

Chumash Healing: Changing Health and Medical Practices in an American Indian Society.

Phillip L. Walker and Travis Hudson. Banning: Malki Museum Press, 1993, xv + 161 pp., 38 figs., glossary, index, \$16.95 (hard cover), \$12.95 (paper).

Reviewed by:

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This long-awaited book is one of the first works devoted to the medical knowledge of California Indians. It results from a collaboration between Phillip Walker, a physical anthropologist, and the late Travis Hudson, who had delved into Chumash medicine as part of his research into the voluminous, unpublished ethnographic papers of John P. Harrington. This book synthesizes information from a variety of sources, bringing these together in a succinct statement about what may be reconstructed regarding Chumash healing beliefs and techniques.

Although this contribution is largely successful, some minor shortcomings are occasionally apparent. Many of these result from the fact that Hudson's untimely death suspended publication of this work until more than a decade after its original composition. Some advances in Chumash studies over this period are not incorporated into the final text, and selections from Harrington's Chumash field notes lack citations to the microfilm edition of his papers (Harrington 1986).

Many of the excerpts from Harrington's Chumash field notes lack attribution as to which consultant provided the information. Identification of Chumash sources is important, because in some instances information was actually being provided regarding practices from neighboring

groups. For example, the healing ceremony described on pages 69-70 is probably Yokuts, not Chumash. The patient was Juan Moinal, a Chunut chief, and one of his curers was Shapaqay, a Wowol shaman. Harrington's source for this description was undoubtedly Marfa Solares, who had witnessed this ceremony as a girl when she visited her mother's Yokuts relatives at Tejon. Similarly the description of the Ant Doctor on pages 58-60 apparently came from José Juan Olivas, who was married to a Kitanemuk woman and had lived among the Yokuts and Kitanemuk at Tejon since he was a teenager. In the absence of corroboration by other consultants, one must question whether the well-documented Kitanemuk practice of ant ingestion was also used by the Chumash.

The introductory chapter includes a list of available ethnohistoric sources upon which this book was based, including Mission Period observations, late nineteenth century tidbits recorded by nonanthropologists from Chumash elders, Harrington's early twentieth century notes, and Louise Gardner's research conducted at the Santa Ynez Indian Reservation in the 1960s. It is unfortunate that a nineteenth century manuscript by Léon de Cessac called *Samala Medicine* has not survived so that it too could have served as a reference for *Chumash Healing*. Based on interviews in 1878 with Rafael Solares, chief of the Santa Ynez Indians, *Samala Medicine* was once part of Cessac's collection at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris and may yet be discovered in some French archive (Reichlen and Heizer 1964).

The second chapter provides an overview of Chumash culture and history with a special emphasis on health and disease. Although updated to a certain extent by Walker just prior to publication, this chapter would have benefited from further revisions. It contains some outdated con-

cepts, such as use of the old "Oak Grove"/"Hunting"/"Canalino" prehistoric chronology (pp. 16-17) and exaggerated characterization of Chumash society as "stratified into classes" (p. 19). The discussion regarding the effects of introduced European diseases would have been strengthened by taking advantage of demographic analyses of mission register data that appeared before this book went to press (e.g., Cook and Borah 1979; Johnson 1989; Walker and Johnson 1992). The authors propose that earlier disease spread could have affected the Chumash population prior to missionization, a hypothesis that is receiving increasing attention (Erlandson and Bartoy 1995).

Several chapters deal with Chumash perspectives on health and disease. Malevolent supernatural forces were viewed as the causes of illness that could only be overcome through shamanic countermeasures. Hudson's well-known ideas about the pervasive role of the 'antap cult in Chumash society are summarized. The 'antap are described as an elite religious and political organization whose function was "to acquire and exercise supernatural power to maintain balance of the universe." The authors emphasize the secretive, esoteric nature of healing knowledge that was passed on by shamans to their apprentices. Much inherited information regarding specific treatments disappeared during the Mission Period with the deaths of traditional specialists. A very useful list that distinguishes between types of shamans involved in Chumash healing appears at the end of Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 deals with problems faced by Chumash traditional healers confronting new diseases and the influences of European beliefs about illness. Some attempt has been made to see things the way the Chumash may have perceived them, giving the impression of an emic view. I feel uncomfortable with some aspects of how this story is told, because the "Chumash viewpoint" presented is largely the authors' own theory based on rather little direct evidence.

Throughout the text, a dichotomy is emphasized between European and Chumash approaches to disease. According to the authors, the former treated objective manifestations of illness while the latter paid more attention to the psychological (subjective) state of the patient. The two views are evident in the opposing ways that epidemics were perceived. Chumash traditionalists saw these contagions as punishment for giving up their native ways, while the missionaries saw native susceptibility to introduced diseases as being caused by continued fondness for "unhealthful" cultural practices, such as frequent sweatbaths. Despite these differences, the authors note some interesting parallels between Native American responses to epidemics and those of Medieval Europeans several hundred years earlier (pp. 120-121).

Few editorial mistakes were found, although I did notice that the glossary misidentified *xutash* as "fruit of the coffeeberry" after it had been correctly translated in the text as "red-maids seeds" (p. 96). While a few problems have been noted, this book is a very useful reference because the authors' respective specialties complement each other so well. Together they provide broad familiarity with sources pertinent to the topic. Both the authors and the staff of Malki Museum Press are to be congratulated for making this book about Chumash approaches to healing available to a wider audience. The growing literature regarding Chumash ethnography will be enriched by this contribution.

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Conversations with Connor Chapoose, A Leader of the Ute Tribe of the Uintah and Ouray Reservation. Y. T. Witherspoon, ed. University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 47. Recorded in 1960, published in 1993, v + 240 pp., \$12.00 (paper).

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Connor Chapoose (1905-1961), fluent in English and Ute, served his people in local and national forums. He held many offices in the

tribal government, worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and was instrumental in establishing the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in 1944. He had a great deal to impart during a series of 13 conversations recorded with Y. T. (Jack) Witherspoon over a two-month period in 1960 while recuperating from surgery. The publication is endorsed by his children, who provide an eloquent biographical sketch and the only interpretive context for the narratives. They write (p. ii):

[Connor] was strict in teaching us the Indian way of life, culture and values and especially in speaking the Ute language. As of today, we the children of Connor speak both our native language and English. Our dad Connor was a very influential man and everyone, both Indians and non-Indians, had great respect for him. His passing was a great loss to the Ute Tribe. Many Elders said, "Connor Chapoose was the last of the great leaders," and they remember how he spoke out and expressed the needs of his tribe . . . We would like to share this information with the public and thank Dr. Jack Witherspoon for being patient and understanding and most of all for encouraging us to have this book published. We feel this book is very informative and will give a better insight on the traditions, culture and values of our tribe.

This rich primary source on Ute aboriginal and contemporary tradition, lifeway, and history from the perspective of an influential individual has application to a broad range of Great Basin and American Indian history and anthropology. Reading these virtually unedited transcriptions of recorded interviews conducted by Witherspoon with Connor Chapoose is more like ethnographic immersion in print than reading source material.

Each session is presented sequentially in "chapters" prefaced by an index of topics similar to the way taped interviews are indexed after audio reviewing. There are no paragraphs in the narratives, which may go for three to four pages at a stretch without editing for clarity or redundancy. Very few people, recounting their stories or responding to questions that evoke opinions, could have their unedited words trans-