq', shalawa, syuhtun ... in order] (Wagner 1929: 86). "This town at the Puerto de las Sardinias is called Çiacut." ... "Çiucut, ... Ytum ..." (Wagner 1929:88). Harrington conducted a detailed study of manuscripts related to the Cabrillo voyage as part of his Burton Mound study (Harrington 1928)

Siuju was a Mission Period village located in the vicinity of the Santa Barbara wharf. In 1769 there were apparently between 600-700 people at this town living in over 40 houses (Brown 1967:35-36).

In 1769 Crespi described this town:

... we came to another very large village with a vast many large houses like previous ones, lying at the sea's edge close to a point of land that reaches a long way out to sea, the town here lying upon a very calm clear shore [Brown 2001:413].

Menzies of the Vancouver Expedition mentioned this village in 1793:

There was a Village of Indians close to the place where we daily landed from the Vessels to whose industrious inhabitants we were greatly indebted for a regular supply of fish; they were always seen out by the dawn of day examining their fish post in the bay or fishing in the middle of the Channel where they never failed to catch a plentiful supply of fish of different kinds particularly Boneto and a kind of Herring with a yellow tail, and in the forenoon they always came along side of the Vessels and for a few beads supplied each with whatever quantity was wanted for all hands.

I devoted the 16th to a solitary botanical excursion and landed early in the morning at the Indian village near which I observed a number of long poles stuck in the ground and on examining the spot I found it to be their burying ground, where the principal graves were pointed out [Eastwood 1924:320].

John Sykes of the Vancouver expedition made a sketch of the Santa Barbara area that included the village of syuhtun (Brown 1967: facing page 1). This is the only illustration of a pre-mission Chumash settlement of which has been found.

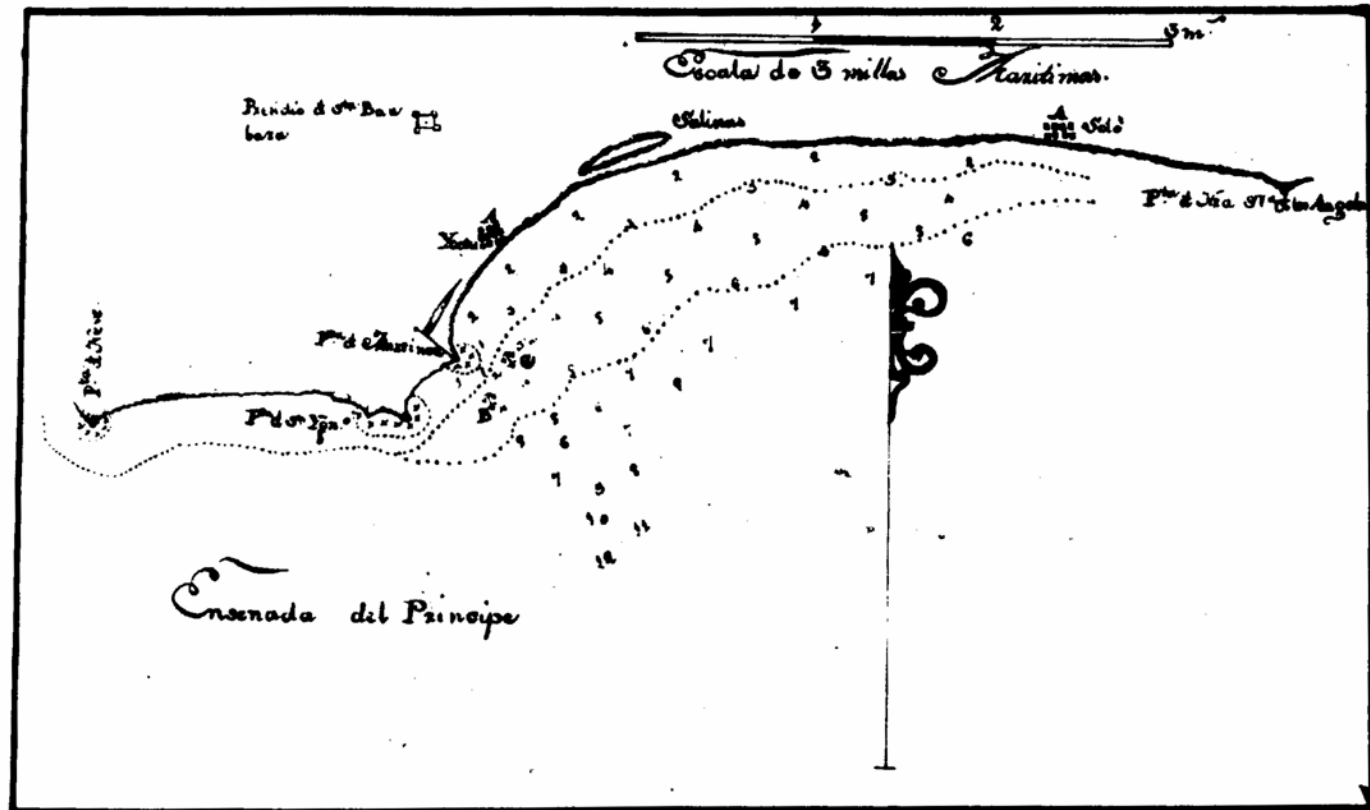
This village is frequently mentioned in mission documents and a chief of the village Yanonali was said to have control over 13 rancherias. Other information indicates the 13 settlements included the Goleta Slough towns and villages east as far as Carpinteria (Johnson 1986:21-30).

Harrington notes: Juan Justo: sjuqtun is where the bathhouse is. shjuqtun = el Castillo. Informant insists that sjuqtun was on top of cliffs back of Castle Rock and bathhouse, but before informant's time there were cannons there. Place by the beach. 'alapsjuqtun = Santa Barbara people of this village. Luisa Ygnacio: sjuKtun in B. means the road splits. But the word has a K [q] while the rancharia name a q [h]. There were two wagon roads here. One went west to Goleta through this part of town. (Sloyd School) and the other went by Mission Creek. Hence name ?? Fernando Librado: siuqtun, rancharia at old Burton Place at Santa Barbara. Means promontorio. This is a Y. name. The name was given by informant's grandfather's sister who came from Santa Cruz Island and took up residence there, so Ramon Monato, informant's uncle told informant. siuqtun was Burton Mound. The village there at the mound. No hesitation. The wot de sjuqtun was wot of district from Dos Pueblos to mishopshno [Carpinteria]. Simplicio Pico: sjuqtun is a place near Castle Rock Point -- never knew if up on point or by beach below. Maria Solares an important Ynezeño consultant said: sjuqtun means that the road divides, one branch going in one direction and the other in the other. Juan Justo does not know this derivation.

The remains of this settlement have been recorded as archaeological sites CA-SBa-27, 28 and 29.

Figure 49

Pantoja's map of 1782 of the Santa Barbara area (Whitehead 1982:133). The western village marked with an A is the village of Syuhtun. The map also indicates the Salinas [swetete] to the east and east of this is the village of Shalawa, also indicated with an A. The map also indicates the location of the Santa Barbara Presidio ['alpinche'].



**Saluhaj** - shalawa village at Montecito (Applegate 1975:40)

‘alawah - B. ‘one that spreads over’, mouth of Sycamore Canyon (Applegate 1975:25), Pico-Henshaw 23. *La matanza* Sh,halwaj, Cal’-a-wa A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held. Henshaw list C. 23. Ca-lau-a (Heizer 1955:200).

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 11, May 4, 1860: Shhalwaj.

Cabrillo: Xuco, Bis,Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc ... [shuku, mishopshno, q’oloq’, shalawa, syuhtun ... in order]. Also Xagua follows in the same list and may be a transcription of the place name (Wagner 1929: 86).

Saluhaj was a Mission Period village located in the vicinity of Montecito. It like q’oloq’ was abandoned and in ruins in 1769. In 1769, it was said to be the remains of a large village. It was reoccupied in 1776 when Font on the Anza expedition described it. Vb 11 la Ranca. de Saluhaj, alias del Montecito distante del Presidio de Sta. Barb[ara] como una legua camiendo para esta Misn. (Brown 1967:36-37).

Crespi on August 18, 1769:

To the scouts the heathens had reported that mountain heathens not long ago had destroyed two big villages, killing everyone, young and old, and afterward burning their houses as well. ... About two and a half leagues from setting out we came upon the second village they had destroyed and burnt. Both had been at the shore’s very edge, and are supplied with good running water, and this last one must plainly have been a very large village, as they gave us to understand was indeed the case [Brown 2001:411-413].

Harrington notes: Luisa Ygnacio: commentary on Henshaw corrects ‘mouth of Sycamore Canyon. Fernando on Henshaw: corrects shala’wala <sup>w</sup>obawa. Can this be correct? Informant says that shalwaq would mean in Spanish “salidero,” English “exit.” The first slaughter-house was on the ranch of the Ortega family above Summerland. That was the only place that had enough water for a matanza [slaughter-house] general. Informant feels this must be the place. V. ‘alwanish = B. shalawa. Means where they killed some person or animal. Informant does not seem to know name as applied to a place at vicinity of Sycamore Canyon. Juan Justo: Call Montecito people ‘alapqe’lel. When a man of Montecito came they spoke of him thus. ‘elqe’lel or heqe’lel, the hot springs of Montecito. There are flat rocks there hence name. Luisa Ygnacio agreed with Justo concerning Montecito Hot Springs.

It appears that because the name shalawa can be translated as slaughter-house. It was identified by Juan Esteban Pico with the slaughter house at San Ysidro Creek (Rogers

1929:77). Historic documents clearly locate the village at the mouth of Montecito Creek. Johnson conducted a study to identify descendants of people from Shaiawa (1985).

This village is indicated on the 1782 Pantoja map shown in Figure 49. The Pantoja map indicates that shalawa was at the mouth of Montecito Creek. Archaeological site CA-SBa-19 probably contains the remains of this settlement.

**Coloc** - q'oloq' village at mouth of Carpinteria Estuary (Applegate 1975:39)

Pico-Henshaw 24 *El muelle de la carpinteria* Kolok, K'a'-lak

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 11 May 4, 1860: Kolok. California Farmer 13, 22: Coloc, near Carpinteria beach. The following of these rancherias we had located by an old Indian Martin, now sixty years old -- Coloc at the Rincon.

Cabrillo: Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc ... [shuku, mishopshno, q'oloq', shalawa, syuhtun ... in order]. Also Coloc follows in the same list (Wagner 1929: 86).

Coloc was a Mission Period village located in the vicinity of Paredon. Santa Barbara and Ventura Mission baptisms from Colóc. Vb 24 "Coloc alias el paderon" [note reference to Ortega Hill in Summerland as Paredon alto], Vd 93 rancheria del Paredon ô Culoc. Goycochea 1796 El Paredon, chief Atasuit, population 31. (Brown 1967: 37)

Crespi on August 18, 1769:

To the scouts the heathens had reported that mountain heathens not long ago had destroyed two big villages, killing everyone, young and old, and afterward burning their houses as well. As we pursued our way, on going about a league we passed through the midst of the first village just mentioned, lying at the very edge of the shore, and from what we viewed of the ruins and ashes it must have happened two or three months ago [Brown 2001:411-413].

Harrington notes: K'oloK' Fernando = whole Carpinteria estero. The place at the "remate" or the estero of La Carpinteria. The entrance of water of the sea into the estero of Carpinteria. Felipe explained to informant in 1864 -- And then he said K'oloK' is dangerous [for navigation] -- water which enters the estero -- that is el K'oloK'.

This village may have been located in the vicinity of Toro Canyon at or near SBA-13. Arroyo Paredon has its mouth near SBA-12. SBA- 12 or 13 may be the site of the historic village of q'oloq'.

**Cup** - shup

Henshaw list C. Cu'p A town just north of Shu-ku' (Heizer 1955:200).

Harrington notes: Jose Juan Olivas appears to know and says kashup is the little hill at Montecito that is back from the coast well up towards the mountain range.

**Mishopshnow** - mishopshno - B. 'correspondence'? village at Carpinteria (Applegate 1975:36)

Pico-Henshaw 25 *Arroyo de la carpinteria* Mishhoshnow, Mic-hah'-sno A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held.

On August 17, 1789, Crespi observed:

We saw at the very edge of the sea a large village or very regular town that lies here at this point, appearing from a distance as though it were a shipyard, because at the moment they were building a canoe that still had its last topmost plank lacking from it. (and this spot was dubbed by the soldiers La Carpinteria, the Carpenter Shop). We saw before reaching here, at a small ravine about a dozen paces from the sea, springs of pitch that had become solidified, half smoking. We came then to the aforesaid village here where we saw the canoe they were building that I spoke of. We counted 38 very large grass-roofed houses [Brown 2001:407].

Bruce Bryan described excavations at a protohistoric cemetery at Mishopshnow (1931).

Archaeological site SBA-7 is the remains of Mishopshnow.

## **Ojai Ranger District: Central Chumash And Tataviam Locations**

### ***Sucu***

shuku - village on Rincon Creek (Applegate 1975:41). Pico-Henshaw 26 *El rincon* Shucuw Shu-ku' A star indicates that this village was a capitol or more populous and important town where festivals, feasts and perhaps councils were held. Henshaw list C. 23. Su'-ku (Heizer 1955:200).

Taylor in California Farmer 13, 11 May 4, 1860: Shukku, California Farmer 13, 22, April 17, 1863: Xucu or Shucu, on the Ortega farm, near Rincon Point.

Cabrillo: Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc ... [shuku, mishopshno, q'oloq', shalawa, syuhtun ... in order].



All these towns are from the Pueblo de las Canoas which is called Xucu to here [the Pueblo de de las Canoas was apparently Muwu] (Wagner 1929: 86).

Sucu was a Mission Period village located in the vicinity of Rincon Point. In 1769, over 300 people were estimated to live at this town and about 60 houses were counted. Vb 3 Rancheria de Succu, alias San Matheo, Vb 56 Rancheria de Sucu alias San Matheo (text) del Rincon (margin) (Brown 1967:38-39).

Harrington notes: Fernando Librado: shuku means in Spanish “rinconada” and is a descriptive name. shuku was founded by matipuyawt’, brother of the woman who founded siuqtun. shuku village was at south side of mouth of shuku creek. Simplicio Pico: shukuw is the name of El Rincon. The w is distinct and o.k. just as Juan Esteban Pico wrote it. shuhu is not right at all. The word for encino is ku’w’ -- I am not quite sure of the glottal stop but think and have thought many times that the word has one. Luisa Ygnacio: Rincon = shuku’w. Juan José Olivas: shukuw = El Rincon. Barbareño dialect.

Fernando Librado told Harrington: Mineral tar comes out of the earth at low tide, at El Rincon and has no sand in it. We must get it there, for making our canoe, Fernando says. The tar is born in the water. At Cuku on the Carpinteria side of Rincon Creek is where it comes out. The beach itself washes out balls of tar, and the Indians got them before much sand is washed into the balls and while the sand could be scraped off. There is no poso or hole there where the tar is born. Where it is born is west of the mouth of Rincon arroyo, having washed there. At this time of year (in June) the tar washes out a good deal.

Archaeological sites at the mouth of Rincon Creek have been investigated by many archaeological expeditions. Stephen Bowers excavated at Rincon in 1875, 1876 and 1878. He excavated in at least four different cemeteries (Benson 1982:68, 172-174). Bowers observed:

Where this creek [Rincon Creek] flows into the ocean at least a hundred acres are covered with shells, bones, fish scales, and other kitchen debris of the Indians who have lived here from time immemorial (1884:373).

A history of archaeological investigations at Rincon and conclusions concerning the sites is given in King 1980b. VEN-62 is the site of Sucu

### ***Ventura River Region North of Ventura Mission***

Between 1782 and 1804, three villages located in the region drained by the Ventura River were frequently listed as villages of nativity in the registers of San Buenaventura Mission. They were the villages of Matilija, Aujai, and Somes. No other villages were regularly recorded as places of nativity although several place names, were recorded once or twice refer to places in the area.

During the later Mission Period(1816-1834) and continuing into the early American Period (1850-1870), many of the Indians who had been baptized at the San Buenaventura Mission lived near the river and were concentrated in the area between Oak View and Ventura. For the year 1828, Father Francis Xavier Uria described four sheep ranches maintained by the mission up the Ventura River drainage. One league up river from the mission, was a ranch with six married couples. Three quarters of a league further was a ranch with nine adults and five children. Three leagues from the preceding and therefore four and three quarter leagues from the mission was a sheep camp with fourteen old and young neophytes living at it. Between the last two mentioned camps was an area described as the best piece of land where oxen, a few tame horses, and four flocks were pastured (Engelhardt 1930: 66).

**kaspat kaqwa** - kaspat kaqwa Simplicio Pico : Means “nido de la garza”(heron’s nest). Fernando Librado: A place west of Matiliha creek and north of the Llano de Santa Ana (present site of Lake Casitas), the name of the picacho of Fernando’s notes. Or. (JPH abbreviation, person not identified) says the Sturgis ranch is there now. Crisogno Ayala and Cosome Venegas had a wheat and barley field where is now known as the Robinson ranch (Dick Robinson and his brother own it), between Matilija river and Santa Ana schoolhouse. Woqótsh was a sheep herder for Crisogeno Ayala. Wóqótsh’s wife was Juana Joaquina. The son of the two was nicknamed Chacho (Spanish muchacho, Calif. Sp slang). Wóqótsh means in V. “something which is old but will last forever, has no end.” Fernando said the sheep shearers at the Santa Ana ranch included Melton. Sketch map shows the Crisogeno Ayala adobe on west side of river and west of the rocky summit (picacho de piedras). Fernando described the use of bear suits and described a trip using one in which Ustoquio bumped against the sharp hill called kasap kaxwa (Hudson 1979: 124).

Henshaw list B 24 Kas-pat’-ka-wha E of Santa Ana Ranch

kaspat kahwa V. ‘nest of the heron’ (Applegate 1975: 33).

**salnaqalkaj siku’w** - salnaqalkaj siku’w Means el encino que está recargado. José Juan Olivos straightened out word perfectly, and says that Santa Ana plain is called El Llano Verde in Spanish.

Pico-Henshaw 74, Pico Sal najalcai-si cuw, Henshaw Sal-na-ha-kai-si-ku, El llano de Santa Ana.

kalnahalkay kaku’w V. ‘offset oak’ (Applegate 1975: 31).

Ventura baptisms [one]: Sulucucay, José Juan Olivas thinks the form must be sulukukaj.

**Matilija** - mat’ilha ‘division’? in Ojai dialect of V. (Applegate 1975: 36). Pico-Henshaw 73 Matilija Pico: Mat,ilaha Henshaw: \*Mat’-i-la-ha. \* The stars indicate the capitals or more

populous and important towns where festivals, fiestas and perhaps councils were held]. Henshaw list B 19 Mat'kila-ha Matiliha Ranch.

Fernando Librado and Simplicio Pico give mat'ilha, but JEP gives "mat,ilaha" and José Juan Olivos gives mat'ilaha. Libro Bautismos of San Buenaventura Mission regularly gives Matilja.

Candalaria Valenzuela told Henley "The Matilija Indians spoke the same dialect as those of Ventura and Sespe" (Blackburn 1963: 142).

A map with Expediente number 152 titulo 68 Plat Map 387 for the Rincon or Matilija Ranch indicates the Rancheria of Matilija was adjacent to and on the east side of the Ventura River.

**Somes** - s'omis V. 'scrub-oak spring'? (Applegate 1975: 42).

Somes occurs many times in the Libro Bautismos of San Buenaventura Mission. Simplicio Pico said s'omis is at the broad place in San Antonio Canyon. The canyon is narrow above and below there. Simplicio Pico saw a vinna (vineyard) there, but there were no houses in his day. Another time Simplicio Pico said it is on a hillside.

Pico-Henshaw 75 Rancho No.1 al norte Pico: S,ohmes Henshaw: S'o-mu'sc.

Henshaw list B 20 So-mürs' In-so-ma Ranch.

**Aujai** - 'awha'y V. moon (Applegate 1975: 27). Pico-Henshaw 71 Pico Auhay Rancho Viejo Henshaw Au-hai'. Henshaw list B 17 Au-hai Ojai Ranch.

Simplicio Pico: Springs in upper Ojai, cross hill in going to that place from Nordhoff. Candalaria 'aXwai.

Aujai is archaeological site VEN-132 in the Upper Ojai Valley.

### ***Santa Paula Creek area***

**Sisa** - sis'a = V. 'the eyelash' village on what is now Sisar Creek, E of Ojai (Applegate 1975: 41).

Pico-Henshaw 70 Pico Sisah Canyon de Santa Paula. Given as one of the larger rancherias.

Candelaria Valenzuela? told Harrington "Out this way [Ventura?] is a paredon alto grande blanco [large high white cliff] que se llama sis'a ka = my eyelash [Box 747 Folder 15, Leaf 6

Berkeley pp 37]. Mr. Sheridan told Harrington that Sizar mountain is horizontally striated and can be seen from railroad bridge at mouth of Ventura River.

The site of Sisa is near the junction of Sisar and Santa Paula Creek. The Ferndale Ranch site VEN-404 was excavated in by Bowers in 1878 where he found a burial with plank boat fragments with asphaltum plugs and glass beads. Ancient Enterprises excavated in the site in 1978.

**Mupu** - Mupu = village on Santa Paula Creek (Applegate 1975:37). Pico Henshaw 65. *Santa Paula* Mupu, Mu-pu'

Henshaw list B. 13. Mu-pu, Santa Paula (Heizer 1955:198).

Candelaria in Henley and Binzel:

An Indian rancheria was located in Santa Paula at a place between Blanchard's packing-house and the railroad depot on the north side of the track at a large sycamore tree. There was the only dwelling where now stands Santa Paula. An old Indian family lived there and numerous Indians would come and visit. On the death of the old Indian head of the house the widow was left with four sons, two of whom were hung for horse-stealing (Salisto and Chino). The hanging was done by Spaniards from Ventura. The two remaining boys harvested a crop of grain which had been grown, also beans, chili, acorns etc., placed it in the house, sold off all the stock and left, never to return. The old squaw after the departure of her boys, began packing the crop to a cave located in the high hills south of Santa Paula and across the Santa Clara [woho'os]. She used the regular Indian Basket or *cora*, with a rawhide strap placed over her forehead. After the job was completed she sealed up the entrance to the cave with stones and leaves. This supply lasted her two years, and when came the time when she suffered for food as she was in danger of starving, Indians from Saticoy came after her and built a hut for her at that place and looked after her wants [Blackburn 1963:143].

Harrington notes: Candelaria : Box 747, Folder 15, Leaf 6. Berkeley p 37 - mupw place where the houses of Santa Paula stand.. José Juan Olivas said: maq'a'w (sic) = Filmore. One comes first to maq'a'w, then to seKp'e, then maqaqal, then **mupu**, then katsh'antuk, then satik'oj, then kam'oq, then kamaqakmu, then mitsKanaKan. The old rancheria was this side of cañadita in the border of the present town. Old adobe houses there still, now ruins.

On August 12, 1769 Crespi observed:

... we stopped in this same hollow not very far from the trees along the river, where we met with a good sized heathen village encamped within the woods close to the river, where there was very good green grass.

I named this village *San Pedro Moliano*, Saint Peter [of] Mogliano, belonging to Santa Clara Town. ... Once camp was set up, the whole village full of men, women and children came over, very fine well-behaved friendly heathens, with twelve bowls full of gruel and sage, which our officers accepted and made them a present of beads with which the poor souls were well pleased [Brown 2001:383].

On August 28, 1795, Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria's described his journey back to Ventura from San Francisquito to Ventura Mission:

On the twenty-eighth (twenty-seventh) we set out from this valley [Newhall] at six in the morning. Going all day along the Rio de Santa Clara, we arrived at a quarter past six in the evening at the Rancheria de Mupu, distant from this Mission about six leagues. Here we rested for the night.

On the twenty-ninth (twenty-eighth) we left said place at six in the morning and arrived at this Mission at ten without any incident [Engelhardt 1927: 9].

In 1804 Señan observed:

Furthermore we assure you that the Sisa River has to be crossed near the rancheria of Mupu. Although this river carries very little water during the dry season, it becomes impassable for 3 or 4 days after a heavy rain [Simpson 1962: 12].

Edberg noted the following concerning people baptized from Mupu:

Of the 103 people baptized from Mupu at Mission San Buenaventura, 39 nuclear family pairs have tentatively been identified where the village of origin of at least one of the spouses is listed. There were fourteen sets of parents with both parents from Mupu and sixteen sets with one parent from Mupu and the other unknown (five Mupu fathers, eleven Mupu mothers). Two individuals had fathers from Aujai, another individual's father was from Tashlipun [San Emigdio], and four other individuals had mothers from Matilija, Sisa, Alalehue and Sisolop. One individual had neither parent from Mupu: the father was from Tashlipum (San Emigido) and the mother from Cayegues (northeast of Camarillo) [1981: 50].

A map by Van Valkenburgh indicates the presence of an historic Chumash settlement in an area consistent with Candelaria's description.

Plat Map No. 395 of the Rancho Santa Paula y Saticoy indicates an "Old Adobe House" in the vicinity of the railroad tracks in the town of Santa Paula (Los Californianos: Expediente No 204). This is possibly the structure referred to by Candelaria.

**Alalehue** - alahew

Fernando thinks Alalahue must be for alaḥew.

In a letter by Señan in 1804 he referred to villages in order going from Ventura up the Santa Clara River as Mupu, Alalehue, and Secpe (Simpson 1962: 14).

Edberg presented information concerning Alalehue (1981: 59-60)

The native marriages recorded at San Buenaventura Mission indicate that families residing at Alalehue included a father from **Mupu** [Vb 2016], a father from **Secpe** [Vb 2478], a father from **Chumpache** and mother from **Chujguiyujush** [Vb 1567] [other baptisms from this village F Sujuijos- ties to Castech, father of chief of rancheria from Calasaugui apparently Calahuasa in the Santa Ynez Valley. Sujuijos was possibly located in the Canada de los Alamos area southwest of Gorman], a father from **Mupu** and mother from **Chumpache** [Vb 1776], Vb 2590 text of **Chumpache** margin Alalehue, Fb 1690 of Alajleu husband of Fb 1691 of **Tapu** sister of Fb 1027 of Tapu and Fb 1201 of Piru [1981:60].

The site of alaḥew has not been identified. It was apparently situated along the road between Mupu and Sespe on the north side of the Santa Clara River.

### **Sespe Creek Area**

**Majajal** - Maḥahal - V. 'new village' (Applegate 1975:35)

Pico Henshaw 64. *San Cayetano* Majajal, Ma-ha-hal

Henshaw list B. 14. Ma ha-'ha'he, San Kaietano rancheria (Heizer 1955:198).

Taylor: "The rancherias near the Mission of San Buenaventure were ... Immahal, not far from Mahow.

Harrington notes: maqaqaḥ San Cayetano, according to all informants. Old Leopoldo told Fernando it means "villa nueva." Candelaria? Box 747, Folder 15 leaf 6 pp 37 MaXaXaḥ = San Cayetano- was a rancheria there. The big hill of maXaXal (the big sierra) was called waha'as. Juventino del Valle: San Cayetano is west of Filmore was originally the San Cayetano Ranch. Both sides of Santa Clara River. Jose Juan Olivas said maq'a'w (sic) = Filmore. One comes first to maq'a'w, then to seKp'e, then **maqaqaḥ**, then mupu, then katsh'antuk, then satik'oj, then kam'oq, then kamaqakmu, then mitsKanaKan.

Jaminot place name list: maqaqaḥpea, San Cayetano. The adobe houses there were just above the confluence of the water which came from *seqpe'ng* and the Santa Clara River. They were on kind of a knoll and overlooked the waters of Sespe Creek. Eugenia Mendez supposes that *seqpe'ng* must have been a place up-creek from there.

The Plat Map No. 397 of the Sespe or San Calletano Rancho indicates an “Old Adobe House” on the east side of the confluence of the creek which parallels Halls Road and the Santa Clara River (Los Californianos: Expediente No 100).

**Sespe** - Vb Secpe. s'eqp'e = V. 'kneekap', village on what is now Sespe Creek (Applegate 1975:40)

Pico Henshaw 63. *Sespe* Se ekpe, Se-ek'-pe

Henshaw list B. 15. Sek'-pe Cespe Ranch (Heizer 1955:198).

Harrington notes: Box 747, Folder 15, Leaf 6 Berkeley pp. 37, Candelaria: Candelaria was born in the canyon called seKpe. Eugenia Mendez had heard of there being fish up there. Said by Fernando and others to mean knee-pan. Jose Juan Olivas said maq'a'w (sic) = Filmore. One comes first to maq'a'w, then to **seKp'e**, then maqaqal, then mupu, then katsh'antuk, then satik'oj, then kam'oq, then kamaqakmu, then mitsKanaKan.

On August 11, 1769, Crespi observed a people at a ramada and an adjacent village in the vicinity of Sespe Creek where two creeks joined the Santa Clara River:

... and made camp close to a very sizable, big village of very fine, well-behaved tractable heathens, who on our reaching here were camped within a large pen having only one passage for an entrance (and so this began to be referred to, among the soldiers, as the *Rancheria del Corral*, Pen Village). On our arriving here, they put around my own and our officers' necks a sort of rosary necklace made of their beads, a very handsome one that I am keeping; and we must have met at least five hundred souls here, what with men, women, and children. While we were standing so. we noticed about eight heathen men coming up behind some trees, carrying bows and arrows, and evidently returning from hunting in the mountains; as soon as these others were seen close by, by those belonging to the Pen here, three or four of them went running out and took away their bows, and having loosened the bowstrings and tying up together bows, arrows and all, in this way they brought the others in. Meanwhile we took our leave and withdrew a way to where we set up our camp. The village lay close to where we had found them encamped, with a great many very large round houses well roofed with grass. We saw some underground ones as well, with their vaulted dirt roofs, so that only the vault is visible, rising out of the ground like an oven. These houses have chimney-holes on top, making a sort of a doorways through which they go in and out by means of ladders. Inside they are quite large, forming a sort of porticoes in which it appears they build their fires. They must go inside them during very cold seasons.

The entire village here, as soon as we had set up our camp, came over with a vast number of very large, very finely made baskets with very delicious well-flavored gruel and a vast amount of sage for refreshment, which same servings of seeds they have been repeating at every meal time while we have

happened to be here. The gruel was passed out among the soldiers and among the neophytes who are with us, and over a double hundredweights worth of left-over sage alone was packed up when we left here. They brought us very large well-flavored pine nuts and a sort of boiled almonds which I tasted, and they said there was a great deal of both kinds in back of the mountains that we had before us, the things that seemed like almonds were bitter, no telling what it may have been. We have seen some round wooden bowls so well carved and smooth, so even in thickness from top to bottom, that I doubt whether even the best woodworker with all his measurements and tools could do as well. They have spent the whole time with us, very friendly and happy, and totally fearless as though they had been dealing with us forever. While all of the heathen men were at the camp, our Governor went over to the village with Don Pedro Fajes, where they counted of women and children alone more than three hundred souls'; and according to what we have understood from themselves, there are ten villages throughout this district. ... While a great many heathens were sitting with us, I happened to take out my snuff box in order to take a pinch, and they all began asking me for some, explaining to me by signs that it was good for the headache; and I had to pass out two good boxes full as every one of them came up with his own little piece of cane for me to put it in, with each cutting off an ell's length of their beads to hand to me, and though I let them know that the tobacco would be a gift, and there was no need to give me beads, there was no help for it but that everyone must give me his own piece—all of which afterward I ordered joined together, and so ended with a few yards' worth which I am still keeping. They are made of white shells, with some of the beads red like coral, but are so exceedingly small and fine that one cannot tell how they manage to pierce and string them. The women at this place all wear two very fine good-sized deer skins, some worn in front and others in back, which they close up well at the sides, making them into as many good-sized skirts reaching to their ankles [Brown 2001:375-381].

On April 27, 1804 Senan wrote:

We assure you, from positive knowledge and experience, that the Santa Clara River has to be crossed a very short distance above [east of] the rancheria of Secpey, where the least difficult ford is to be found [Simpson 1962:12].

On May 5, 1824 Fr. Antonio Ripoll wrote to Vicente de Sarria concerning the mission revolt:

... to the alcalde of this mission [San Buenaventura] who should at once come with the families who are with him at the fields of Sejpe, belonging to this mission [C-C 3: 97].

Edberg presented information concerning Secpe (1981: 61-65). He noted:

... 56 people were baptized into Mission San Buenaventura between 1790 and 1820, and seven Secpe people were baptized into Mission San Fernando between 1808 and 1819 [1981: 63].



From the mission registers 15 nuclear family pairs living at Secpe have been identified. ... In six of these family pairs, both parents were originally from Secpe, and resided there after marriage. In seven families, one parent was from Secpe and the other was from another village; and in two instances both parents were from villages other than Secpe. Of the fathers, one was from **Sapue**, one from **Mupu**, one from **Tashlipum**, one from **Matilija**, one from **Alalehue**, and the rest from Secpe. Of the mothers, one was from **Lisicchi** [Arroyo Sequit], one from **Sisa**, one from **Mupu**, one from **Cashtec**, one from **Quimishaq**, two from **Alalehue**, and the rest from Secpe [1981:64].

The Crespi description indicates that the village of s'eqp'e was in the vicinity of the confluence of Sespe and Boulder Creeks with the Santa Clara River in the vicinity of Sespe and Oak Villages.

**Chumpache** - Vb Chumpache. This place was not known to Harrington consultants, was not visited by Spanish expeditions, and the name has not been identified on maps or in other sources. There is, however, a Chumash settlement site occupied during the historic period that fits the location indicated by overlap between San Buenaventura and San Fernando Missions and kinship ties to other settlements.

A cemetery used during the historic period at Squaw Flat (VEN-74, 55-08) indicates the presence of a native settlement north of Sespe and east of Sespe Creek. This was probably the settlement of Chumpache.

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## Tataviam Settlements Near the Los Padres National Forest.

Most Tataviam settlements are in the vicinity of the Angeles Forest and all are discussed in a study of the Angeles Forest (King 2003). Tataviam places most closely associated with the Los Padres Forest are in the eastern part of the Ojai Ranger District.

### Piru pi'irukung

“pi-idhuku - It is said that Piru took its name from its own Shoshonean dialect meaning sedge or grass” (Johnston 1962: 9). A list of Chumash settlements made by Juan Esteban Pico and Herbert Henshaw includes a Chumash name for Piru “61. El piru Cashtu, Kac-tu” . Harrington notes: Fustero: Chumash kashtu = Jam.[Serrano-Jaminot] aKavavea, they used to have a sweathouse at aKavavea. kashtu = Ventureno Chumash. ‘the ear’ (Applegate 1975:32). The Serrano name also means ear. Whether these were the pre-mission names given by Chumash and Kitanemuk Serrano for the Piru village or were names of a later settlement in Piru canyon is not known.

Harrington notes: [Harrington often spelled Piru as Piro.]. Juventino del Valle: Name of grant is Temescal - named from the Temescal in the Piru Canyon was outside of Temescal Ranch. Piru is Indian name of the Creek. Fustero: Chumash kashtu = Jam. aKavavea, they used to have a sweathouse at aKavavea. Called the place in Spanish - El Temescal. Candelaria Box 747 Folder 15, Leaf 6. Berkeley pp. 44: kashtu = Piro. Box 747 Folder 15, Leaf 6. Berkeley pp. 37: Fustero talks Serrano dialect mas como Tejon. Setimo Lopez (San Fernando Tongva): pi'i'ruk - is a place - esta Camulo par arriva. pi'iruknga - this name means tule in Serrano; it is Serrano informant volunteers.

Eighty-nine people from Piru were baptized at San Fernando Mission. Most were baptized in 1803 and 1804. People from Piru were married to people from other Tataviam, Serrano and Chumash settlements.

Pajauvinga was a one family settlement recruited before Piru and Camulus. When she was baptized, Fb 612 of Pirubit was married to Fb 572 of **Pajauvinga** (Fm139) and had a 7 year old daughter (Fb 510) by Fb 572. She also had a 5 year old son (Fb 589) by Gb 1988 of **Tochonanga** who had transferred from San Gabriel to San Fernando Mission (Fd 36). The son was said to be a brother of the witness at his baptism (Fb 362) who was from **Siutcabit** [Encino].

Tochonanga was perhaps the most important Tataviam settlement and was recruited before Piru. One Tochonanga tie is described above. Marriage Fm 161 was between a man, Fb 708 of Chonabit [**Tochononga**] and a woman, Fb 719 of Piru.

Soon after her baptism, Fb 748 of Piru married Fb 502 (Fm 170) brother of a woman (Fb 293) who was wife of a man (Fb 301) with parents from **Passenga**.

The daughter of the chief of **Coyabit** (Fb 932) was married to a man from Piru (Fb 915), Fm 185b. Coyabit was a three or more family settlement recruited at same time as Piru. John Johnson suggests that Coyabit may be the Tataviam name of Camulus

Fb 1125 Chagieu of Piiru is listed in his second marriage entry as a native of **Piybit** (Fm 472); his first marriage was a native marriage to Fb 1126 of Piru (Fm 236)

A man of **Tochaboronga** (Fb1207) was married to a woman from Piru (according to John Johnson compilation) (Fb1224), Fm 269. Tochaboronga was a medium sized settlement recruited at same time as the later recruits from Piru.

The chief of **Pabuttan** (Fb1867) was married to a woman from Piru (Fb1890), Fm 511. The wife of a Piru man (Fb914) was from **Pauvit** (Fb933), Fm 186. Two natives of this possibly one family settlement (it may be the Tataviam name of a known Chumash settlement) were recruited after Piru in 1811. Pabuttan was probably north of Piru

The daughter (Fb1203) of the chief of **Taapu**, the Chumash settlement south of Piru, was married to a Piru man (Fb1202), Fm267. A Piru man Fb859 was husband of a woman (Fb 864) from the Chumash village of **Quimisac** located southwest of Piru.

Small settlements such as Camulus (Coyabit) may have been satellite settlements of the Piru village.

Archaeological and ethnographic data indicate that the Piru settlement recruited into San Fernando Mission was located at La Esperanza, now under Piru Lake. Harrington recorded from Fustero:

piɬukung= La Esperanza, place (plain, huerto) three miles below Fustero's place. This is in the Castec [Tataviam] language. Fustero's mother's father talked that dialect which is much like the one that Fustero talks [Johnson and Earle 1990:198].

Van Valkenburgh observed:

[Esperanza Ranch] was the site of the main Indian cemetery of the Piru Canyon. The last burial made there was that of Juan Fustero alias Lugo in 1879. A few years later Stephen Bowers, Dr. Guillberson and William Whitcare [sic.] excavated in the same cemetery [Van Valkenburgh 1935:site 13].

This is apparently the Santa Felicia Canyon site prospected at by Bowers on May 22, 1879 (Benson 1997:133). Robert Lopez described the site:

..it was located on Rancho Esperanza which was later called Temescal Flats and which now is part of Lake Piru. The village site occupied a small knoll at the northern extent of the Temescal Flats area, and today during periods of low water in Lake Piru people flock to "Indian Island" and hunt for relics, ... The extent of the midden represented indicates the village may very well have dated from a period prior to Spanish contact [1974:50-51].

Harrington notes: Casamiro once told Eugenia. that the real pi'iruKung was by point of hill just below where J.J. Fustero lives now. Old cemetery there. Eugenia remembers distinctly what he told Eugenia.

Harrington notes: Setimo Lopez (San Fernando Tongva): pi'i'ruk - is a place above Camulo. pi'iruknga - this name means tule in Serrano [Tataviam]; it is Serrano informant volunteers.

Juan Jose Fustero lived near Piru when he was interviewed by Kroeber and Harrington. Recent genealogical research demonstrates that Serrano speaking Juan Fustero had Tataviam ancestors baptized at San Fernando Mission. His father was a child of parents born at La

Liebre, a Tataviam settlement. His mother's father was born at Piru. His mother's mother was of Serrano ancestry (Johnson and Earle 1990:198-201).

In 1857, Don Ygnacio del Valle purchased the Rancho Temescal. Smith observed:

But he found most of Piru Canyon's grasslands occupied by Indians. Determined to run his herds on the virgin grass along Piru Creek, he induced Juan and other "survivors" of smallpox to move upstream. They settled on and near what is now the Lisk Ranch; and when the Jaynes bought some of the area upon the father's death in 1878, Juan pestered them for several years, claiming they had not paid enough for the land [1969:5].

Smith said that del Valle gave Juan 40 horses to move out of the Temescal grant in 1857 (1969:4).

Harrington notes: Juventino del Valle: Name of grant is Temescal - named from the Temescal in the Piru Canyon was outside of Temescal Ranch. Piru is Indian name of the Creek. Van Valkenburgh stated concerning the settlement of Akavavi:

The last Indian occupation was that of the mixed Haminot-San Fernandiño Fusteros, who were bribed by the Del Valles to vacate so that the title might be cleared.. The remains of the Temescal can still be seen. This was last used in 1867 [Van Valkenburgh 1935:site 11].

Van Valkenburgh listed a site near the present town of Piru. He said:

... in the year of 1861 the Indian population of forty persons were made up of Ventureño Chumash, Kitanemuk, Haminot, San Fernandiño, and occasional San Luiseno and Yokuts [Van Valkenburgh 1935:site 10].

This is probably the same settlement visited by Stephen Bowers on May 24, 1879.

About one mile above the mouth of the Piru we visited some Indians who are living in houses thatched with grass. Saw some fine metates and mortars [Benson 1997:133].

Settlements west and north of Piru were Chumash settlements. They included the settlements of Sespe, Chumpache, Matapjahlua and Suijuijos. Matapjahlua and probably Suijuijos were in the upper Piru Creek drainage.

# Chapter 6 - Outreach to Native American Communities

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## Introduction and Approach

Part of the ethnographic overview project involves documenting the perspectives of the modern day descendants of the people and cultures who inhabited the Forest Service land in prehistoric times. As described in the previous chapters, the Indians have a strong cultural affiliation with the land of their ancestors. The present day affiliation typically involves ongoing physical use of the land, an understanding of the ecology of these lands, and a feeling of stewardship. Traditional cultures used and revered the natural geography as a source of the essential resources for daily life, and as a source of spiritual and religious identity and inspiration.

Some of the material in this chapter echoes information presented in earlier chapters. However, the material presented earlier has been developed by the separate ethnographic experts over long years of working with Native American people in each area of expertise. The intent of this chapter instead is to report the results of the Native American outreach efforts conducted by NEA staff members between October 2002, and October 2003, specifically for the purpose of this ethnographic overview.

## Objectives

The objectives of this section include:

- To identify the current Native American uses of the Los Padres Forest;
- To report the socioeconomic implications of forest uses; and

- To document Native American issues and areas of concern regarding forest management.

## Approach

Over the course of a year, efforts were made to contact and meet with representatives from Native American groups. Initially, representatives were each sent a letter describing the project. A copy of the letter and a list of representatives are included in Appendix D of this report. This letter encouraged participation from the tribal representatives, and provided contact information. Copies of a list of questions that might elicit the desired information from Native American people were also circulated, accompanied with self-addressed, stamped envelopes (see Appendix D). A workshop was held with USFS staff and tribal representatives. This workshop provided information on the Forest Service Plan Update process in the morning, and the Ethnographic Overview process in the afternoon. Notes from this workshop have been compiled here.

In addition to information provided during the workshop, interviews were conducted in person or by telephone with 15 different people representing at least eight different tribal groups. Several of these interviews were conducted during the California Indian Conference, held in October 2003 in Watsonville, California. Notes from the interviews, and the complete text of responses from the questionnaires that were completed are also presented in Appendix C. Excerpts from these are used selectively throughout this chapter. Information for this section was also collected through interviews with USFS staff.

The people interviewed for the outreach effort represent both current members of federally recognized Indian tribes, and representatives from groups of not yet federally recognized Native Americans. There is currently just one federally recognized Chumash Tribe that has a reservation near the LPNF, and one tribe that has been recently recognized and as yet has no reservation. The former is the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians, and the latter is the Tehone Band of Chumash Indians. However, many modern-day Indians had ancestors who went into the Spanish mission system and the blending of cultures that occurred at the missions often obscures traditional cultural lines. For this reason, many of the groups are actively struggling to learn more about their ancestors' traditional cultures. Some of the groups or organizations that identify with the Native Americans who lived in the forest in the past are included in Table 13.

Several themes emerged through the outreach interviews. These themes are summarized below. In most cases, no attempt is made to match comments with people, or tribal affiliation of the person who made the comment. This is because many of the interviews were conducted with more than one person at the same time and place; hence comments were often developed as part of a group discussion. Also, in many cases the same comment was made by more than one person interviewed. Finally, the interviews were conducted in keeping with

an agreement of confidentiality. This was done to inspire candid responses during the interviews.

**Table 13**  
**Some Native American Groups with**  
**Ties to the Los Padres National Forest**

Name of Group or Organization	Location
Esselen Nation	Carmel Valley
Coastal Band	Buellton
Salinan Nation	Woodland
Redwind	Atascadero
Bakersfield Chumash Council	Bakersfield
Tejon Indians	Wasco
Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselan Nation	Monterey
Salinan Nation	Oakwood
Central Coastal Basket weavers	Ventura

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## Tribal Uses of Forest Land

Native Americans enjoy and use the forestland for many types of activities. These activities often reflect the unique relationship that exists between Indians and the forestlands, and many, such as hiking and fishing, are the same as those enjoyed by Indians and non-Indians alike.

## Traditional Plant Gathering and Identification

One of the most important activities to occur on the forestland is the gathering of traditional plants. Through renewed interest in basket weaving in particular, knowledge of traditional uses of plants is a popular cultural and educational activity. The Central California Coastal Basket Weavers Association boasts approximately 25 members. The Southern California Indian Basket Weavers (Nex'wetem), which also uses the LPNF for gathering, currently has 70 voting members, who are descended from Native Americans, and another 75 associate members who are not Indian themselves, but who are practicing Indian basket weavers.

Gathering of plants for medicinal use, for food, for ceremonial use, and for household products, is critical to cultural preservation. Some examples of traditional plants that are regularly gathered in the forest and used for a wide variety of traditional uses include those

listed in Table 14. Several people mentioned that the quality of the products gathered from the forest is very important. These products should be uncontaminated and natural:

“Gathering provides medicine, food, artistic supplies, and is a social experience. When you gather, you want it to be as clean and as pure as possible. You never want to gather along a roadside, or near an electrical source, or near any kind of toxic waste.”

Another comment demonstrates that limiting the idea of gathering to plants does not cover the long list of forest products currently used by the tribal groups:

“Not only is plant life important (such as Sage, Anise, Chia, Acorns, Elderberry, Yucca, Mugwort, Basil, Willow, Etc.) but also stones are gathered for carving (soapstone). And the stone gathered from ant holes for use in making rattles. Not only these things, but animal parts found in the forests (feathers, hides: bear, deer, rabbit, etc.). Why can’t these things be made available to us? We also gather wood, pine pitch, and asphaltum.”

## **Horseback Riding**

Horseback riding is used as a means of transportation, recreation, and livestock management. The riding is an activity that helps maintain the traditional connections to the landscape and the ecology of the forest. Because tribal families have long been familiar with horse trails, and horseback riding in the LPNF, (see Traditional Cultural Properties, Chapter 3) some Native people are currently leading pack trips into the area as an educational and commercial tool to help others become familiar with traditional, cultural ways. Because of the economic and cultural importance of horseback riding, trail maintenance ranked a high priority among some Native American representatives.

## **Animal Life and Hunting**

Animals of all types were mentioned as important inhabitants of the forests. Some of the species mentioned were bear, tortoise, fox, raven, eagle, hawk, and big-horned sheep. These animals were mentioned in the context of species that were culturally important. The following two differing responses to a question about hunting demonstrate a lack of unified opinion among Native Americans about hunting:

“Yes, we hunt deer, quail, pigeons, etc. We need to control burns for good feed areas. Small areas of the right kind of brush, black brush or chaparral, scrub oak, produce good feed.”

“Hunters shoot at and destroy cultural sites, hunters with dogs particularly offensive shooting everything. If you need meat, go to Safeway.”



**Table 14**  
**Some Plants Frequently Gathered in the Forest**

Plant	Use
Acorns	Food
Agave	Food, Baskets, Fiber for Clothing, Nets
Beavertail Cactus	Medicine, Food
Brittle Bush	Medicine
Brodiaea	Soap, Brushes, Fishing
Bulrush (Tule)	Cordage, Food, Baskets
Ceanothus	Medicine, Soap
Cedar	Bark for Ceremonial Dress, Toys, Games, Housing
Chia (thistle sage)	Food, Basketry, Medicine
Cottonwood	Basketry, Firewood, Medicine
Deer-Grass	Basketry
Desert Willow	Cordage, Sandals, Clothing, Construction, Medicine, Bowmaking
Juncos	Basketry
Juniper	Cordage, Food, Baskets, Medicine
Laurel Sumac	Leaves for Lip Balm
Manzanita	Basketry, Food, Firewood, Tools, Pipes
Mule-Fat	Hair Rinse, Eyewash, Home Construction
Oaks	Dyes, Toys, Baskets, Medicine
Pentsimon	Medicinal
Pine (pitch, nuts, wood)	Food, Firewood, Construction, Medicine, Basketry
Sage (white and purple)	Herb, Medicine, Food
Soap Plant (Amole)	Soap, Brushes, Fishing
Stinking Gourd (Coyote Gourd)	Baby Rattles, Bleach
Sumac (rhus trilobota)	Basketry, Food, Medicine
Tobacco	Ceremony
Watercress	Food
Wild Buckwheat	Basketry, Food, Medicine
Wild Cucumbers	Basketry, Food
Wild Grapes	Food
Wild Oats	Food
Yerba Santa	Food, Medicinal Tea and Liniment

Yucca	Food, Basketry
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## Religious, Cultural, and Educational Activities

The forest land provides a setting for cultural activities. These activities often serve to educate Native Americans and non-Indians about traditional tribal culture. This type of activity is increasing, with more and more people involved, and more and more people interested in learning. Young tribal people have a growing interest in this area, and the trend suggests there may be more interest in the future. For example, a member of the Santa Ynez Tribe is planning a new Chumash cultural museum in Guadalupe.

The use of the Forest Service land as a site for cultural activities was also mentioned frequently as a way to help achieve the tribal ideals of healthier forests. Several people support the idea of partnering with the Forest Service to educate visitors to the forest about the traditional ways of the Native Americans. In recent history, many Indians feel that sharing of tribal wisdom about ecology, or plants, or locations of culturally important spots, has opened up those things to the exploitation of the non-Indian public. However, this belief is changing toward one where broader education about the traditional culture is seen as a better way to build the respect for nature that this population desires. Here is one comment expressing this view:

“There is a changing consciousness. We have “protected” ourselves to death. We need to reveal some information now to preserve them [culturally important species].”

## Recreation

All of the Native Americans interviewed enjoyed hiking in the forest. Gathering was mentioned as a close second for recreational activities along with camping and “cultural camping.”

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## Places of Importance to Modern Day Native Americans

Representatives interviewed were somewhat reluctant to name specific places of importance for a number of different reasons. One reason is that in many cases the knowledge of important cultural places has been lost in the passing of information from generation to generation, and people are still in the process of trying to recover just such information. Another common reason given was again that no one particular place is, or was important to their ancestors, but rather every spot had a name, and every place was respected. Others interviewed still felt reluctant to share information about the locations of sacred sites, fearing

that sharing of such information will lead to increased visitation at the site, and with visitation, eventually desecration of the site.

In some cases, specific places were named during the interviews. For example,

- ♦ Husankiw-Wind Coves located in what is now Winchester Canyon, CA – SBA 509 and canyon where located; and, Sierra Madre Ridge
- ♦ The U.S. Forest Service has this information. Caves Ranch, Pine Valley, to name a few

More than one person responded that they knew that the USFS staff knew best the locations of the important sites for gathering, rock art, burial and village sites, and other important cultural locations. In the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) environment, NEA electronically mapped the important places that were named by Native American representatives and Forest Service staff. Due to the sensitive nature of this information, the mapping of these sites was not done using precise location information. Instead, general areas have been mapped that include the named place, without revealing the exact location of the site. The goal of this approach is to provide documentation of current places of importance to Native Americans without advertising the location of the site to the general public. In this way, the Forest Service may take this information into consideration when carrying out on-going maintenance and development of the forest. Table 15 below lists the sites that are culturally important to tribes. The list is not inclusive, and there are more places, but these are not at present known to the USFS.

Although the Native American representatives in many cases do not know the locations of places that were important to the cultures of their ancestors, it is clear that interest in this topic is growing rapidly. Recognition that the Forest Service does know some of these locations, and does know and pursue information on the history and ethnography of the land attracts Native Americans interested in their culture and heritage to the Forest Service as one of a few sources of this type of information.

**Table 15**  
**Some Native American Places of Importance in the Los Padres National Forest**

<b>Name of Property</b>	<b>Associated Values</b>	<b>Name of Property</b>	<b>Associated Values</b>
All Recorded Sites	<i>Prehistoric</i>	Lost Valley (Potrero Cyn)	<i>Rock Art Condor/ Pool Rock</i>
All Rock Art Sites	<i>Assoc/ Features/ Landscape</i>	Matilaja Hot springs	<i>Ceremonies</i>
Anderson Peak	<i>Sacred Peak</i>	Mesa Springs	<i>Plants/ Ceremonies</i>
Antap Valley (Cuddy Valley)	<i>Sacred Area (spiritual)</i>	Mismatuk (Arroyo Burro)	<i>Prehistoric Site</i>
Apache Cyn	<i>Prehistoric (sites)</i>	Mono Shrine (campground)	<i>Shrine Eroded Rock</i>
Aquitsum (his-prehis)	<i>N/ A Monitored/ Burial Site</i>	Mono/ Alamar Trails	<i>Trade routes/ Sacred Sites</i>
Big Caliente (hot springs)	<i>Sacred Water/ Ceremonies</i>	Mt. Abel	<i>Sacred Mountain/ Rock Art</i>
Big Pine (sacred mt.)	<i>Prehistoric Site/ Rock Art</i>	Mt. Frazer	<i>Sacred Mountain</i>
Black Mountain	<i>Sacred Mountain</i>	Mt. Pinos	<i>Sacred Mountain</i>
Broadcast Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>	Muhu Tasen	<i>N/ A Community</i>
Branch Mt. (sacred site)	<i>Sacred Mountain</i>	Mutu Flats (bear clan)	<i>Prehistoric Sites/ Rock Art</i>
Cemetery (Indian Ranch)	<i>Sacred ground</i>	Nineteen Oaks (prehistoric site)	<i>Rock Quarry Franciscan</i>
Chews Ridge	<i>Ceremonial Area</i>	Ranger Peak (SLRD)	<i>Prehistoric Sites</i>
Condor Sanctuary	<i>Sacred Site</i>	Red Wind	<i>N/ A Community</i>
Cone Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>	Rose Valley	<i>Piedra Blanca/ Rock Art</i>
Deer Grass Spring	<i>Basketweaving Gathering</i>	Santa Ynez (campground)	<i>Prehistoric Site/ Sweat House</i>
Figueroa Mountain	<i>Traditional Gathering Site</i>	Santa Ynez Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>
Fork Madrone Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>	Santa Ynez River	<i>Plants/ Fishing/ Hunting</i>
Gibraltar area (dam)	<i>Quarries/ Collecting</i>	Serra Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>
Goat Rock	<i>Quarry/ Sacred Rock</i>	Sulpher peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>
Grandmother Rock	<i>Ceremonial Gathering</i>	Tassajara Hot Springs	<i>Ceremonial Gathering</i>
Hurricane Deck	<i>Prehistoric/ Rock Art</i>	Topa-Topa	<i>Sacred Peak</i>
Indian Adobe	<i>Ceremonial Gatherings</i>	Ts,ismuhu (Chismahoo)	<i>Sacred Mountain</i>
Kalwashaq (village)	<i>Santa Ynez Rez Connection</i>	Wagon Cave	<i>Rock Art/ Acorn Milling</i>
La Cumbre Peak	<i>Ceremonial Area</i>	White Acre Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>
Lion Cyn	<i>Prehistoric Sites/ Rock Art</i>	White Grass Mt.	<i>Sacred Mt./ Soxtunokmu</i>
Little Caliente (hot springs)	<i>Sacred Values/ Ceremonies</i>	White Ledge Peak	<i>Sacred Site</i>

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## Notes on Tribal Workshop March 15, 2003

The Forest Service sponsored a workshop was held in Buellton, California, on March 15, 2003, for all interested Native American representatives to come and discuss the Ethnographic Overview project, and to learn about the procedures for updating the new Forest Plan for the Los Padres National Forest. NEA staff took notes at the meeting and these notes are provided below. These notes do not provide anything approaching a transcript of the meeting, and may even exclude some important points. However, they do provide insight into some of the many issues and areas forest management that are important to Native Americans interested in the LPNF:

*The Program began with greetings, introductions, and an invocation, or prayer. Welcomes were expressed by Jeanine Derby, Forest Supervisor; Joan Brandoff Kerr, Forest Service Heritage Resources Manager; Pete Zavalla, Forest Service Tribal Liaison, and Adelina Padilla, from the Santa Ynez Band. Ernie Peters from Redwind also spoke. Ron Pugh then presented an overview of the Forest Service Forest Management Plan Update process.*

*Tribal representatives asked questions and provided many comments throughout the presentation. Notes on some of these comments are provided below:*

- ❖ *Some concern was raised about the ongoing maintenance of archaeological sites (that might have become overgrown, for example).*
- ❖ *After forest fires, have Native Americans been used to conduct archaeological survey? If not, concern was raised about potential theft of artifacts. Forest Service staff answered that in fact Native Americans were used in post-burn archaeological surveys, and were encouraged to continue to do so in the future.*
- ❖ *Are there sufficient stations or programs within the forest to teach the public about the traditional cultures that thrived on the land?*
- ❖ *A suggestion was made to provide of some kind of retreat for Indian Elders within the forest (perhaps in conjunction with the cultural stations or programs).*
- ❖ *A suggestion was made about providing a Native American plant garden within the forest. Forest Service staff answered that such a project has indeed been initiated at the Los Prietos compound of the Santa Barbara Ranger District.*
- ❖ *It was suggested that the Forest Service work with Indian communities to help secure grants, or other types of funding so that the Indian communities (and, in particular the Native American youth) would be able to participate in the*

*development of more programs that preserve and promote the connection between forestland and tribal cultures.*

- ❖ *More training of Native American archaeologists is needed.*
- ❖ *Indian participation in fire and trail crews was mentioned as a good and useful program. It was recommended that these programs be expanded.*
- ❖ *Concern was raised regarding a meeting that was held two years back. The complaint was that the tribal people had not heard any follow-up after the meeting.*
- ❖ *Questions were asked about the special wilderness designation. What exactly does it mean? Are educational and interpretive centers allowed inside wilderness designations?*
- ❖ *Are mountain bikes allowed inside wilderness designations? Are they allowed to ride wherever they want to, including off the trails? The Forest Service staff stated that cyclists are supposed to stay on trails outside of the wilderness designated areas.*
- ❖ *If motorized vehicles are operating within a wilderness area (such as dirt bikes) are people allowed to, or encouraged to make citizen arrests? The Forest Service staff discouraged the idea of a member of the public attempting to make an arrest on the grounds that it might endanger the person attempting to make the arrest.*
- ❖ *Are there any Native American partnerships currently operating between the Forest Service and any tribal groups?*
- ❖ *Is there the potential to develop a partnership between the Forest Service and a non-federally recognized tribe as well as a federally recognized group? Forest Service staff answered that it might be possible.*
- ❖ *Concern was raised about people gathering and selling sacred plants. Forest Service staff said that people were supposed to get a permit to gather sacred plants.*
- ❖ *Concern was raised not just about gathering leaves or fruit, but also about people digging up entire plants and selling them. This has occurred to the extent that more and more Indians are beginning to cultivate the plants.*

- ❖ *The question was raised as to whether it was legal or not to sell sacred plants. After some discussion by several people in the group, it was determined that it was not illegal to sell sacred plants, and that some people might be growing and selling sacred plants. However, if a species is listed under the Endangered Species Act, as either threatened or endangered, it is not legal to sell the species.*
- ❖ *Questions were raised about the new, "Adventure Pass," and whether or not Native Americans needed to pay for access. Native Americans do not have to pay.*
- ❖ *Questions were raised about the expiration dates on previously distributed access passes. Forest Service staff stated that the new Native American passes did not have expiration dates on them.*
- ❖ *Do Indians need to apply for a pass to use Forest Service land for religious purposes? For example, for sweat lodge use? Forest Service staff answered that permits had been granted so that tribal people could hold sweats inside the forest.*
- ❖ *A comment was made to inform the Forest Service people that in the past accidents have been caused by the use of chemically treated tarps in sweat lodges.*
- ❖ *One commenter stated that no drilling for oil, no oil and gas concessions, no timber production, and no roads should be allowed within the forest. Several agreed.*
- ❖ *A question was raised about whether or not oil and gas leases had recently been approved in the Ojai area.*
- ❖ *A suggestion was put forth for the Forest Service to consider approving a repeated access type of lease for tribes who wish to repeatedly use forestland for ceremonies. The suggestion was made after a longer discussion about oil and gas leases.*
- ❖ *A question was asked about whether an oil or gas lessee has the right to knock down a 300-year-old oak tree.*
- ❖ *Several comments were made about the tribal people feeling removed from the decision-making process.*
- ❖ *Several comments were made that the Tribal Liaison, Pete Zavalla has a big job, and that the Forest Service should consider hiring an assistant for Pete.*



- ❖ *One person had traveled several hours to the meeting and asked whether there was a way to make information or meetings of this type more accessible to those who live far away. This began a discussion of the greater role that local rangers might play in facilitating tribal relations. Forest Service staff also stated that they had attempted to hold the meeting mid-way between the Salinaan, Esselen, Tejon, and Chumash tribal areas.*

*After lunch, Gretchen Greene and Paula Kent from NEA provided a brief presentation of the Ethnographic Overview project. Many questions were raised about the type of involvement that Indian communities might provide for the project. One person expressed concern about the fact that the ethnographic overview would be written largely by non-Indian ethnographers. The concern stemmed in part from the limited perspective that is available to a non-native ethnohistorian; if they must depend on written documents, then the Mission system records are the primary source available. Meanwhile, the Native Americans might have oral traditions that are passed on from generation to generation, and such histories might be more accurate than those that were recorded by the Spanish Priests.*

*Questionnaires were handed out, and some were later returned. On April 14, 2003, NEA staff followed up with telephone calls to participants, encouraging those who completed questionnaires to return them to NEA.*

*A partial list of those people in attendance is provided below:*

<b>Kathy</b>	<b>Montes Morgan</b>	<b>Beverly</b>	<b>Folkes</b>
<b>Fred</b>	<b>Montes</b>	<b>James</b>	<b>Folkes</b>
<b>Ernie</b>	<b>Garcia</b>	<b>Alan</b>	<b>Salazar</b>
<b>Alfred</b>	<b>Romero</b>	<b>Julio</b>	<b>Carrillo</b>
<b>Julio</b>	<b>Corrillo</b>	<b>Ernie</b>	<b>Peters</b>
<b>Anthony</b>	<b>Salazar</b>	<b>Art</b>	<b>Lopez</b>
<b>Jesse</b>	<b>Mendoza</b>	<b>Gretchen</b>	<b>Greene</b>
<b>David</b>	<b>Diaz</b>	<b>Jeanine</b>	<b>Derby</b>
<b>Pat</b>	<b>Tumamait</b>	<b>Pete</b>	<b>Zavalla</b>
<b>Adelina</b>	<b>Alva-Padilla</b>	<b>Joan</b>	<b>Brandoff-Kerr</b>
<b>Paula</b>	<b>Kent</b>	<b>Kathleen</b>	<b>Phelps</b>
<b>Kathy</b>	<b>Good</b>	<b>Marcus</b>	<b>Lopez</b>
<b>Gloria</b>	<b>Silva</b>	<b>Jim</b>	<b>Turner</b>

These notes, and the attendance at this workshop, demonstrate two things clearly. First, there is a great deal of interest in the management of the LPNF among Native American groups. Second, the members of these groups use the forest for a wide variety of activities.

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## Forest Service-Native American Partnership

Current forest management strategies are often consistent with the views of Native Americans, in that much of the management has reinforced and supported education about the traditional culture of the tribal people. Examples are support for activities such as the Native American fire crews, and youth programs. The Native American representatives praised the efforts of the LPNF Heritage Resources Manager, and Tribal Liaison officer. Without exception these employees received commendation for the work they are doing, with only a complaint that the job was too big for one person.

The importance of the commendations for the Forest Service staff by members from Native Americans interviewed signifies more to some of those interviewed than mere appreciation. Some of those interviewed explained that the personal relationships between Forest Service staff and tribal representatives are often as much as or more critical than USFS policy. As one person interviewed noted:

“When you are working with Native Americans, the issues are ALWAYS personal!”

“I have never encountered anyone for the Forest Service, who has ever denied me access to the forest. Forest Service has been very good to me in this area. They try hard.”

Others still remind the Forest Service that there is plenty of room for improvement. Below are some comments:

“I feel that the Forest Service doesn’t completely understand the complexity of native cultures. They look at one small area opposed to the whole cultural landscape and make decisions based on their limited cultural understandings.”

“I find that ONE person is the only person who knows. Thus, all people in the Forest Service need to be educated about the importance of culturally sensitive sites. Some rangers don’t even know that we are allowed to gather. More in the past than lately.”

## Collaboration

Cases of successful cooperation in resolving issues of common concern to the Forest Service and Native American people were mentioned during some interviews. One case in particular provides a concrete example of how the USFS can work together with interested parties including Native Americans to reach a solution satisfactory to different interest groups. A

description of what occurred in this case is provided below. The description was written and provided by Brenda Reed, the Forest Service Archaeologist for the North Zone, LPNF:

*Heritage Resource Site Stewards Jim Hill and Joyce Johns, who have contributed many hours of volunteer time to help protect Heritage sites on the Monterey District, contacted the Forest Service and Salinan tribal members regarding a large (potentially 150 or more people) group gathering at a campground during Easter, near an area that is extremely sensitive culturally and archaeologically. The activity had apparently been going on for the past few years, with the size of the group gradually increasing. The Forest Service had not been aware of the gathering because the group had never requested a permit, but both the size of the group and the associated number of vehicles involved in this type of gathering raised concern.*

*Members of the Salinan tribe, the Friends of the Historic San Antonio Mission, and Heritage Resource staff members identified two major areas of concern. First, the dispersed camping area in question had not yet been formally inventoried for archaeological sites, and thus, the event would have a relatively high potential to impact any unidentified sites that might be present. Second, the known cultural and archaeological sites near the campground might experience inadvertent damage from so many people simply “milling around” near their campsites. Also, there was concern that if the large group of people convened at these known sites damages might occur.*

*Discussion between the Heritage staff member responsible for the area and Monterey District Ranger John Bradford resulted in a scheduled field visit to allow Forest Service employees to discuss concerns regarding the general area, with a specific focus on the Easter gathering. Members of the Salinan tribe were invited, but were unfortunately unable to participate due to work commitments. Tribal members thus expressed their concerns via e-mail, and Salinan tribal member Gregg Castro took time from work to participate in a conference call. During this conference call, the group engaged in brainstorming about possible actions to be taken, given the limited timeframe, and the fact that the Forest Service staff did not know the name of the group that was planning the event, nor had any contact information for the group.*

*Ultimately the group in question voluntarily made contact with the Forest Service. The group agreed to work with the Forest Service and to address the concerns through the permit process and public education. The archaeologist also completed some inventory at the proposed camping location, identifying one archaeological site. The campers were asked to stay out of the site in the interests of resource protection. To avoid unauthorized collection, the nature of the resource was not specified. Other measures included permit stipulations such as limiting the number of people that could visit the highly sensitive area at one time.*

*The public education portion of the approach involved an entry point sign and corresponding handout developed specifically for the gathering. The handout was jointly designed by the recreation officer and the archaeologist, and was also circulated to members of the Salinan Tribe for comments. The message in the sign and handout encouraged group members to respect the area, noting the cultural importance of the area to the Salinan Tribe. Both handout and sign requested that people not engage in specific activities that might result in inadvertent damage.*

*Finally, Forest Service personnel completed monitoring during the gathering, and follow-up afterward, to assess whether the measures had adequately addressed concerns. In essence, the conclusion was that the group had cooperated well with the Forest Service. They are seeking a permit again this year, and we anticipate a similar approach to resource protection, pending additional discussion with Salinan tribal members.*

This case demonstrates effective cooperation between the Forest Service and local tribal groups. Several points stand out:

- The site stewardship program was critical to early identification of a potential threat to the resource.
- Upon hearing about the concerns, the Forest Service moved quickly and communicated quickly with the interested parties to develop solutions.
- The solution involved education about the cultural importance of the site, and asked that the group visiting the site be respectful.
- The Forest Service team monitored the activity and followed up afterward to assess the effectiveness of the measures.

## **Tourism, Ecotourism, and Recreation**

In the area of tourism, ecotourism, and recreation, Native American groups have an increasing area of overlap with the Forest Service. Some tribal groups are currently involved with tourism in conjunction with education about the ecosystem, and traditional culture. One example of this is pack trips run by a predominantly Esselen company in the Monterey District.

While tribal groups see the economic activities associated with recreation and tourism partially as a desired goal, many often have pointed to the negative elements of recreational visitors to the areas. For example, a number of people expressed a fear of going to certain parts of the forest because they were afraid that tourists — especially those carrying guns — pose a threat to safety. Others complained that illegal marijuana is grown in more remote

areas of the forest. Several also were concerned with a lack of the ability of the Forest Service to enforce the regulations of the forests. Specifically, several representatives interviewed were concerned about use of the forest by the Winchester Canyon Gun Club, and in particular that the gun club activities are disruptive to those who would visit rock art sites at the “wind caves.” Although Forest Service staff members are working with the Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians on this issue, other groups of Native Americans who are not federally recognized are nonetheless concerned and would like to be included in the process of resolving any potential conflicts.

## **Communication**

Although much progress has been made in the area of communication, many tribal representatives felt “out of the loop” on what was going on within the forests. Some felt that, although Native Americans were consulted on matters, there has been little follow through at times in the past. Apparently the best source of information seemed to be through personal interaction with the Forest Service tribal liaisons, and many Native Americans expressed that more such tribal liaisons be hired, since the LPNF covers such a vast area.

Examples of frustrations experienced by tribal representatives are shown below in response to the question, “Are you satisfied with the Forest Service’s efforts to ensure protection of buried remains or other sensitive sites?” “Can you recommend any guidelines for how the Forest Service might better protect and identify such areas?”

“Forest Service needs to follow its own laws: consult with all concerned parties; properly manage and protect sights; avoid conflict of interests; complete required EA and other reports; and thoroughly research and understand these sites and native cultures.”

“They could share more info with us.”

“CEQA and NAGPRA should be better enforced; we provide input and no action is taken; we provide input, and there is still no enforcement.”

Some suggested a website be kept up that focused on issues of interest to Native Americans. Other suggestions include training for Native American Forest Rangers. Yet the Forest Service is also making an effort to collect and disseminate information, so it is not clear whether the problem is mostly perceived, or genuine.

## **Value of Information**

There are several features of the relationship between the USFS and the many different Native American groups who are interested in the forest that pose some interesting challenges

to efforts to manage the forest's heritage resources. Throughout the U.S., interest in traditional culture and Native American heritage is increasing at an impressive rate. Yet for many of the Native Americans in this area of California, there is little information available on the topic because the Spanish mission history did so much to erode the indigenous culture. Hence what information there is has become highly valued, and highly controversial.

Some of the controversy surrounds the fact that most of the information available comes from non-Indian academic researchers. Many Indians interviewed expressed frustration with this fact, and stressed that other types of information, such as oral information passed from generation to generation among Native American families may provide different kinds of information than that which had been documented by non-native ethnographers, historians, and Spanish Priests.

Other groups expressed preferences for certain researchers over others. For example, the Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation (OCEN) wrote a letter to NEA expressing the Tribe's views on several ethnographic issues (see excerpts, Appendix C). One such issue was that the Tribe recommended the Forest Service work with researchers that are experts on the OCEN group in heritage resource matters pertinent to the Northern area of the forest.

Further complicating the Native American frustration with sources of ethnographic information is the struggle that many Native Americans face with attaining federal recognition for their tribal groups. On this frontier, the same issues regarding limited sources of information are frustrating both to those who can trace their heritage back to documented sources and to those who can not. Those groups who can, wish to validate their heritage using the existing mission records and other academically accepted standards even though it is provided by sources external to their people. Those who can not document their heritage but who are in fact still Native American may prefer to discredit such information on the grounds that it may exclude them.

These controversies intensify the significance of actions that the USFS takes to work with tribal groups, and magnify the importance of USFS documents on ethnography. Care was taken in the contracting of this document to ensure that both federally recognized, and non-federally recognized tribal groups were included in the efforts to conduct outreach. Furthermore, the Forest Service has generally done an impressive job to include all Native Americans in efforts to communicate throughout their heritage resource work. Still, the challenges faced in particular by the LPNF are worth noting, and bear acknowledgement throughout planning processes.

Because this document is the first ethnographic overview developed for the LPNF, it is recommended that this document be circulated widely among the different Native American groups. Where differences in opinions can be stated, these groups may then register their disagreements with information presented in this volume. Most importantly, this document will provide an excellent overview of the state of the scholarly ethnographic work to date.

## **Fire Control**

Without exception, the Native American representatives were frustrated with the situation regarding forest fires. The Indian traditional land management included the use of controlled fires to keep down underbrush, and to provide for the species that were important to the tribes such as deer to hunt. The timing and method of safely burning was emphasized. Below is one comment made about fire management:

- We would like to and we have begun to work with the USFS to manage our basketry plants through fire management. For example, the deer grass. We would like to do this once the drought is over.

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## **Recommendations for Further Research**

The interests of the Native American community will be well-served by addressing some of the needs for further ethnographic research in the Los Padres National Forest. Several such topics of further research are listed below. These topics were identified by authors Chester King, Gary Breschini, Trudy Haversat, and Randy Milliken.

### **Analysis of Mission Soledad Records**

A thorough analysis of the Mission records from Mission Soledad could help shed light on language boundary questions between Esselen and Salinan in the northern part of the forest. It has been suggested that there may have been considerable intermarriage between people from the different language groups at the Mission. Further analysis of these records could explore the intermarriage hypothesis and in doing so assist the Forest Service in the identification of the Most Likely Descendants in cases of the discovery of buried remains.

### **Reconcile Archaeological and Historic Records in Interior San Luis Obispo County**

A portion of the LPNF falls within the territory that as yet is not known to have been clearly Chumash or Salinan at the time of the arrival of the Spanish. Similarly, many of the archaeological sites associated with the historic settlements have not been identified. Additional archaeological research in this area could be acquired and compared with existing historic information to pursue clarification on this point. Additional ethnohistoric information should also be collected and could aid in the clarification of group boundaries.

## **Conduct Needed Genealogical Research**

Genealogical research has developed considerably as a discipline in the past 15 years. At present, much of the information that may be collected from Mission records has already been analyzed. While this information can describe the original territories of the people who were brought into the mission system, less is known of the whereabouts of the descendants from those Native Americans. In order to attain more information on the connection between Mission Indians and modern day Native Americans, genealogical research has been and is likely to continue to prove an effective way to explore these connections.

## **Record Rock Art**

As shown by these overview, the rock art within the LPNF constitutes a valuable resource, but one which, unfortunately, is being destroyed by natural forces as well as vandalism. A detailed identification and recording project should be conducted to preserve a record of these resources before they are lost completely.

## **Perform Archaeological Overview**

The existing archaeological data from the LPNF has the potential to address several important regional research questions. However, the data were produced over many years, and are scattered among numerous reports and repositories. At this point in time it would be useful to prepare a detailed archaeological overview, establishing the current state of the knowledge, and suggesting productive directions for subsequent field investigations.



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## Appendix A: Ties between Settlements at San Luis Obispo Mission

The following list of ties between settlements follows in the same sequence as the discussion of settlements. The settlements along the coast south of Morro Bay are not included and the emphasis of the list is on interior settlements.

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### Chmimu

Lb 14, Chanqui of Chmimu, Chotcagua X out (Lc 59 Sepjato) was a son of Lb 188 (Lc 176 **Sepjato** who was wife of Lb 186, Guamsala of **Chotcagua** (Lc 229 Stipa) (Lm 41). They were parents of Lb 116 (Lc 114) of Chotcagua.

Gb 49 of Chmimu (Lc 91 Chotcagua) was the daughter of Lb 700 (Lc 625 of **Chotcagua**).

Lb 35 (Lc 206 of Chmimu) was husband of Lb 36 (Lc 150 of **Chotcagua**) (Lm 7). They were parents of Lb 16 of Thue (Lc 6 Chmimu), Lb 37, Lamaisu (Lc 235 of Sepjala, Lc son fa of Chotcagua, Lc 275 son fa of **Tasineca**) and Lb 43 (Lc 130) of **Sepjala**. Lb 1903 of Tpitecoco was a relative of Lb 43.

Lb 348 (Lc 388) of **Chano** was husband of Lb 351 (Lc 372) of Chmimu (Lm 77).

Lb 1228, Cheg, of **Tez ? [Texa]** was husband of Lb 1236 of Chmimu (Lm 286).

Lb 1250, Sulpucpu of Chmimu was brother on the father's side of Lb 331 (Lc 354), Suculu, of **Tsquieu**. Their father was Lgcina who was also father of Lb 930 (Lc 818) of **Sepjato** and Lb 244 of Pismu. He was probably from Sepjato.

Lb 1669 baptized at Chmimu was the wife of Lb 2064 Chichuquit son of Lb 2063 Zneuioli **del Pinal**. Their daughter was Lb 907 of Chmimu.

Lb 1679 of Chmimu was a wife of Lb 1674, Scopopo baptized at **Sepjala**. They were parents of Lb 1093 of **Lhueque** (Lc 921 of Chmimu), Lb 1094 of **Chotquacilul** (Lc 929 of Chmimu), Lb 1148 (Lc 922 of Chmimu). Scopopo was also father of Lb 316 of Chotcagua (Lc 970 of Stalu (Md 273).

Lb 1704, Mayalis, of Chmimu was husband of Lb 1705 of **Tsquieu** (Lm 450). They were parents of Lb 1386 and Lb 1637 of Chmimu. Lb 1961 of Chmimu was a relative of Lb 1704 and Lb 1742. Lb 1742, Lgeleteueusgui, of Chmimu was husband of Lb 1743 of **Lhueque** (Lm 469). They were parents of Lb 1571 of Lhueque.

Lb 1808 of Chmimu was grandmother of Lb 1747, Chuaimu, husband of Lb 1759 of **Chulucucunash** (Lm 475). They were parents of Lb 1749 of Chulucucunach. Lb 1747 was uncle of Lb 1829 and Lb 1831 of **Chojuale**. They were children of Lb 2039 of Chojuale and Lb 1841 of Ttequie.

Lb 1826 of Chmimu was wife of Lb 1812, Elquiluluiata, of **Tsquieu** (Lm 491). They were parents of Lb 1823 of Chmimu. Lb 1812 was a brother of Lb 1812, Equiluluiata of Tsquieu. Lb 1812 was the brother of Lb 1502, Lagiue of **Ltipe**.

Lb 1861 and 1862 were sisters from **Tsquieu**. Lb 1863 was wife of Lb 1862 of Chmimu. Lb 1861 was wife of Lb 1860 of Tsquieu (Lm 497). Their son was Lb 1849 of Chotcagua. Lb 1860 was a relative of Lb 284 of Chotcagua.

Lb 1874 of Chmimu was wife of Lb 1873 of Chmimu (Lm 502). Lb 1873 was father of Lb 2051 whose mother was Lb 2052 of **Satahoyo**. Lb 2150 of **Sepjato** was grandmother of Lb 1873. Lb 1877 of Chmimu was a brother of Lb 1873. He was husband of Lb 1878 of Chotcagua whose name was Chepese. Lb 1971, Chepese of **Chojuale** was husband of Lb 1972 of Chmimu daughter of Lb 1928 of **Sepjala**, husband of Lb 1929 of Chmimu.

Lb 1889, Choloco, of Chmimu was a son of Lb 2095 of **Txpalala** en la Playa.

Lb 1926, Lhuoni, of **Sepjala** was husband of Lb 1927, Stalpu, of Chmimu (Lm 515).

Lb 1967, Smani, of Chmimu was husband of Lb 1868, Snaja (Lm 525). He was probably father of Lb 15 of **Tecoco** whose father was named Tsmeni.

Lb 2016, Lkacka, of **Chano** was the husband of Lb 1974, of **Ltue** (Lm 549). Their children were Lb 1851 of Chmimu and Lb 1943 of **Sepjala**. Lb 2016 also had a child by Lb 1425 of **Tipexpa**. The child was Lb 1426 of Chmimu. Lb 1075 of **Chien** (Lc 892 of Chmimu) was another child of Lb 2016.

Lb 2083, Zauhu, of Chmimu was husband of Lb 2084, Tazana, daughter of Lb 2096 of Las Gallinas- **Chesquio** (Ld 1933) and sister of Lb 2017, Chahuanes, of Santa Ysabel [Lososquiquihe].

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## Sepjala

Lb 35 (Lc 206 of **Chmimu**) was husband of Lb 36 (Lc 150 of **Chotcagua**) (Lm 7). They were parents of Lb 16 of Thue (Lc 6 Chmimu), Lb 37, Lamaisu (Lc 235 of Sepjala, Lc son fa of Chotcagua, Lc 275 son fa of **Tasineca**) and Lb 43 (Lc 130) of Sepjala. Lb 1903 of **Tpitecoco** was a relative of Lb 43.

Lb 59, Guitte (Lc 203 of **Sepjato**) was husband of Lb 60 (Lc 178 of Sepjala) (Lm 10). They were parents of Lb 22 of Sepjato (Lc 109 **Chotcagua**). Lb 203 of Chotcagua (Lc 261 of Sepjala) was also mother of Lb 38 of **Chmoli** (Lc 59 of Chotcagua) and Lb 55 (Lc 108) of Chotcagua

Lb 224 of **Chotcagua** (Lc 230 Sepjala, Lc 314 da fa of Chotcagua) was husband of Lb 225 (Lc 239 of **Chano**). They had a son Lb 19 of Sepjala (Lc 19 Chotcagua). Lb 224 was also husband of Lb 337 of Sepjala and they had a daughter Lb 366 (Lc 318 of Chotcagua).

Lb 223 of Sepjala = Lc 482 Chotcagua.

Lb 1679 of **Chmimu** was a wife of Lb 1674, Scopopo baptized at Sepjala. They were parents of Lb 1093 of **Lhueque** (Lc 921 of Chmimu), Lb 1094 of **Chotquacilul** (Lc 929 of Chmimu), Lb 1148 (Lc 922 of Chmimu). Scopopo was also father of Lb 316 of **Chotcagua** (Lc 970 of Stalu) (Md 273).

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## Chano

My interpretation of the San Luis Obispo registers is that there were two settlements named Chano recruited to San Luis Obispo one near Islay Creek on the coast and one near San Simeon near the northern boundary of the Chumash. The southern Chano was close to the mission. Its chief was chief at the mission and the village was apparently terminated early. Later baptisms from this Chano are of people married into adjacent settlements.

The following Chano baptisms are associated with a Chano located near San Simeon. These people have ties to Llecmoni, Lhueque, and Tuaya located near the northern edge of Chumash territory and north of the area adjacent to the Los Padres National Forest. It is possible that some earlier baptisms (especially those of people married into Chotcagua and



Sepcala may be from the northern Chano. This Chano is north of the area adjacent to Forest lands.

Lb 1098, Lipsus, of Chano located near Satahoyo (Lc 931 of Chano) brother of Lb 1503 of Chano. Lb 1098 and Lb 1503 were sons of Lb 1661 mother of Lb 1554 of **Llecmoni**. Their father was Sucucuu also father of Lb 1375 of Llecmoni. Lb 1538 of **Lhueque** who transferred to San Miguel (Ld 2161) was a blind nephew of Lb 1098.

Lb 1065 of Chano was brother of Lb 1063 (Lc 949) of **Topocolo**. They were sons of Lb 1073 (Lc 939) of **Llecmoni**. Lb 1073 was also father of Lb 1147 (Lc 948) of Topocolo.

Lb 1146 (Lc 932) of Chano was father of Lb 1064 of **Llecmoni**. The mother of Lb 1064 was Lb 1089 (Lc 959) of **Tuaya sited on the Nacim<sup>to</sup> River**.

Lb 2016, Lkacka, of Chano was the husband of Lb 1974, of **Ltue** (Lm 549). Their children were Lb 1851 of **Chmimu** and Lb 1943 of **Sepjala**. Lb 2016 also had a child by Lb 1425 of **Tipexpa**. The child was Lb 1426 of Chmimu. Lb 1075 of **Chien** (Lc 892 of Chmimu) was another child of Lb 2016.

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## Petpatsu

Lb 141 (Lc 155 of **Gmoxmu**) was mother of L 6, Lb 10 (Lc 63 of Petpatsu) and Lb 13 (Lc 107 of Petpatsu). Their father was dead.

Lb 54 Petpatsu (Lc 97 **Gmoxmu**) was a daughter of Lb 298 **Gagatmimu** (Lc 245 Gmoxmu) and Lb 1636, Lcuyu of **Chetpu**.

Lb 124 (Lc 40), Zuhluazania of Petpatsu was husband of Lb 129 (Lc 179) of Petpatsu (Lm 30).

Lb 142 (Lc 166 of Petpatsu) was widow of a dead brother of Lb 25 chief of **Chano** and the mission. Lb 41 Chano (Lc 90 of Petpatsu) was their daughter. Lb 142 also had a child Lb 53 (Lc 70) of Chano.

Lb 472, Macay of **Chano** (Lc 476 Petpatsu) was husband of Lb 475 (Lc 502) of **Tsquieu** (Lm 104). After their baptism they had a child Lb 1469 born at Petpatsu. Lb 1276, Octio of Petpatsu was the father of Lb 472. The mother of Lb 472 was Lb 924 baptized at Petpatsu. Lb 924 was also mother of Lb 474 of Chano (Lc 501 of Sepjato) wife of Lb 471 (Lc 475) of Chano. Lb 1276 also had a child by Lb 179 (Lc 256) of **Sepjato**, Lb 131 of Pismu (Lc 47 of Sepjato). Lb 1276 had other children, Lb 336 (Lc 403) of Petpatsu, Lb 343 (Lc 365) of Petpatsu and Lb 454 (Lc 309) of Petpatsu.

Lb 176, Constatino Cohuia (Alcalde in 1799) (Lc 202 of **Chiliquin**) was husband of Lb 157 (Lc 162 of Petpatsu) (Lm 37). They were parents of Lb 39 (Lc 13), Masta (Alcalde in 1804) and Lb 40 (Lc 106) of Chiliquin.

Lb 583 was baptized at Petpatsu (Lc 429 of **Sepjato**) was husband of Lb 601 (Lc 448) of **Chano** (Lm 136).

Lb 1344 of Petpatsu was mother of Lb 350 (Lc 379) of **Sepjato** and Lb 473 (Lc 490) of Sepjato. Lb 473 was wife of Lb 470 Lc 474, Camani, of Chano (Lm 102). They had children Lb 458 (Lc 311) of Chano and Lb 81, Scayame, (Lc 131 of **Chano**, Lc 341 child father of Petpatsu and Lc 10 child father of Chano).

Lb 1356 native of **Tez**, baptized at Petpatsu, was mother of Lb 1323, Guamsala, of Chojuale and Lb 1358 of Gelecto - Goose Lake.

Lb 1414 Calasuit of Petpatsu was a daughter of Lb 1689, Ltelehuit, of **Atajes**. Lb 1689 had other children including Lb 1750 of Ajuaps son of Lb 1789 of Ajuaps and Lb 1901 of Chano daughter of Lb 1714, wife of Lb 1689 (Lm 463).

Lb 263 **Chano** (Lc 218 Peppacho)

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## Satahoyo

Lb 99, Haapihi (Lc 228 Chetpu) was husband of Lb 100 (Lc 250 Chetpu). They were parents of Lb 52 of Satahoyo (Lc 54 **Chotnegle**, and Lc 399 wife of Lb 52 of **Chetpu**).

Lb 385, Sayhlutma, baptized at Chojuale (Lc 471 of **Chetpu**) was husband of Lb 396 (Lc 494) of Satahoyo (Lm 89). Lb 385 was brother of Lb 645 baptized at Chetpu.

Lb 851 (Lc 718) of Satahoyo was a relative of Lb 33 (Lc 1), Chassa, of **Chena**.

Lb 576 baptized at Satahoyo (wounded by a bear) (Lc 636 of **Chetpu**) was a son of Lb 1318, Teche of Satahoyo who was also wounded by a bear. Lb 1318 was husband of Lb 1405 of **Xsocio** (Lm 346). Lb 576 was a grandson of Lb 1464 baptized at Chotnegle. Lb 1388 was baptized without witness because of his wounds. When he recuperated, the priest at San Luis Obispo sent an expedition of Christian Indians to get his wife. On their return with the wife, the expedition was attacked and a Christian Indian of Chojuale (Lb 1301) was killed. Two expeditions were sent out to capture the Indians that killed the Christian Indian (Cook 1960: 247). Lb 1318 was also father of Lb 1151 (Lc 895), Ltaligia, of **Tipu**, Lb 1924 of Satahoyo and Lb 1391, Escoloti, baptized at **Lualato**. Lb 1318 and Lb 1405 were parents of Lb 1401 of Satahoyo and Lb 1404 of Xsocio.

Lb 1073, Ltatajo (Lc 939) of Llecmoni had the same name as Lb 1853, Tataju of Satahoyo (Ld 1903). The father of Lb 1853 was Ltaluma. A sister of Lb 1853, Lb 1882, Ltaluma of Satahoyo, was wife of Lb 1881, Sihuilu of **Chesquio** (Lm 506). Lb 1882 was mother of Lb 1063 (Lc 833) Taluma of **Topocolo** (Lm 685). Her baptism and confirmation listed Lb 1063 as the daughter of Lb 1073 and Lb 1090 of **Llecmoni**. The names indicate that the different parents were related.

Lb 1450 of **Tez** was mother of Lb 1322. The father of Lb 1322 was Lb 1227, Chahuistac of Satahoyo. Lb 2015 of Tez was an aunt of Lb 1322. Lb 2015 was wife of Lb 2014 of Chmonimo. Lb 1227 was husband of Lb 1235 of **Stemectatimi** (Lm 285).

Lb 1716 of **Ttequie** was a relative of Lb 1313 of Satahoyo.

Lb 1675, Lcochou of **Chmoli**, was husband of Lb 1676 of Satahoyo (Lm442). They were parents of Lb 1680 and Lb 1684 of Satahoyo.

Lb 1695 of Satahoyo was father of Lb 1734 of **Sceele**. Mb 504 of La Assuncion was mother of Lb 1734. Mb 504 was also mother of Mb 207 also of La Assuncion.

Lb 901 (Lc 814) of Tez son of Cheja. Lb 1958 was a woman of **Ttequie** named Seya. She was wife of Lb 1910, Ltactasteme of Satahoyo (Lm 510).

Lb 1874 of Chmimu was wife of Lb 1873 of **Chmimu** (Lm 502). Lb 1873 was father of Lb 2051 whose mother was Lb 2052 of Satahoyo. Lb 2150 of **Sepjato** was grandmother of Lb 1873.

Lb 1981, Sunucuu of Satahoyo was a girl. The father of Lb 1503 of **Chano [north]** was Sunucuu. Sunucuu was also apparently the father of Lb 1375 of **Llecmoni**.

Lb 1985, Sajaguite, of Satahoyo was husband of Lb 1986 Ltepeja of **Tipu** (Lm 535).

Lb 2040, Ljounce, of **Chojuale** was brother of Lb 2039 and Lb 2140 of Santa Margarita and son of Lb 2149 of Santa Margarita. Lb 2040 was husband of Lb 2042 of Satahoyo (Lm 560).

Lb 595 was baptized at the rancheria of **Chetpu** of the rancheria of Satahoyo.

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## Sceele

The mother of Lb 1734 of Sceele was Mb 504 of La Assuncion. Sceele is identified with the place of **La Assuncion**. It had ties north to Santa Ysabel (Lososquiquihe) and ties south to

Chetpu and Chotnegle at Santa Margarita. It also had a north or south to Satahuyo. La Assuncion was located on the Salinas River.

Lb 2054 death entry of Lb 1990 of Lososquiquihe: “had been devoured by bears at the willow thicket of the place of la Assuncion” (Ld 1085). Lb 1677 lists Lososquiquihe as an equivalent of La Assuncion. At San Luis Obispo, baptisms Lb1694 and Lb 2194 equate Lososquiquihe with Santa Ysabel. Lososquiquihe was apparently the next settlement north of Satahuyo on the Salinas River and Lehueqe was to its north

Lb 1833 was baptized at La Assuncion. She was grandmother of brothers Lb 1760 and Lb 1838 of **Lhueque** [San Miguel Mission”*de Lhuejge rumbo de las Gallinas*” Martín on January 28, 1800 [SMI-B 295].Milliken and Johnson 2003:62].

Lb 460 (Lc 386) of Sceele was husband of Lb 439 (Lc 385) of **Chetpu** (Lm 96). Their son was Lb 437 of Chetpu.

Lb 1278 of **Chotnegle** was grandmother of Lb 1040, Tpoue of Sceele (Lc 947 **Sesasquich**). Lb 1366 of Sceele was the mother of Lb 1040. She was also mother of Lb 1036, Checheta, of Sceele (Lc 886 of Scsouich). She was the wife of Lb 1364, Chiuato, of Sceele.

Lb 1326, Tsmittitu (Lc 469) of Chetpu was a brother of Lb 377 (Lc 380) of Chetpu, and Lb 170 of **Tejami** [other Tejami Lb 164 = Lc 248 Topono] (Lc 180 of Chetpu). Lb 170 was mother of Lb 160 (Lc 49) of Chetpu. Lb 1326, 377 and 170 were sibs of Lb 289 (Lc 99 of Chetpu). Lb 273 (Lc 265) of **Chetpu** was the mother of Lb 1326 and his sibs. Their father was Lb 1035 Tschaia alias Tsuqueque of Scsceel. Lb 1035 was also father of Lb 1047 (Lc 964) of **Lehueqe** and Lb 1055 (Lc 918) of Lehueqe and Lb 1033, Luipsoco of Sceele (Lc 889 of Lehueqe).

Lb 1695 of **Satahoyo** was father of Lb 1734 of Sceele. Mb 504 of La Assuncion was mother of Lb 1734. Mb 504 was also mother of Mb 207 also of La Assuncion.

Lb 1733, Espejatpomo, of Sceele was son of Lb 1765 of **Lososquiquihe**.

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## Chetpu

Lb 82 was the mother of Pedro, Lb 8 (Lm 147). Font said “Pedro son of the famous Capitan Buchon and an Indian woman, his concubine” (Bolton 1930:453-4). Kennaelly says Lb 82 had a vested right to Santa Margarita (1965:205). This information indicates an important tie between Chetpu and **Sejato**.

Lb 99, Haapihi (Lc 228 Chetpu) was husband of Lb 100 (Lc 250 Chetpu). They were parents of Lb 52 of **Satahoyo** (Lc 54 Chotnele, and Lc 399 wife of Lb 52 of Chetpu).

Lb 101 Lcama (Lc 197 of Chetpu) was husband of Lb 102 (Lc 171 of **Gmoxmu**) (Lm 9). Lb 102 was mother of Lb 3 (Lc 30) and Lb 4 (Lc 101) of Tsquieu.

Lb 98 of Chetpu was a daughter of Lb 103 (Lc 199 of **Topono**) and Lb 104 (Lc 157 **Gmoxmu**) (Lm 13). Lb 1136 of Gmoxmu was a relative of Lb 104.

Lb 180 (Lc 163 **Moxmu**) was wife of Lb 177 (Lc 198 Chetpu [Lc 72 father of **Chotnel**]) (Lm 38). They were parents of Lb 175 (Lc 40 Chotnel).

Lb 201 of Chetpu (Lc 78 Gmoxmu) was the brother of Lb 236 of Chetpú (Lc 71 **Gmoxmu**). Their mother was Lb 264 (Lc 244 of Chetpu). Their uncle was Lb 59 Guitte (Lc 203 of **Sepjato**).

Lb 34 of Chenna (Lc 28 Suacamimu) was the daughter of Lb 298 Gagatmimu (Lc 245 **Gmoxmu**). Lb 54 **Petpatsu** (Lc 97 **Gmoxmu**) was a daughter of Lb 298 and Lb 1636, Lcuyu of Chetpu.

Lb 241 of Chetpu (Lc 133 of Tipu) was wife of Lb 227, Sulmalanit, of **Tsquieu**. Lb 238 (Lc 44 of Tsquieu) was their daughter.

Lb 303, Guanatza, (Lc 64) of Chetpu was son of Lb 1729 of **Chiliquin**.

Lb 385, Sayhlutma, baptized at Chojuale (Lc 471 of Chetpu) was husband of Lb 396 (Lc 494) of **Satahoyo** (Lm 89). Lb 385 was brother of Lb 645 baptized at Chetpu.

Lb 460 (Lc 386) of **Sceele** was husband of Lb 439 (Lc 385) of Chetpu (Lm 96). Their son was Lb 437 of Chetpu.

Lb 1019 (Lc 769), Ltchotchio, of **Chena** was husband of Lb 1020 (Lc 781) of **Chojuale** (Lm 232). Lb 927, Lb 928 and Lb 929 were their children baptized as from Chena. Lb 590 of Chetpu (Lc 637 of Chojuale) is shown as a son in the Lp 1794 padron. Lb 591 of Chetpu (Lc 699 of Chojuale) was brother of Lb 590.

Lb 1034, Ljuotsjale, baptized at **Chotnegle** of Chetpu (Lc 954 of Chetpu) was father of Lb 200 (Lc 184 of **Chano**),

Lb 644 (Lc 677), baptized at Chetpu, of Chetpu was husband of Lb 675 (Lc 622) of **Tez** (Lm 155).

Lb 920 (Lc 734) of **Tez** and Lb 1883, Luipipala of Chetpu were children of Lb 1868, Chamasca, of **Lquicheexe** (the other two baptisms from Lquicheexe were a wife and daughter of Jumjue of Chetpu – see below). Their father was Lquipipala or Glutu who was also the father of Lb 295 of Chetpu (Lc 51 Guasna) whose mother was Lb 300 (Lc 186 of **Guasna**). Lb 1868 was wife of Lb 1867 of Chojuale (Lm 500). They were parents of Lb 1852 of Chojuale.

Lb 1167 of **Tez at Chotnegle** was the mother of Lb 327 (Lc383) of Chetpu.

Lb 327 was wife of Lb 1326, Tsmilitu (Lc 469) of Chetpu brother of Lb 377 (Lc 380) of Chetpu.

Lb 1326, Tsmilitu (Lc 469) of Chetpu was a brother of Lb 377 (Lc 380) of Chetpu, and Lb 170 of **Tejami** [other Tejami Lb 164 = Lc 248 Topono] (Lc 180 of Chetpu). Lb 170 was mother of Lb 160 (Lc 49) of Chetpu. Lb 1726, Setelmemeche, of **Chotnegle** was a relative of Lb 160. Lb 1326, 377 and 170 were sibs of Lb 289 (Lc 99 of Chetpu). Lb 273 (Lc 265) of Chetpu was the mother of Lb 1326 and his sibs. Their father was Lb 1035 Tschaia alias Tsuqueque of **Sceele**. Lb 1035 was also father of Lb 1047 (Lc 964) of Ljueque and Lb 1055 (Lc 918) of Ljueque and Lb 1033, Luipsoco of Sceele (Lc 889 of Lleheque). Lb 953 was grandmother of Lb 326. She was baptized at **Chotnegle** after being bit by a rabid coyote.

Lb 576 baptized at Satahoyo (Lc 636 of Chetpu) was a son of Lb 1318, Teche of **Satahoyo**. Lb 576 was wounded by a bear. He was a grandson of Lb 1464 baptized at Chotnegle.

Lb 1103 Tachayaquim baptized at Chetpu of **Tez** was mother of Lb 1458 of Chetpu. Lb 1103 was wife of Lb 804 Lchouin of Chetpu. They were parents of Lb 317 (Lc 721) and Lb 919 (Lc 728) both baptized as from **Tez** (also see Lc 74) and confirmed as from Chetpu.

Lb 1263 of Chetpu was husband of Lb 1277 of **Sacciol** (Lm 294). Lm 1277 was mother of Lb 378 (Lc 504) of Chiliquin and Lb 379 (Lc 480) of Chiliquin.

Lb 1707 of Chetpu was wife of Lb 1697, Xpetpet of **Lososquiquihe** (Lm 454). Their child was Lb 1703.

Lb 1936 Lcquicululu or EspejaLpono of Chetpu was husband of Lb 1937, Ljasi, of **Chojuale** (Lm 518). Lb 1888 Lcquicululu of Chojuale was their daughter.

Pb 2284, Jumjue of Chetpu was husband of Lb 1000 (Lc 782) of **Laxicto**. They were parents of Lb 762 (Lc 611) of Laxicto. He was also husband of Lb 1795 of **Lquicheexe**. They were parents of Lb 926, Francà de los Reyes of Lquicheexe, Lb 925, Maria de los Reyes, of **Sjalihuilimu** and Lb 1701 of Chetpu wife of Lb 1692, Sumya of **Tsquieu**. Pb 2284 was also father of Pb 2167 of **Guenejel** and Pb 208, Choima of **Guasalique** (Pp 1799 and 1814 Jonjonata).

Lb 494 Chetpu, (Lc 384 **Chogino**). The other Choquino baptism was Lb 355 (Lc 374) wife of Lb 354 (Lc 348) of Guasna (Lm 80).

Lb 595 baptized at the rancheria of Chetpu of the rancheria of **Satahoyo**.

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## Topomo

Lb 147 Topomo alias Santa Margarita.

Lb 91 Culpe (Lc 223 of Topomo) was uncle of Lb 923, Lteoyohue of Santa Ysabel daughter of Lb 1660, Yslostele of **Lososquiquihe**.

Lb 98 of **Chetpu** was a daughter of Lb 103 (Lc 199 of Topomo) and Lb 104 (Lc 157 **Gmoxmu**) (Lm 13). Lb 1136 of Gmoxmu was a relative of Lb 104.

Lb 164, Ltuchacnoote, of **Tejami** (Lc 248 of Topomo) was an aunt of Lb 90 (Lc 140 Topomo). See other Tejami baptism Lb 170 (Lc 180 of Chetpu) above.

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## Chotnegle

Lb 1627 baptized at Santa Margarita alias Chotnegle was mother of Lb 409, Sua, of **Sepizali** (Lc 361 of **Chiliquin** and Lb 413, Chul, (Lc 356) of Chiliquin.

Lb 1034 at Chotnegle of Chetpu (Lc 954 Chetpu) - see under Chetpu above.

Lb 1131 of **Chotnegle** (Lc 985 of Tipu) was grandmother of Lb 465 of Tipu. Lb 1727, Jasma, of Chotnegle was a relative of Lb 465. Lb 1727 was husband of Lb 1728 of Chotnegle.

Lb 1273, Salutay, baptized at **Chotmnelj** of Gmosmu was the father of Lb 1380 baptized at **Chena**.

Lb 1278 of Chotnegle was grandmother of Lb 1040, Tpoue of **Sceele** (Lc 947 **Sesasquich**). Lb 1366 of Sceele was the mother of Lb 1040. She was also mother of Lb 1036, Checheta, of Sceele (Lc 886 of Scsouich). She was the wife of Lb 1364, Chiuato, of Sceele.

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## Gmoxmu

Lb 25 Chochove chief of **Chano** was husband of Lb 26 (Lc 29 Gmoxmu). They had a child, Lb 45 of Guegetmimu (Lc 4 Chano). Lb 937 (Lc 785) of Chmonimo was a relative of Lb 26

Lb 101 Lcama (Lc 197 of **Chetpu**) was husband of Lb 102 (Lc 171 of Gmoxmu) (Lm 9). Lb 102 was mother of Lb 3 (Lc 30) and Lb 4 (Lc 101) of **Tsquieu**.

Lb 98 of **Chetpu** was a daughter of Lb 103 (Lc 199 of **Topono**) and Lb 104 (Lc 157 Gmoxmu) (Lm 13). Lb 98 of Chetpu was their daughter. Lb 1136 of Gmoxmu was a relative of Lb 104.

Lb 23, Pablo Tecum (Stajuamo), (Lc 205 of **Tsquieu**) was husband of Lb 24 (Lc 154 of Gmoxmu) (Lm 5). They were parents of Lb 20 of Chotcagua (Lc 95 Tsquieu), Lb 32 Tsquieu, Lb 84 mission born father of Tsquieu (Lc 205) and Lb 227 of Tsquieu

Lb 87, Sguixsi (Lc 192 **Chano**) was husband of Lb 88 (Lc 170 Gmoxmu) (Lm 15). They were parents of Lb 50 of **Quejetmimu** (Lc 93 **Chugamimu**), Lb 71 (Lc 76 Chano), Lb 72 (Lc 123 Chano), and Lb 73.

Lb 166 (Lc 257) of Gmoxmu was mother of Lb 17 of **Tipexpa** (Lc 22 **Temacoco**), Lb 18 of Tipexpa (Lc 23 Temacoco), Lb 21 of Tipexpa and Lb 31 of Tipexpa (Lc 146 Gmoxmu). Lb 31 was husband of Lb 29 of **Chano** (Lc 134 **Cagua**).

Lb 97 of Gmoxmu (Lc 24 Sepcato) was brother of Lb 94 (Lc 48 Sepjato) and Lb 107 Lc 148 of Sepjato. Their mother was Lb 168 (Lc 259) of **Sepjato**.

Lb 108 Elchojo of Gmoxmu (Lc 69 Sepcato) was a son of Lb163 Tzaiam of Gmoxmu (Lc 231 Chano). Lb 167 (Lc 251) of **Sepjato** was wife of Lb 167 (Lm 35). She was also mother of Lb 76 (Lc 183 of Sepjato)

Lb 141 (Lc 155 of Gmoxmu) was mother of L 6, Lb 10 (Lc 63 of **Petpatsu**) and Lb 13 (Lc 107 of Petpatsu). Their father was dead.

Lb 180 (Lc 163 Gmoxmu) was wife of Lb 177 (Lc 198 **Chetpu** [Lc 72 father of **Chotnel**]) (Lm 38). They were parents of Lb 175 (Lc 40 Chotnel).

Lb 33 (Lc 1), Chassa (Joaquin Morillo interpreter), of Chenna was husband of Lb 34 of **Chenna** (Lc 28 **Suacamimu**) (Lm 14). Lb 34 was the daughter of Lb 298 **Gagatmimu** (Lc 245 Gmoxmu). Lb 54 **Petpatsu** (Lc 97 Gmoxmu) was a daughter of Lb 298 and Lb 1636, Lcuyu of **Chetpu**.



Lb 642 (Lc 700 Gmoxmu) was mother of Lb 127 of **Tene** (Lc 193 Tsquieu), and Lb 226, Supo, of **Tsquieu** (Lc 217 Gmoxmu).

Lb 201 of Setpu (Lc 78 Gmoxmu) was the brother of Lb 236 of Chetpu (Lc 71 Gmoxmu). Their mother was Lb 264 (Lc 244 of **Chetpu**). Their uncle was Lb 59 Guitte (Lc 203 of Sepjato).

Lb 240 Lyussa of Gmoxmu (Lc 234 Sepcato) was the husband of Lb 232 (Lc 255 of **Sepjato**) (Lm 57).

Lb 286 of Gmoxmu (Lc 102) **Chano** was a niece of Lb 1045 (Lc 979) of Gmoxmu.

Lb 308 (Lc 98) of Gmoxmu was the brother of Lb 319 (Lc 368 of Gmoxmu) the mother of Lb 296 of **Sepjato** (Lc 73 of Gmoxmu).

Lb 445 (Lc 472) of **Sepjato** was husband of Lb 446 (Lc 500) of Gmoxmu (Lm 95). Lb 443 of **Nucsuni** was their son.

Lb 677 (Lc 681), Lisahuit, of **Sepjato** was husband of Lb 678 (Lc 703 of Gmoxmu).

Lb 1115 at Lhuequetimimu of Gmosmu was mother of Lb 66 (Lc 158 Gmoxmu). Lb 66 was wife of Lb 65 Guamiti (Lc 200 of **Tex**) (Lm 18). They had a child Lb 56 of **Tipu** (Lc 38 Tepie).

Lb 305 [Alupquin Lp1833] (Lc 83 of Gmoxmu) was brother of Lb 1615 of **Teguie**.

Lb 1205 of and at Gmoxmu wife of Lb 1220 Chaman of Gmoxmu was the sister of Lb 64 (Lc142 **Chuegetamimu**). Lb 1272 of Gmoxmu was an aunt of Lb 64

Lb 1249, Lauiliet of Gmoxmu was husband of Lb 1251 of **Chiliquin** (Lm 282). They had a son Lb 1080, Nijayauichet of Chiliquin. Lb 1024 of Gmoxmu was a daughter of Lb 1249. Lb 950 (Lc 821) of **Stemectatimi** was a son of Lb 1249 and Lb 1804 of **Chulucucunax**. Lb 1531 of Gmoxmu was a sister of Lb 1249. She was mother of Lb 487, Chuco, baptized at the place of San Miguel native of Gmoxmu. His father was Lb 1368 Lpejai of **Sepjato**.

Lb 1273, Salutay, baptized at **Chotmnelj** of Gmosmu was the father of Lb 1380 baptized at **Chena**.

Lb 1764 of Gmosmu was the mother of Lb 1502, Laguie of **Ltipe**. Lb 1812, Elquiluluiata, of **Tsquieu** was a brother of Lb 1502. Lb 1692 Sumuya of Tsquieu was a nephew of Lb 1502.

Lb 1793 of Gmoxmu was mother of Lb 598 (Lc 477) of **Tsquieu** (Lp 1833). The father of Lb 598 was Lb 534, Sucay, of Tsquieu

Lb 1884, Luxge of **Chiliquin** was husband of Lb 1885a, Lpaxuinata, of Gmoxmu.

Lb 1944, Lgoni of Gmoxmu was husband of Lb 1945, Ltayocho of **Gmimu** (Lm 521)

Lb 220 **Exmonimo** (Lc 114 Gmoxmu).

Lb 1037 at Cepjato of Gmoxmu (Lc 955 **Sepjato**).

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## Guejetmimu

Lb 25 Chochove chief of **Chano** was husband of Lb 26 (Lc 29 **Gmoxmu**). They had a child, Lb 45 of Guejetmimu (Lc 4 Chano).

Lb 87, Sguixsi (Lc 192 **Chano**) was husband of Lb 88 (Lc 170 **Gmoxmu**) (Lm 15). They were parents of Lb 50 (Lc 93) of Guejetmimu, Lb 71 (Lc 76 Chano), Lb 72 (Lc 123 Chano), and Lb 73.

Lb 33 (Lc 1), Chassa (Joaquin Morillo interpreter), of **Chenna** was husband of Lb 34 of Chenna (Lc 28 **Suacamimu**) (Lm 14). Lb 34 was the daughter of Lb 298 Guejetmimu (Lc 245 **Gmoxmu**). Lb 54 **Petpatsu** (Lc 97 Gmoxmu) was a daughter of Lb 298 and Lb 1636, Lcuyu of **Chetpu**.

Lb 744 baptized at Guejetmimu was aunt of Lb 350 (Lc 379) of **Sepjato** daughter of Lb 1344 of **Petpatsu**.

Lb 1205 of and at Gmoxmu wife of Lb 1220 Chaman of **Gmoxmu** was the sister of Lb 64 (Lc142 Guejetmimu). Lb 1272 of Gmoxmu was an aunt of Lb 64

Lb 1115 at Lhuequetimimu of **Gmosmu** was mother of Lb 66 (Lc 158 Gmoxmu). Lb 66 was wife of Lb 65 Guamiti (Lc 200 of Tex) (Lm 18). They had a child Lb 56 of Tipu (Lc 38 Tepie).

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## Chmonimo

Lb 25 Chochove chief of Chano was husband of Lb 26 (Lc 29 **Gmoxmu**). They had a child, Lb 45 of Guejetmimu (Lc 4 Chano). Lb 937 (Lc 785) of Chmonimo was a relative of Lb 26.

Lb 1058 of Chmonimo was husband of Lb 1060 of **Tgmaps** [Ajuaps].

Lb 1230, Ponichi (Ponitsi), of Chmonimo had the same name as Lb 1226, Ponitci, of **Xoxtepax** [baptized at same time as person of Spaxche].

Lb 1239 of Tez was wife of Lb 1231, Talicha, of **Tipu** (Lm 289). Lb 1231 was also father of Lb 1449 of Chmonimo, whose mother was Lb 1730 of Chmonimo.

Lb 1456 of Chmonimo (Md 97) was wife of Lb 1468 of **Chesquio** [Las Gallinas]. They were parents of Lb 1301 (Ld 603), Lb 1302 (Md 65), Lb 1319 (Md 123) and Lb 1320 (Md 151 all of Chesquio. [This family includes five of the seven Chesquio baptisms at San Luis Obispo. Their deaths indicate they transferred to San Miguel Mission – reference Milliken and Johnson 2003].

Lb 1740 Chayus of **Tipu** was husband of Lb 1741 of Chmonimo. They were parents of Lb 1528 of Tipu, Lb 1460, Nesichaius, of Tipu, Lb 1461 of Tipu and Lb 1735.

Lb 1450 of Tez was mother of Lb 1322. The father of Lb 1322 was Lb 1227, Chahuistac of **Satahoyo**. Lb 2015 of **Tez** was an aunt of Lb 1322. Lb 2015 was wife of Lb 2014 of Chmonimo.

Lb 1920, Salijuya of **Ttequie** was wife of Lb 1954, Chscono of Chmonimo. They were parents of Lb 980 (Lc 779) of Chmonimo. Lb 1960 of Ttequie was named Chocono.

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## Chena

Lb 33 (Lc 1), Chassa (Joaquin Morillo interpreter), of Chenna was husband of Lb 34 of Chenna (Lc 28 **Suacamimu**) (Lm 14). Lb 34 was the daughter of Lb 298 **Gagatmimu** (Lc 245 **Gmoxmu**).

Lb 642 (Lc 700 **Gmoxmu**) was mother of Lb 127, Chihuse of Chena (Lc 193 Tsquieu), and Lb 226, Supo, of **Tsquieu** (Lc 217 Gmoxmu). Lb 127 was husband of Lb 144 (Lc 177 Chena (Lm 33 mission?). She was daughter of Lb 204 of **Chojuale** (Lc 243 Chena). Lb 204 was also mother of Lb 172, Chayussosso, (Lc 82 of **Tachia=Tez?**).

Lb 301 of **Chojuale** (Lc 764 Chojuale, Lc of children father of Chena) was husband of Lb 312 of **Chmoli** (Lm 66).

Lb 1019 (Lc 769), Ltchotchio, of Chena was husband of Lb 1020 (Lc 781) of **Chojuale** (Lm 232). Lb 927, Lb 928 and Lb 929 were their children baptized as from Chena. Lb 590 of **Chetpu** (Lc 637 of Chojuale) is shown as a son in the Lp 1794 padron. Lb 591 of Chetpu (Lc 699 of Chojuale) was his brother.

Lb 1273, Salutay, baptized at **Chotnegle** of **Gmosmu** was the father of Lb 1380 baptized at Chena.

Lb 1341, Sutipe of Chena was brother of Lb 1663, Lcachahua, of Chena. Lb 1341 was husband of Lb 1342 of **Estatjoto** (Lm 329). Lb 1342 had a child Lb 1176 (Lc 898) Samama of Sepjala. Lb 1341 had a child Lb 182 (Lc 926 of **Sepjala**). Lb 1659, Necsutenene, baptized at Chena was 'primo hermano' of Lb 1341 and was son of Lb 1698, Ltulu, of **Lososkiquihe** and Lb 1665 baptized at Chena and sister of Lb 1694 and 1697 of Lososkiquihe.

Lb 1706 of Chena was wife of Lb 1693, Lculuya of **Chotcagua** (Lm 451)

Lb 1660 Yslostele of **Lososkiquihe** was baptized at Chena. He was father of Lb 923, Ltocchue of Santa Ysabel.

Lb 302 **Chojuale** (Lc 224 Chena)

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## Chojuale

Lb 614, Suenga, was baptized by Joaquin Morillo at Chequele [Chojuale] 'despedazdo de un oso'. He was married to Lb 674 of Chul [Chaal?] (Lm 158).

Lb 642 (Lc 700 Gmoxmu) was mother of Lb 127, Chihuisse of **Chena** (Lc 193 Tsquieu), and Lb 226, Supo, of Tsquieu (Lc 217 Gmoxmu). Lb 127 was husband of Lb 144 (Lc 177 Chena (Lm 33 mission?). Lb 144 was daughter of Lb 204 of Chojuale (Lc 243 Chena). Lb 204 was also mother of Lb 172, Chayussosso, (Lc 82 of **Tachia**).

Lb 301 of Chojuale (Lc 764 Chojuale, Lc of children father of Chena) was husband of Lb 312 of **Chmoli** (Lm 66). Lb 301 was killed while returning from an expedition with other Christian Indians to get the non-Christian wife of a Satahoyo man (Ld 334 [12-31-96], Cook 1960: 241, 1797 correspondence).

Lb 385, Sayhlutma, baptized at Chojuale (Lc 471 of Chetpu) was husband of Lb 396 (Lc494) of **Satahoyo** (Lm 89). Lb 385 was brother of Lb 645 baptized at **Chetpu**.

Lb 394 of Chojuale was husband of Lb 395 (Lc 493) of **Sepjato** (Lm 90).

Lb 920 (Lc 734) of Tez and Lb 1883, Luipipala, of Chetpu were children of Lb 1868, Chamasca, of **Lquicheexe** (the other two baptisms from Lquicheexe were a wife and daughter of Jumjue of Chetpu. It was possibly an abandoned rancheria in the Santa Maria River drainage or a village recruited under a different name at La Purisima and Santa Ynez Missions). Their father was Lquipipala or Glutu who was also the father of Lb 295 of Chetpu

(Lc 51 **Guasna**) whose mother was Lb 300 (Lc 186 of Guasna). Lb 1868 was wife of Lb 1867 of Chojuale (Lm 500). They were parents of Lb 1852 of Chojuale.

Lb 1019 (Lc 769), Ltchotchio, of **Chena** was husband of Lb 1020 (Lc 781) of Chojuale (Lm 232). Lb 927, Lb 928 and Lb 929 were their children baptized as from Chena. Lb 590 of **Chetpu** (Lc 637 of Chojuale) is shown as a son in the Lp 1794 padron. Lb 591 of Chetpu (Lc 699 of Chojuale) was brother of Lb 590.

Lb 1356 native of **Tez**, baptized at Petpatsu, was mother of Lb 1323, Guamsala, of Chojuale and Lb 1358 of Gelecto - Goose Lake.

Lb 1876, Gilcuite, of Chojuale was wife of Lb 1875, Xaulu of **Sepjato** (Lm 503).

Lb 1912, Salioli. of Chojuale was husband of Lb 1925, Xaulunat of **Guasalique** (Lm 511).

Lb 1936 Lcquicululu or EspejaLpono of **Chetpu** was husband of Lb 1937, Ljasi, of Chojuale (Lm 518). Lb 1888 Lcquicululu of Chojuale was their daughter.

Lb 1971 Chepase of Chojuale was husband of Lb 1972 of **Chmimu** (Lm 528).

Lb 1988, Ltaklu of Tez was wife of Lb 1987, Lchayo of Tipu (Lm 536). They were parents of Lb 1805 of Tipu. Lb 1987 was father of Lb 1387, Sluyo of **Tamaltaya**. Lb 1820 of Chojuale was mother of Lb 1387 and Lb 1904 of Chojuale sister of Lb 2028 wife of Lb 2027 of **Guasna** (Lm 552).

Lb 2039, Ltumaguit of Chojuale was husband of Lb 2041 of **Ttequie** (Lm 559). Lb 2039 and Lb 1841 of Ttequie were parents of Lb 1829, Lb 1830 and Lb 1831 of Chojuale.

Lb 2040, Ljounce, of Chojuale was brother of Lb 2039 and Lb 2140 of **Santa Margarita** and son of Lb 2149 of Santa Margarita. Lb 2040 was husband of Lb 2042 of **Satahoyo** (Lm 560).

Lb 149 Chojuale (Lc 111 **Sepjato**)

Lb 283 **Sepjato** (Lc 110 Chojuale)

Lb 302 Chojuale (Lc 224 **Chena**)

San Carlos Mission registers: Chojuen perteneciente a la conquista de la Mision de San Luis Obispo (Merriam 1968: 29).

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## Tipu

Lb 66 (Lc 158 **Gmoxmu**) was wife of Lb 65 Guamiti (Lc 200 of **Tex**) (Lm 18). They had a child Lb 56 (Lc 38) of Tipu. Lb 65 was son of Lb 1103 Tachayaquim baptized at Chetpu of Tez. Lb 1103 was also mother of Lb 1458 of Chetpu.

Lb 241 of **Chetpu** (Lc 133 of Tipu) was wife of Lb 227, Sulmalanit, of **Tsquieu**. Lb 238 (Lc 44 of Tsquieu) was their daughter.

Lb 1131 of **Chotnegle** (Lc 985 of Tipu) was grandmother of Lb 465 of Tipu. Lb 1727, Jasma, of Chotnegle was a relative of Lb 465. Lb 1727 was husband of Lb 1728 of Chotnegle.

Lb 1151 (Lc 895), Ltaliguia of Tipu was the son of Lb 1318, Lteche, of **Satahoyo** who was wounded by a bear. Lb 1151 was a cousin of Lb 1164 (Lc 841) of **Llecmoni**.

Lb 1239 of **Tez** was wife of Lb 1231, Talicha, of Tipu (Lm 289). Lb 1231 was also father of Lb 1449 of **Chmonio**, whose mother was Lb 1730 of Chmonimo.

Lb 1350 of **Gmimu** was daughter of Lb 1441 of Tipu and a dead father, Tsnulcuu. Lb 1441 was a daughter of Lb 1229 of Tipu and Lb 1237 of Tipu (Lm 287).

Lb 1696, Spigisulaje, of **Chesquio** [Las Gallinas] was husband of Lb 1708 of Tipu (Lm 453).

Lb 1740 Chayus of Tipu was husband of Lb 1741 of **Chmonimo**. They were parents of Lb 1528 of Tipu, Lb 1460, Nesichaius, of Tipu, Lb 1461 of Tipu and Lb 1735.

Lb 1988, Ltaklu of **Tez** was wife of Lb 1987, Lchayo of Tipu (Lm 536). They were parents of Lb 1805 of Tipu. Lb 1987 was father of Lb 1387, Sluyo of **Tamaltaya** [The father of Lb 1992 of Tache was also named Lchayo]. Lb 1820 of Chojuale was mother of Lb 1387 and Lb 1904 of Chojuale sister of Lb 2028 wife of Lb 2027 of **Guasna** (Lm 552).

Lb 1985, Sajaguite, of **Satahoyo** was husband of Lb 1986 Ltepeja of Tipu (Lm 535).

Lb 653 Tipu (Lc 702 **Tstapoto**)

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## Tez

Lb 305 [Alupquin Lp1833] (Lc 83 of **Gmoxmu**) was brother of Lb 1615 of **Ttequie**. Lb 1615 was wife of Sajcahuait. Their children were Lb 952, Sulnahueguit (Lc 899 of Tez), Lb

1189 (Lc 1000), Sajalahuit, of Tez, Lb 1190, Lb 1370 baptized at Santa Margarita and Lb 1595. Their grandmother was Lb 1613 baptized at Chojuale.

Lb 644 (Lc 677) of **Chetpu** was husband of Lb 675 (Lc 622) of Tez (Lm 155).

Lb 901 (Lc 814) of Tez son of Cheja. Lb 1958 was a woman of **Ttequie** named Seya.

Lb 920 (Lc 734) of Tez and Lb 1883, Luipipala of **Chetpu** were children of Lb 1868, Chamasca, of **Lquichechs**. Their father was Lquipipala or Glutu who was also the father of Lb 295 of Chetpu (Lc 51 Guasna) whose mother was Lb 300 (Lc 186 of Guasna). Lb 1868 was wife of Lb 1867 of Chojuale (Lm 500). They were parents of Lb 1852 of Chojuale.

Lb 1115 at Lhuequetimimu of Gmosmu was mother of Lb 66 (Lc 158 **Gmoxmu**). Lb 66 was wife of Lb 65 Guamiti (Lc 200 of Tex) (Lm 18). They had a child Lb 56 (Lc 38) of **Tipu**. Lb 65 was son of Lb 1103 Tachayaquim baptized at Chetpu of Tez. Lb 1103 was also mother of Lb 1458 of Chetpu. Lb 1458 was wife of Lb 804 Lchouin of **Chetpu**. They were parents of Lb 317 (Lc 721) and Lb 919 (Lc 728) both baptized as from Tez (also see Lc 74) and confirmed as from Chetpu. Lb 1902, Chcono, of **Ttequie** was a relative of Lb 65.

Lb 1167 of Tez at Chotnegle was the mother of Lb 327 (Lc 383) of **Chetpu**.

Lb 1228, Cheg, of Tez was husband of Lb 1236 of **Chmimu** (Lm 286).

Lb 1239 of Tez was wife of Lb 1231, Talicha, of **Tipu** (Lm 289). Lb 1231 was also father of Lb 1449 of Chmonio, whose mother was Lb 1730 of Chmonimo.

Lb 1356 native of Tez, baptized at Petpatsu, was mother of Lb 1323, Guamsala, of **Chojuale** and Lb 1358 of **Gelecto** - Goose Lake.

Lb 1450 of Tez was mother of Lb 1322. The father of Lb 1322 was Lb 1227, Chahuistac of **Satahoyo**. Lb 2015 of Tez was an aunt of Lb 1322. Lb 2015 was wife of Lb 2014 of **Chmmimo**.

Lb 1797, Eljasjas of **Elmismey** and Lb 1780 of **Ttequie** were parents of Lb 1453 of Tez, Lb 1454 of Tez and Lb 1664.

Lb 1942, Sapimaya of Gmimu was wife of Lb 1941 of **Ttequie** (Lm 520). They were parents of Lb 1906 of Gmimu. Lb 1941 was also father of Lb 891 (Lc 813) and Lb 892 (Lc 590) of Tez

Lb 1983, Lmusiaguuiuna, of **Gmimu** was husband of Lb 1984, Chosono of Tez.

Lb 1988, Ltaklu of Tez was wife of Lb 1987, Lchayo of **Tipu** (Lm 536). Lb 1987 was father of Lb 1387, Sluyo of Tamaltaya. Lb 1820 of Chojuale was mother of Lb 1387.

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## Ttequie

Lb 305 [Alupquin Lp1833] (Lc 83 of **Gmoxmu**) was brother of Lb 1615 of Ttequie. Lb 1615 was wife of Sajcahuait. Their children were Lb 952, Sulnahueguit (Lc 899 of **Tez**), Lb 1189 (Lc 1000), Sajalahuit, of Tez, Lb 1190, Lb 1370 baptized at Santa Margarita and Lb 1595. Their grandmother was Lb 1613 baptized at **Chojuale**.

Lb 1716 of Ttequie was a relative of Lb 1313 of **Satahoyo**.

Lb 1797, Eljasjas, of **Elmismey** and Lb 1780 of Ttequie were parents of Lb 1453 of **Tez**, Lb 1454 of Tez and Lb 1664.

Lb 1806 of Ttequie was aunt of Lb 1805 of **Tipu**, Lb 1988, Ltaklu, of Tez was wife of Lb 1987, Lchayo, of Tipu (Lm 536). They were parents of Lb 1805.

Lb 66 was wife of Lb 65 Guamiti (Lc 200 of **Tez**) (Lm 18). They had a child Lb 56 (Lc 38) of Tipu. Lb 65 was son of Lb 1103 Tachayaquim baptized at Chetpu of Tez. Lb 1103 was also mother of Lb 1458 of Chetpu. Lb 1902, Chcono, of Ttequie was a relative of Lb 65.

Lb 1920, Salijuya of Ttequie was wife of Lb 1954, Chscono of **Chmonimo**. Lb 1960 of Ttequie was named Chocono.

Lb 1942, Sapimaya, of **Gmimu** was wife of Lb 1941 of Ttequie (Lm 520). They were parents of Lb 1906 of Gmimu. Lb 1941 was also father of Lb 891 (Lc 813) and Lb 892 (Lc 590) of **Tez**.

Lb 1953, Lcquialahuit of Ttequie (Lp Guasna) was husband of Lb 1656 baptized at Stemectatimi. They were parents of Lb 1006, Pialachet (Lc 771) of **Chmoli**.

Lb 1969, Xehuete, of Ttequie (Md 569) was father of Lb 773 of **Teycha** [Tez?] and son of Lb 1989, Ssepese, of **Tsquieu** who was husband of Lb 1957, Cnahi, of Stemectatimi.

Lb 901 (Lc 814) of **Tez** son of Cheja. Lb 1958 was a woman of Ttequie named Seya. She was wife of Lb 1910, Ltactasteme of **Satahoyo** (Lm 510). Lb 1958 was mother of Lb 2041 of Ttequie. Lb 2039, Ltumaguit, of **Chojuale** was husband of Lb 2041 of Ttequie (Lm 559). Lb 2039 and Lb 1841 of Ttequie were parents of Lb 1829, Lb 1830 and Lb 1831 of Chojuale.



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## Gmimu

Lb 833 (Lc 631) of Gmimu was mother of Lb 374 (Lc 672) Chismo of Gmimu. Lb 374 was husband of Lb 386 (Lc 498) of **Chetpu** (Lm 86). Lb 384 (Lc 344 of Gmimu) was their daughter. Lb 1813, Tuianat of **Texmimu** was a relative of Lb 374.

Lb 1138, Chotapule (Jaliquet) (Lc 941) of Gmimu was husband of Lb 362 (Lc 499) of **Guasna**. They were parents of Lb 324 father of Stamimu mother of Guasna (Ld 289).

Lb 1350 of Gmimu was daughter of Lb 1441 of **Tipu** and a dead father, Tsnulcuu.

Lb 1521, Tesquecun, at Chiliquin of Gmimu was husband of Lb 1540 sister of Lb 1582 of **Chiliquin**. Lb 592, Saltayeguit of **Chmoli** (Lc 436 Esmimu) was a relative of Lb 1521. He was son of Lb 816 (Lc 620) of Chmoli.

Lb 1942, Sapimaya of Gmimu was wife of Lb 1941 of **Ttequie** (Lm 520). They were parents of Lb 1906 of Gmimu. Lb 1941 was also father of Lb 891 (Lc 813) and Lb 892 (Lc 590) of Tez.

Lb 1785 of Gmimu was the daughter of Lb 1815, Lcayanunat, of **Texmimu**. Her mother was Lb 1798 of **Chulucucanach**. Lb 1798 was also mother of Lb 1784 of **Gmimu** or **Gphe**.

Lb 1787, Tamaco, of Gmimu was husband of Lb 1804 of **Chulucucanach** (Lm 485). Lb 1804 also had a child Lb 950 of Stemectatimi by Lb 1249 of Gmoxmu.

Lb 1862, Snalpuni – see Chotcagua A [38]

Lb 1887, Ltatni, of Gmimu was wife of Lb 1886 of **Stemectatimi** (Lm 508).

Lb 1925, Xaulunat, of **Guasalique** was mother of Lb 951 (Lc 822) of Gmimu.

Lb 1944, Lgoni of **Gmoxmu** was husband of Lb 1945, Ltayocho of Gmimu (Lm 521).

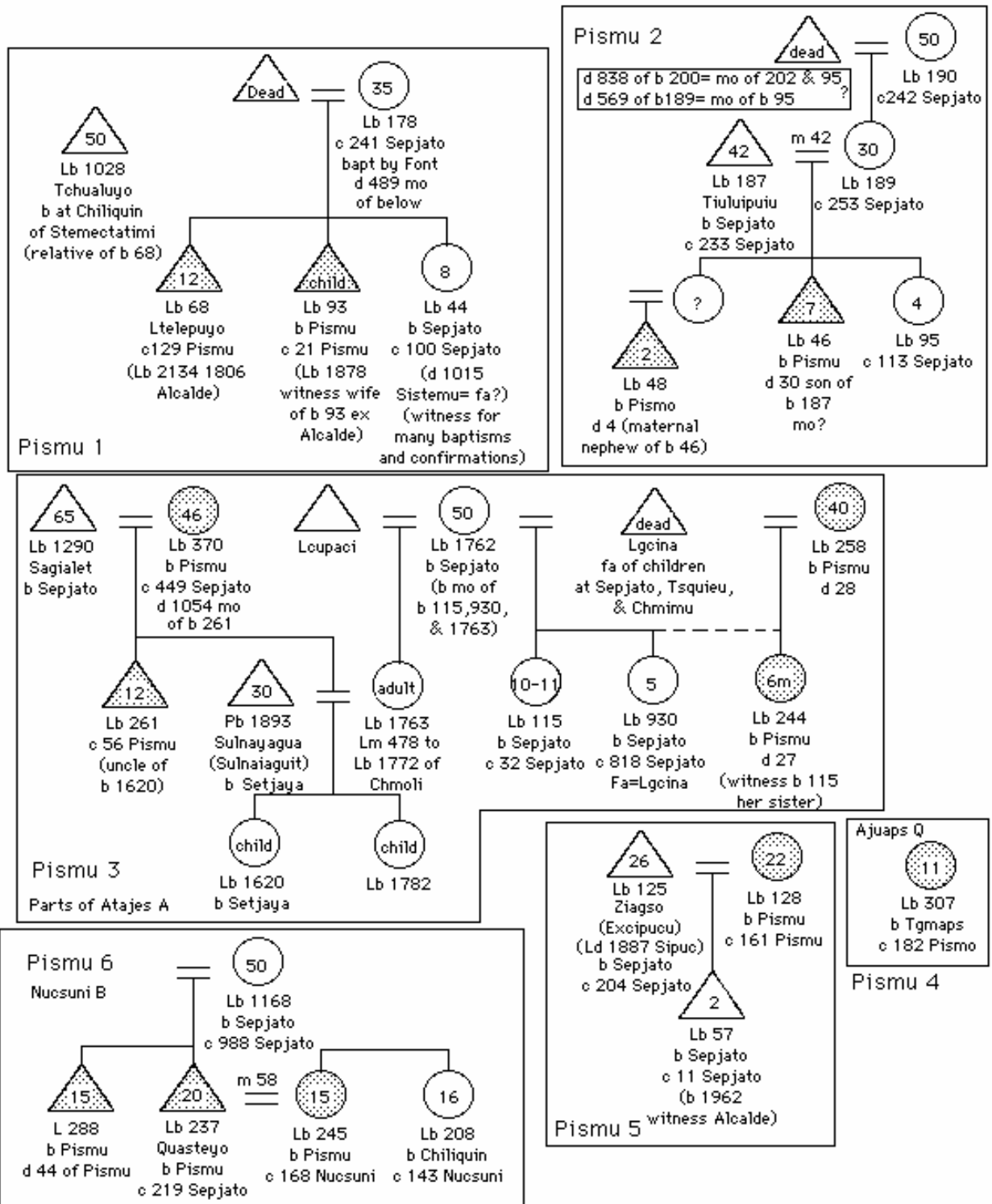
Lb 1935, Ltayocho of Gmimu was husband of Lb 2094 of **Etsmimo** (Lm 576).

Lb 1983, Lmusiaguiuna, of Gmimu was husband of Lb 1984, Chosono of **Tez**.

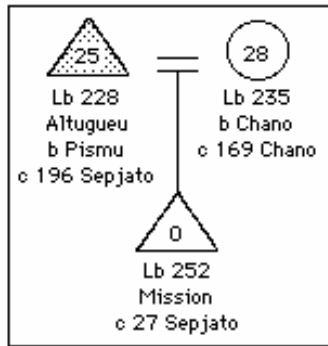
## **Appendix B - Diagrams Indicating Ties between Pismu and Other Settlements and Chotcagua and Other Settlements**

These diagrams were part of a Burton Mesa Ethnohistory study. They are included here because they are difficult to find.

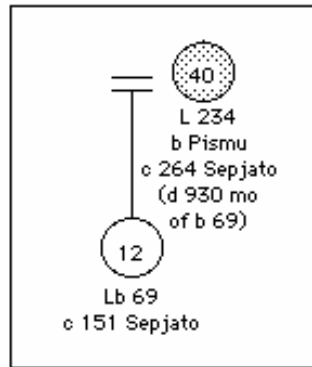
**Figure B-1**  
**Kinship Ties to Pismu (1 of 4)**



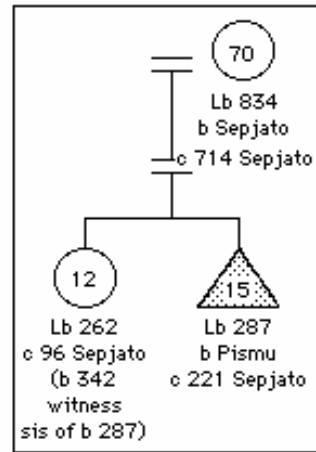
**Figure B-2  
Kinship Ties to Pismu (2 of 4)**



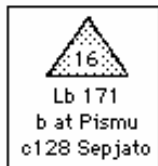
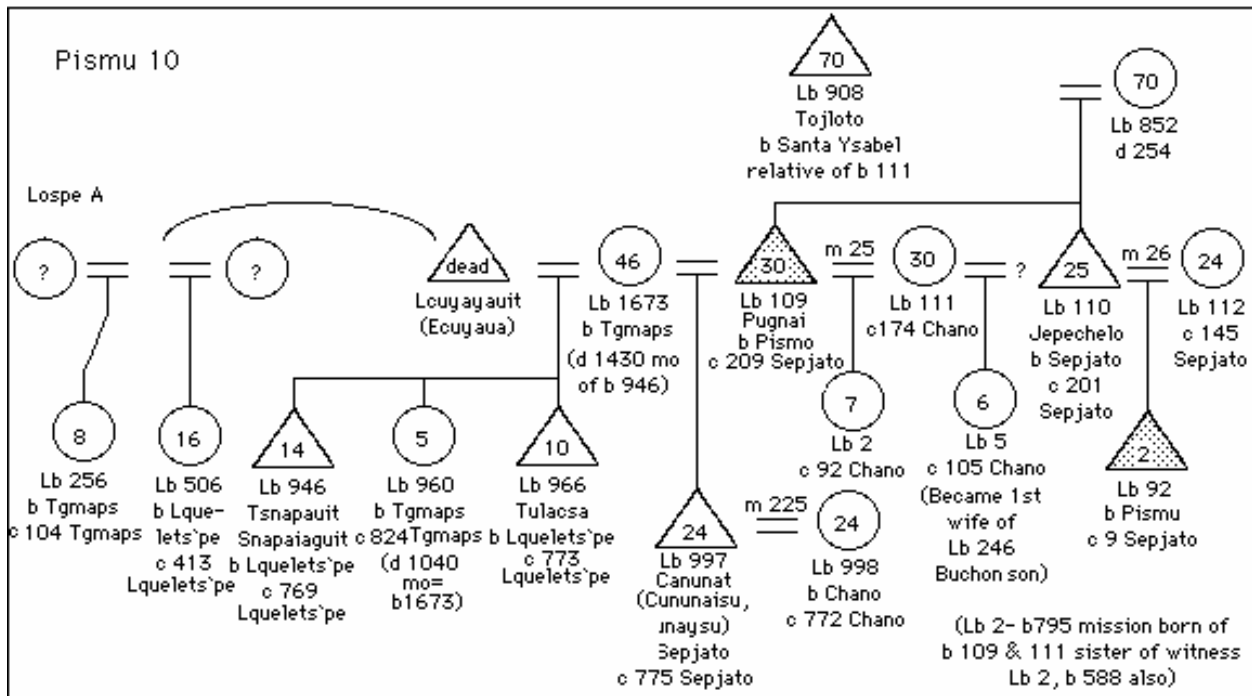
Pismu 7



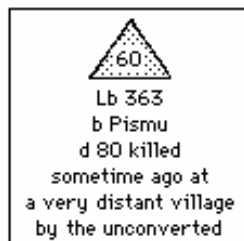
Pismu 8



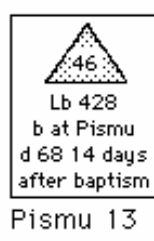
Pismu 9



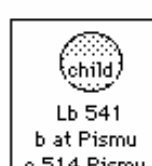
Pismu 11



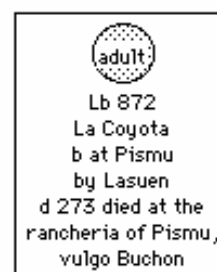
Pismu 12



Pismu 13



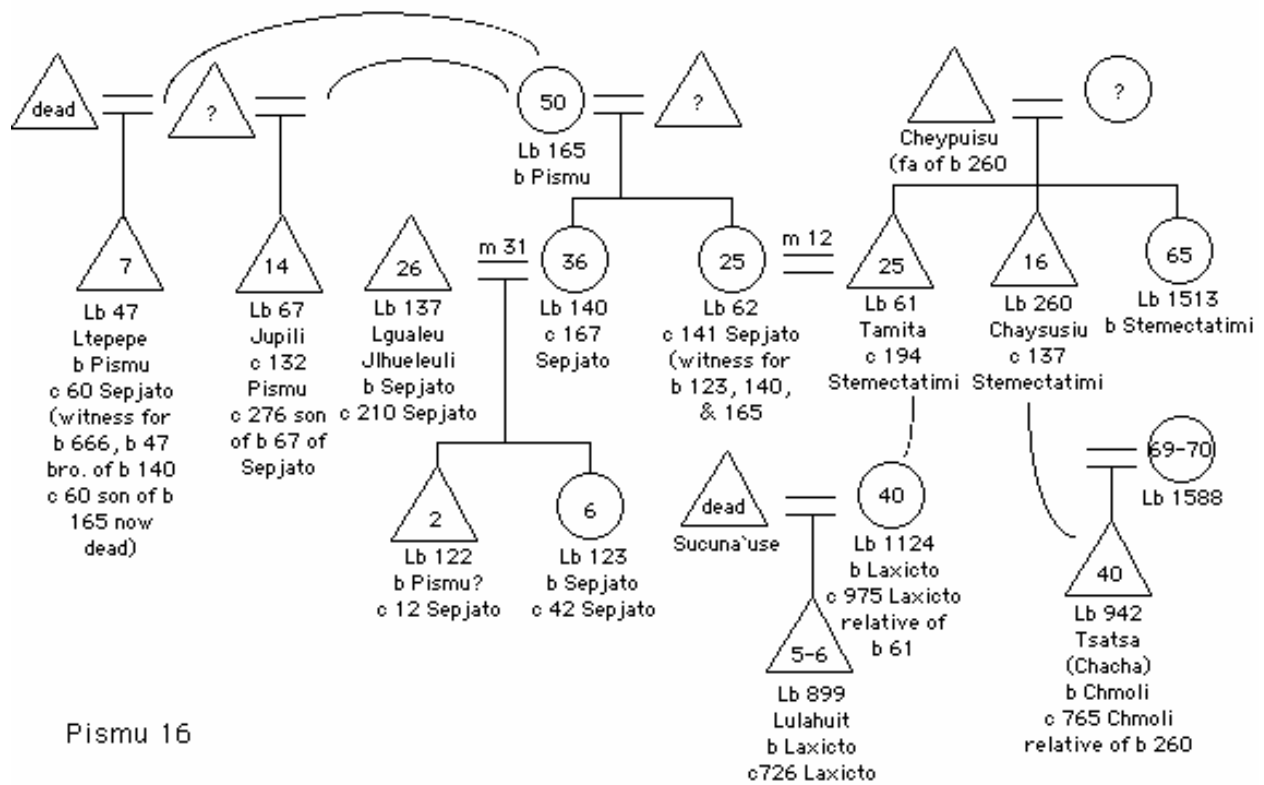
Pismu 14



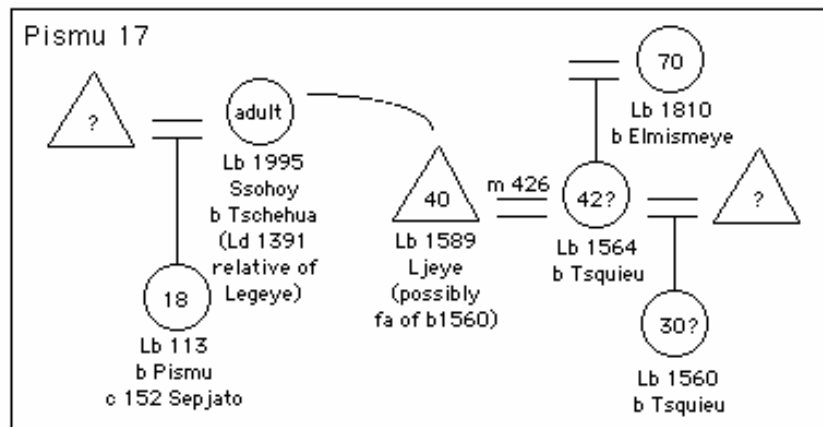
Pismu 15

A2 Figure 2: Kinship ties to Pismu (2 of 4)

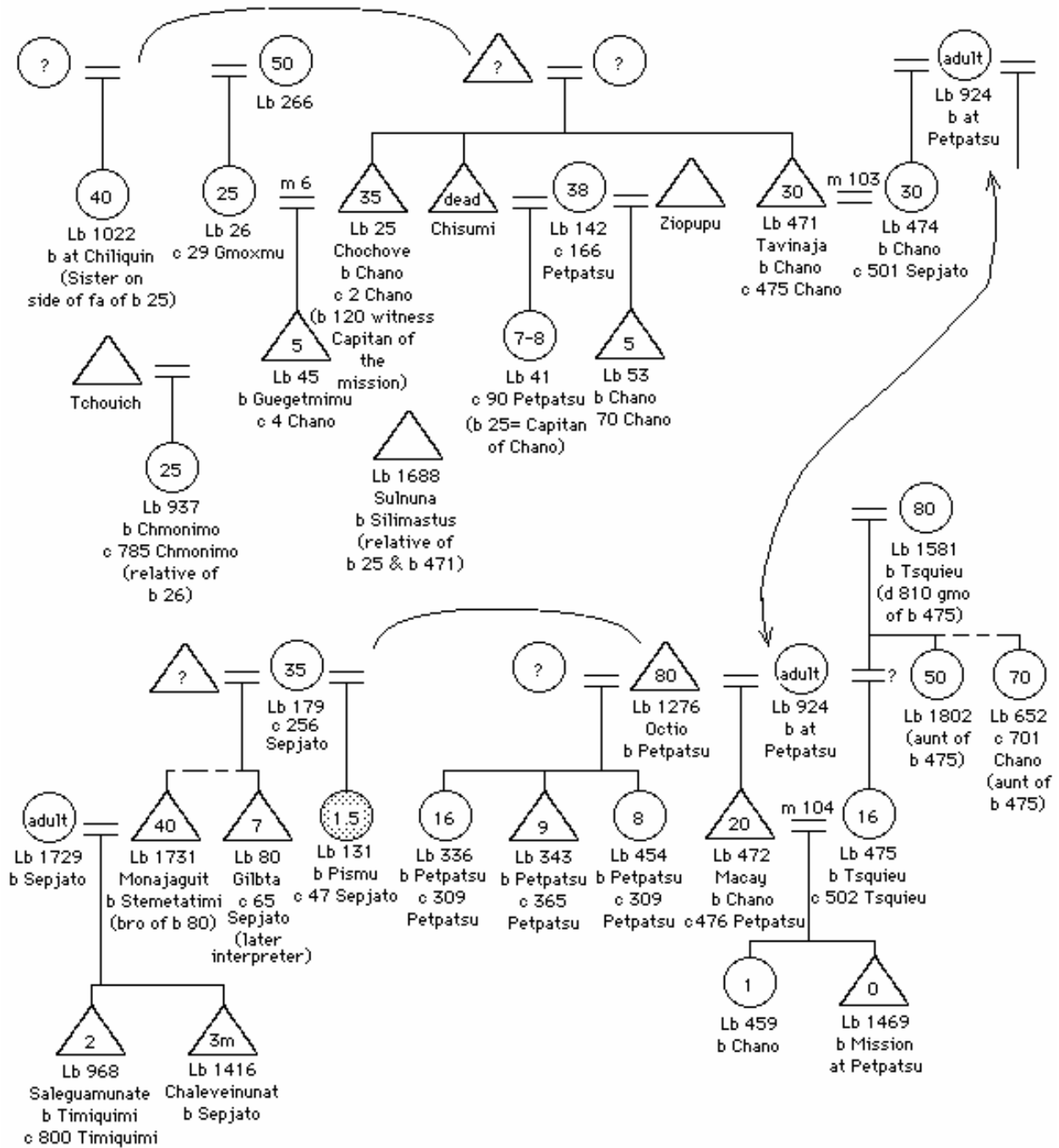
**Figure B-3  
Kinship Ties to Pismu (3 of 4)**



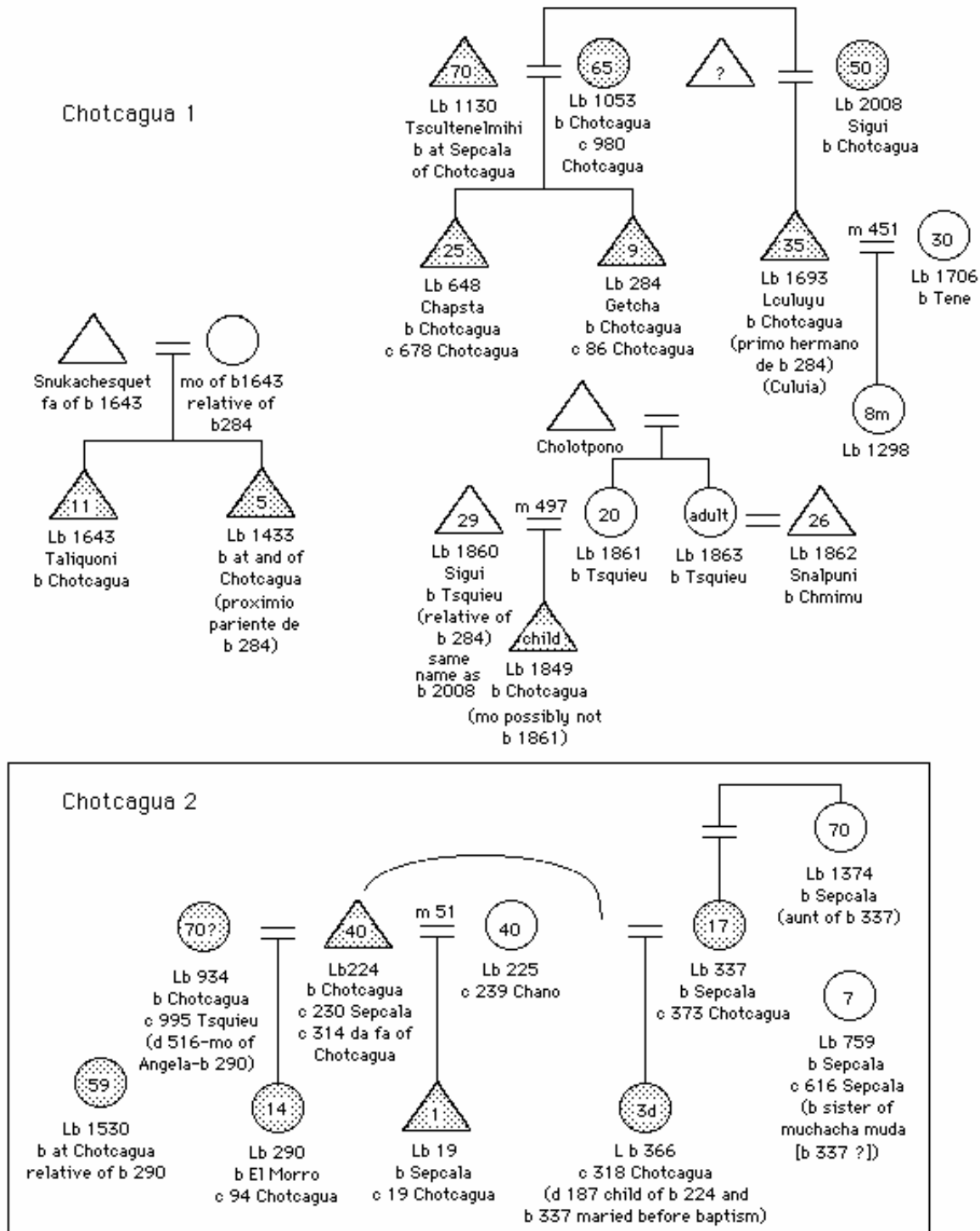
Pismu 16



**Figure B-4  
Kinship Ties to Pismu (4 of 4)**



**Figure B-5  
Kinship Ties to Chotcagua**



## **Appendix C – John Johnson Materials**



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**“Indian History in the Santa Barbara Back Country,” by John R. Johnson, published in *Los Padres Notes*, Volume 3, Spring 1984.**

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**Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnographic Perspective**

*Excerpts of the dissertation by John R. Johnson, December 1988*

## **Appendix D – Materials and Contact List Used in Native American Outreach**

November XX, 2002

Tribal Contact  
Tribe or Group  
address  
Town, California ZIP

Dear Contact:

The United States Forest Service (USFS) is currently developing an ethnographic overview of three Southern California Forests: the San Bernardino, Angeles, and Los Padres National Forests. We are doing the same for the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains National Monument. The information in the ethnographic overview will be used as the USFS updates its current Forest Management Plan.

As part of this project, we would like to meet with members of your tribe or organization to discuss several different things. One question is whether or not the information we are preparing is consistent with knowledge you may have about similar topics. A second purpose of the meeting is to collect any additional information you might have to contribute to our efforts. Finally, we would like to discuss current tribal uses of the forest, as well as any issues or concerns you may have about current forest management practices.

The USFS has contracted the work of the ethnographic overview to a firm named Northwest Economic Associates based in Vancouver, Washington. They are coordinating the work in conjunction with several local ethnographic experts. Someone from their office will be calling you soon to discuss arrangements for a possible meeting with them.

Your involvement in this effort will be greatly appreciated. A brief explanation of the project is enclosed for your perusal. If you have any further questions, please call Daniel McCarthy, the Tribal Relations Program Manager for the San Bernardino Forest, at (909) 383-5588, ext. 3112, or Gretchen Greene from Northwest Economic Associates at (360) 883-0191.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

John Doe  
Regional Forest Supervisor

# **Ethnographic Overview of Three National Forests and the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains National Monument**

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## **Purpose**

The ethnographic overview will include descriptions of the cultures who inhabited and used the forest in the past (where, when, how, etc.), current Native American descendents, these tribes or communities/groups; their legal status (as in federally recognized, organized group, etc.); and their contemporary uses of the forests, places of importance, issues, and areas of concern. These data will be useful in updating the Forest Land Management Plans currently underway, protecting culturally sensitive areas, and ensuring that tribes have the opportunity to participate in the planning process.

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## **Scope**

The following tasks will be completed:

- Review existing ethnographic files and reports (published and unpublished).
- Provide a new or updated discussion on ethnohistoric and ethnographic background and research for each Forest and the Monument.
- Identify contemporary uses of National Forest and Monument lands, places of importance, issues, and areas of concern.
- Identify tribal social and economic issues through interviews with tribal leaders and elders to assess current concerns regarding Forest Management, Monument Management, and Native American issues.
- Develop a historic context that will provide the basis for evaluating the significance of potential Traditional Cultural Properties.
- Map ethnographic place names and other resources identified during the project.
- Prepare a written report addressing the above points.
- Provide updated GIS files for identified place names and areas of cultural sensitivity.

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## Time Frame

The ethnographic overview will be finished in its entirety by October 16, 2003. The portion of the overview dealing with the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains National Monument will need to be completed by February 16, 2003. Interviews with tribal contacts should occur between the months of December 2002, and April 2003.

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## Contact List for Los Padres

Doug Alger	Turtle Hawk
Salinan Nation	Muhu Tasen
American Indian Health Services	Kathy Morgan
Mark and Ronda Vigil	Adelina Padilla
Bakersfield Chumash Council	Rudy Rosales
Joseph Ballesteros	Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians
Richard Angulo	Dolly Soule
Elmer Castro	Joe and Margie Talaugon
Greg Castro	Julie Tumamait
Faith Cavalier	Joe Freeman
Don Burch	Lei Lynn Odom
Bobby Cano	Tom Nason
Patty Casso	Pahlula Khus
Warrior Women/Longwalker	Stephnie Hershey
Willy Wyatt	Shane Goldman
Elders Council	Joe Freeman
Ernestine Ignacio Desoto	
Dee Dominguez	
Bob and Irene Duckworth	
Robert Duckworth	
Arlene Gonzales	
Judith Bomar Grindstaff	

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## Notes from Interviews, and Completed Questionnaires

After the contact list is a complete transcription of the responses given by Native American representatives to a series of questions (see pp. A-5 through A-11). The responses are either directly transcribed from completed questionnaires that were returned to Northwest Economic Associates, or are based on notes taken by NEA staff members during interviews. Each letter represents a different person answering the question. The responses labeled **A.)** were all given by the same person, responses labeled **B.)** represent another person, and so on. The responses for **A.), B.), C.), D.), E.)**, were taken directly from surveys that were mailed in, and responses labeled **G.), H.), and I.)** are taken from NEA staff notes based on telephone, and in-person interviews.

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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

*This information is to be used by the U.S. Forest Service in the development of Ethnographic Overviews of the Los Padres, Angeles, and San Bernardino National Forests, and the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains National Monument.*

1. **Which of the following areas are important to you or other members of your Tribe or Native American group (please circle the relevant Forests and/or Monument)?**

Los Padres National Forest

San Bernardino National Forest

Angeles National Forest

Santa Rosa and San Jacinto  
Mountains National Monument

2. **Do you or members of your Tribe or group currently use land in the Los Padres, Angeles, or San Bernardino National Forests, or the Santa Rosa and San Jacinto Mountains National Monument? For what purposes do you use the land?**

- A. yes, gathering (food and materials), solstice, ceremonial, hiking, cultural and environmental education.
- B. My family members use all areas as some family members reside closer to areas mentioned above. We use it for ceremony, gathering and recreation.
- C.
- D. We use the Northern area of Ventura Wilderness. This is Esselen Territory. Our Esselen family, under use permit, entertain small groups on trail rides and pack trips, people are interested in the culture. Also a cattle grazing permit (Miller Cyn allotment) in use for 90 years (family). Our grazing permits are under pressure for management out of the office, plus the red legged frog activate losing blocks of feed because of frog sign in a mud hole in one end of pasture cattle have been using these areas and not doing any damage for 100 years.
- E. Yes, ceremony, gathering, camping fishing, events for the promotion of culture revitalization.
- F. We through Esselen, stayed in Los Padres Indian Camp. Prayer lodge, dancing.
- G. Yes, praying, collecting roots, herbs.
- H. Yes. I hunt deer, fish, and visit sacred sites.



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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- I. Yes. Camping, site protection, contemplation. I go to an ancient/historic cemetery, like to visit Sara Peak, and ancient place with cosmologic importance, Indian Ranch, and the Wagon Cave area.
3. **Are there places within the Forests or the Monument that are culturally important to you or your Tribe? Will you share the locations and/or names of these places with the Forest Service for documentation in this project?**
- A. yes, 1. Husankiw-Wind Coves located in what is now Winchester Canyon, CA – SBA 509 and canyon where located; 2. Sierra Madre Ridge
- B. Not at this time. I feel better knowing that any sites that are disclosed are confidential. This is a very important issue to me.
- C. All areas are important to us, from Frazier Park (Mt. Pinos), Santa Clarita (Leona Valley – La Palomas). The Santa Monica Mts, Anza Borrezo in San Diego. All the ocean areas. I feel there should be no limit to all Park Lands.
- D. The U.S. Forest Service has this information. Caves Ranch, Pine Valley, to name a few.
- E. Yes, would have to consult with a larger community to discuss what info is appropriate to share. On-going consultation (case by case).
- F. Yes, but don't have full access to. Dance culture sites (mom went at age 7) Sarbo Barnabe went with Milliken, Gary, etc. Chalk stair case opening, clapper sticks, bone whistles, body ornaments, deer skins.
- G. Yes, but not at this time. Casa Blanco de los Indios gathering place.
- H. The place of the Rattlesnake... burial sites, you can contact me about these.
- I. The Quiquil cultural use area. There is tension between the boundary of this area and the Hunter Ligget Military Reserve. I don't think vehicles should be allowed near this area.
4. **Are there specific types of plants in the Forests or Monument that you or other members of your tribal group gather for sustenance? Are there plants used for medicinal, cultural, spiritual, production of traditional crafts, or other reasons? Which plants are important?**
- A. yes, manzanite forest, yucca, pine nut (food and crafts)
- B. Yes, too many to name. Part B of question: Juncus, Sage, Bear Grass, Red Bud, Oak, Pinons, Cottonwood, Willows, Oak Trees, Acorns.

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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- C. Not only the plant life being important (Sage, Anise, Chia, Acorns, Elderberry, Yucca, Mugwort, Basil, Willow, Etc.) but the stone gathered for carving (soapstone). The stone gathered from ant holes for use in making rattles. Not only these things, but animal parts found in the forests (feathers, hides: bear, deer, rabbit, etc) Why can't these things be made available to us? We also gather wood, pine pitch and asphaltum.
  - D. Yes, the family and Esselen people have used these for generations. Mug wort, herb parlastanta, Herba Buena, Herb pausma. Many more still in use.
  - E. Yes, more than I can list here. All indigenous plants are important to the natural ecosystem.
  - F. Yes, Yerba Buena getting scarce. Yerba Santa don't go extinct. Gathering pass. Need one.
  - G. Wild onions, wild mint, roots, wild red berries, lots of pine nuts, acorns, poison oak.
  - H. Many. But the trash that is there in the Forest, and the Marijuana growing causes problems. Fire should be used to clear out some of this.
  - I. I am studying the use of Dogbane
5. **Do you feel it is important for the Forest Service to protect the environments near the locations of these plants? Do you have any suggestions about how the Forest Service might better protect these areas?**
- A. Yes, 1. close down gun club and hire permanent manager for area to give tours and monitor area; 2. cease grazing allotment.
  - B. Yes, since plants are handled and injected it is utmost importance they remain natural and not contaminated.
  - C. It is very important. I am not sure other than not letting developers build in these areas.
  - D. These plants thrive after a fire, along with everything else. Need to be addressed for any trail work or maintenance.
  - E. Yes, but it's important that the Forest Service protect all of the environments within its jurisdiction. Suggestion – consult with a greater Chumash community on an on-going basis. There are medicine people, botanists, and knowledgeable people who continue to be out of the loop of consultation.
  - F. Under redwood trees. River beds.

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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

6. **Have you, or will you share information about the locations of these culturally important plant species with the Forest Service?**
- A. Yes.
  - B. I am more knowledgeable about soapstone locations.
  - C.
  - D. The answer is yes. Like in #5.
  - E. Elders and medicine people will if you consult with them. This needs to be addressed in consultation. Also, if really depends on what this information will be used for., i.e. publications, etc.
  - F.
  - G.
7. **Are there any birds, animals, or specific types of habitats that are particularly important to protect? If so, which ones?**
- A. Most are gone due to gun fire. I've seen bear poop though.
  - B. All habitats should be protected in all areas.
  - C.
  - D. Are tree or grey squirrel. Fish and game has too long of a season Sept. to Jan. 1<sup>st</sup>. The wild band tail pigeon.
  - E. This is a silly question. All are important.
  - F.
  - G. Hawks, eagles, turkey buzzards.
8. **Do you or other members of your tribal group hunt on lands within the Forests or Monument during hunting season? What do you hunt? Are there any suggestions you have about how the Forest Service might manage the land better for hunting?**
- A. I'm sure game would return if shooting stopped and cows removed.

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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- B. I personally do not. But I have family who hunt. Refer to Ernie Garcia's Reply
  - C. There are some members that hunt. I personally do not hunt. The forest is so huge people poach and kill animals indiscriminately. I just wish it could be more controlled.
  - D. Yes, we hunt deer, quail, pigeons, etc. We need to control burns for good feed areas. Small areas of the right kind of brush, black brush or chappell, scrub oak, produce good feed.
  - E. I don't know enough about this to comment.
  - F.
  - G. Hunters shoot at and destroy cultural sites, hunters with dogs particularly offensive shooting everything. If you need meat, go to Safeway.
  - H.
  - I. Yes, deer. Also eagle, coyote, kingfishers are all important animals. The Forest Service should burn the ground so there are tender shoots to attract the deer.
9. **Is fire management on land within the Forests or the Monument a concern? If so, how?**
- A. Probably needs a controlled burn, under supervision of an expert.
  - B. Fire management is a good way to bring back native plants and it's possible to locate areas of cultural resources that have not been documented
  - C. No
  - D. Fire has damaged, has taken its toll in caves and bedrock, mortars. It is cause from over growth and died fall, and getting too hot, would be hard to manage.
  - E. Yes, indigenous people have fire management practices that have been ignored since colonization. A reintegration of these practices (working with Chumash and other native Californians) would benefit all culturally, environmentally, spiritually.
  - F.
  - G. Controlled burnings of vegetation. Indians used to burn at Fort Ord to help out. Should burn more at campsites.
  - H.

---

## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- I. Yes fire should be used.
10. **Do you or other members of your tribal group participate in any recreational activities within the Forests or Monument? Which recreational activities?**
- A. Yes, hiking, camping, gathering
- B. ceremony, gathering, walks, cultural camping. Mostly gathering
- C. Hiking, gathering, camping and socializing
- D. The pack trips, sweat lodges, and Vernon quilters. May not recreational, its pretty serious business.
- E. Yes, camping, fishing, gathering, cultural events.
- F.
- G. Hiking, Big Sur, Malare State beach. Love to hike. Take kids, the view.
- H.
- I. Yes. Camping, cultural camping.
11. **Are you or your Tribe interested in the tourism aspect of visitors to the public land?**
- A. Yes guided tours in areas like these
- B. Yes, as I think all people have a right to enjoy our natural areas, beaches, forests, and parks.
- C.
- D. Only through use permit.
- E. Yes, in regards to interpretative, educational facilities and signage. The better educated people (tourists) are the better protected these places will be. The indigenous story should be told by native people. The Forest Service should work closely with native people to create appropriate interpretative materials. Also, Indian people ought to be kept informed as to traffic at sacred sites, etc. Again, on-going consultation is vital.
- F.
- G. Are interested!

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## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- H.
- I. Some in my group feel that tourism is a way to protect the land.
12. **Do the activities of visitors to the Forests and Monument interfere with the activities of your Tribe or group? How?**
- A. Yes, visitors need to be limited for cultural, ceremonial events.
- B. It does not. If we have an area set aside for ceremonies.
- C.
- D. The public does not bother our activities. Except the number are getting more all the time. Some time a few join us.
- E. In some cases, e.g. Winchester Canyon Gun Club.
- F.
- G. Not now. Usually is o.k. but can interrupt religious activities.
- H.
- I. There was a group who was visiting the wagon caves, which is an important spot for religious and spiritual activities. We designed a handout, and made some stipulations about the activities.
13. **Are you satisfied with the Forest Service's efforts to ensure protection of buried remains or other sensitive sites? Can you recommend any guidelines for how the Forest Service might better protect and identify such areas?**
- A. No, Forest Service needs to follow its own laws: consult with all concerned parties; properly manage and protect sights; avoid conflict of interests; complete required EA and other reports; and thoroughly research and understand these sites and native cultures
- B. No! I have seen the forestry department go into sensitive areas (burial sites, old village sites, etc) to expand recreational areas and parking lots.
- C.

---

## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

- D. We are satisfied they do their job in some areas. Bulldozers on fire lines have done some damage. Not handled right to start with. People and visitors need to camp in USFS camping areas. Not in caves, etc.
  - E. No, consultation with a greater representative community.
  - F.
  - G. Yes, doing a good job.
  - H.
  - I. The Forest Service should handle these cases on a SITE SPECIFIC BASIS. Each solution is specific to the site.
14. **Are there programs you would like to see implemented within the Forest Service that might help improve the relationships between Native Americans and the Forest Service? For example, do you feel there is a need for more cultural and interpretive centers within the Forests?**
- A. Yes, and involve all concerned native and non-native parties
  - B. Yes, and Yes I would definitely like to see a cultural center for us in the San Fernando Valley.
  - C.
  - D. The relations manager for Los Padres is Pete Zavalla or Pete Crow heart handles our relationship very well. I don't think we need a culture center here. It would attract attention to these sensitive areas. People can get information from U.S. Forest offices.
  - E. Yes, absolutely. The Forest Service should attempt to consult with off-reservation peoples. Through comprehensive consultation the Forest Service can determine what sites are appropriate for interpretative centers and where cultural centers are needed for preservation of our cultures.
  - F. More public information about rights. Native American use rights.
  - G. Yes, get botanists to teach classes to native American kids, work with elders. Work on education. Place to have traditional cultural activities. Flint blanching, obsidian , chert Monterey, crafts making, jewelry.
  - H.

---

## QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS

I. The site –stewardship program is really good. A web-site would be OK.

15. **Do you have any other comments (please feel free to write more on the back)?**

- A. I feel that the Forest Service doesn't completely understand the complexity of native cultures. They look at one small area opposed to the whole cultural landscape and make decisions based on their limited cultural understandings.
- B. I have never encountered anyone for the Forest Service, who have ever denied me access to the Forest. Forest Service has been very good to me in this area. They try hard.
- C. This questionnaire limits use of the public lands in the forest. We need the use of all public lands from Northern CA. to Southern CA, inland, beaches, the Channel Islands, Military lands and any land we are restricted to visit. I hope you understand that we would like to have access to all plants needed for medicinal and ceremonial needs. Also, access to soapstone quarries that are privately kept or in a conservancy. We would like to be able to obtain feathers, hides and in one case a pelican wing bone to finish a ceremonial pipe. I know the forestry department and the state park people come across things such as these and they are either destroyed, or packed away in a conservation in Oregon or Washington State. Please give us California natives a chance to obtain some of these things. Also not all California Natives are federally recognized and federally recognized natives seem to have more access to these things. Pardon me for I don't mean to ramble but one thing leads to another.
- D. We would like to see some control burning in our area. Our deer herd is on a slow increase after the last fire. We need some lion control. Train maintenance is very important in this district. There is none, except for local input and use. We need to change equipment laws for chain saw use. Work can not get done every year especially after a fire. Trees fall for years after.
- E. Please consider supporting an urban Chumash committee as a prototype preservation advisory council. This proposal (sent to Los Padres National Forest in October) for consultation could potentially address many of these concerns. On-going communication is key and no plan will provide a way around this fact.
- F.
- G.
- H.
- I. The rotation of people in the Forest Service is troubling. I have been working pretty closely with the Forest Service for ten years. You have to remember, when you are



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## **QUESTIONS for TRIBAL CONTACTS**

working with Native Americans, the issues are ALWAYS personal! So many times what matters most of all is who is working with the Forest Service, rather than any particular policies.

**Please include the name of the Tribe or Native American group of your affiliation:**

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Thank you for your time. Please return this questionnaire to the address below using the enclosed stamped envelope. If you have any questions about the project, feel free to call Gretchen Greene at (360) 883-0191, Pete Zavalla at (805) 961-5720, or Daniel McCarthy at (909) 383-5588 ext. 3112.

**Northwest Economic Associates  
12009 N.E. 99<sup>th</sup> Street, Suite 1410  
Vancouver, WA, 98682  
Tel: (360) 883-0191**

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## **Excerpts from a letter dated October 20, 2003, from Rudy Rosales, Chair of the Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation to Gretchen Greene, Northwest Economic Associates**

*Thank you for the time you spent with me, other members of our tribe, and some of our consulting administrative staff, during the California Indian Conference on October 10 and 11, 2003. In response to the request for input on the intended policy publication for the Los Padres National Forest that the U.S. Forest Service is compiling, we offer you this letter in the way of recommendations for future policy in respect to our ancestral (Ohlone/Cosanoan Esselen Nation, [OCEN]) territory located in the Los Padres National Forest.*

### ***Repatriation Rights***

*As the documented historic and previously federally tribe of this region, OCEN reserves the right to make recommendations regarding any Native American cultural properties, e.g. burials, remains, grave goods, or artifacts that may be found in the Los Padres National Forest, including, but not limited to, rock art. This right is based upon the fact that many of our direct tribal ancestors are indigenous to this area and, as their direct descendants, it is OCEN's inherent right and obligation to manage, preserve, and protect our heritage in every way possible.*

*The legal steps for repatriation, for the State of California (Public Resource code, 5097), are as follows:*

- 1. Any time that potential human remains are discovered, the responsible agency (builder, developer, forest ranger, property owner, etc.) is stop all work and contact the county coroner.*
- 2. The coroner will first determine if the bones are human or animal. If the determination is that the bones are human, the coroner will then determine if the remains are recent (possible homicide) or if they are Native American burial/remains.*
- 3. If the remains are determined to be of a Native American burial, the coroner will then contact the Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) within 24 hours.*
- 4. It is then the duty of the NAHC to select a Most Likely Descendant to make recommendations regarding the remains.*

5. *The duty of the MLD is to make recommendations regarding the remains within 24 hours of notification.*
6. *If there is a conflict in this process, the NAHC's duty is to mitigate.*

*The OCEN tribal chair is designated as the Most Likely Descendant (MLD) with the Native American Heritage Commission. In the event that the tribal chair is unable to meet the obligations of an MLD, an alternative may be selected. In either case, the MLD represents the entire tribal body.*

*If the remains or artifacts found are in a location outside of our tribal territory, we will defer this process to the three Salinan tribes whom border to the south of our territory.*

### ***Rights to Access***

*It is the desire of the OCEN tribe to have access to the Los Padres National Forest for cultural purposes. The tribe agrees to work with the U.S. Forest Service regarding any council approved cultural activities that we wish to conduct in the Los Padres National Forest, and to respect the laws of preservation of the forest. Further, the tribe agrees to notify the U.S. Forest Service of any such intent and to seek all relative guidelines for any cultural activity.*

### ***Limitation of Access***

*The membership of Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation (OCEN) currently numbers over 500 persons. Each of these persons has demonstrated with legal genealogical evidence that they are direct descendants of our nation's ancestral villages and multi-village communities. And, as such they possess the inherited rights of their Indian ancestry. If any of our tribal members wish to petition for use of the Los Padres National Forest, we recommend that a process be established to ensure that the petitioner is a tribal member and that specific agreements with the U.S. Forest Service are reached regarding the use of the land.*

*Further, there are individuals who may possess this inherited right but are not formal members enrolled in our tribe. It is not the desire of the OCEN Tribal Council to actively prevent these individuals from exercising their rights to access ancestral lands. However, if these individual approaches the U.S. Forest Service for use of the Los Padres National Forest, we recommend that you set up a process by which these individuals must demonstrate their cultural affiliation through verifiable genealogical documentation in order to support their right to do so. Similarly, we recommend that specific agreements be reached with those individuals regarding the use of the land.*

### ***Preference of Archaeologist***

*We have our own tribal archeologist, Ms. Suran Morley (teaching at CSUMB), who is willing to work with the U.S. Forest Service in whatever capacity her services may be needed. Our tribal anthropologist/ethnohistorian, Mr. Philip Lavery (also teaching at CSUMB), is willing to provide services for this project as well. We acknowledge that the U.S. Forest Service has already employed Dr. Breschini in developing this policy. However, we recommend that this effort also incorporate the efforts of our own tribal consultants and experts whenever possible in the future.*

*It is our hope that through these recommendations we can establish a relationship with the U.S. Forest Service that will keep the door open for mutually beneficial exchange and interactions for both the good of the tribe and the Los Padres National Forest.*

*Please note that the OCEN Tribal administration will provide to the U.S. Forest Service all requested historic and legal documentation in order to verify our tribe's claims.*

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