

Tataviam Geography and Ethnohistory

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SEVERAL important articles have appeared in recent years that have summarized information about the Tataviam, or Alliklik, one of the most enigmatic California Indian groups (Bright 1975; King and Blackburn 1978; Hudson 1982). So little actually is known about these people that their very existence as a distinct linguistic community has remained in doubt. Indeed, some researchers have suggested that all or most of their territory may have belonged to the Ventureño Chumash, Kitanemuk, or Serrano (Van Valkenburgh 1935; Beeler and Klar 1977). Because of the scarcity of data hitherto available, there has been a need to discover new approaches to the problems of who the Tataviam were, what their linguistic affiliation was, and what territory they occupied.¹

What is known today regarding the Tataviam comes primarily from the ethnographic research of two anthropologists, Alfred L. Kroeber and John P. Harrington. Kroeber's Tataviam data came from a single consultant, Juan José Fustero, whom he interviewed for part of a day in Los Angeles in 1912 (Kroeber 1912, 1915). Harrington first met Fustero in 1913 at his home near Piru in Ventura County and subsequently visited him on several occasions accompanied by his Tejón consultants during placename trips (Bright 1975; Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 536, 615, Rl. 181, Fr. 10-14; Mills and Brickfield 1986). Harrington also collected some Tataviam lexical items and ethnogeographic information from several of his Kitanemuk consultants at Tejon Ranch. Only eleven

words and phrases in the Tataviam language have hitherto been published (Bright 1975).

Basic information about Tataviam linguistics and geography obtained from Fustero and other Kitanemuk speakers has been discussed in previous publications (Kroeber 1915, 1925; Harrington 1935; Bright 1975; King and Blackburn 1978; Hudson 1982). What is not so well known is that Harrington continued his Tataviam investigations among Indians of Yokuts, Tübatulabal, and Serrano descent, who had been associated with Tataviam speakers during the nineteenth century. More information about Tataviam history, territory, and language therefore is available than has previously been summarized. This justifies a new presentation and evaluation of existing evidence. We begin with a review of Tataviam ethnogeographic data.

CORROBORATION OF TATAVIAM ETHNIC IDENTITY

Recent statements on Tataviam cultural geography by King and Blackburn (1978) and Hudson (1982) identify the Santa Clarita Basin area (the upper Santa Clara River drainage) as the core territory of this group. Their analysis is based on Kroeber's and Harrington's interviews with Fustero and other Kitanemuk consultants. For reference on current maps of the area, the core territory is north of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. It partially overlaps the western part of the Angeles National Forest and includes the northwest portion of Los Angeles County as well as part of Ventura County.

The Santa Clarita Basin was first identified as the home of a distinct linguistic and ethnic community in an important early Spanish account. This was the expedition diary of the Spanish missionary explorer, Father Francisco Garcés, who passed through the region in early 1776. He visited the *Ciénaga de Santa Clara* before heading northeast across the Liebre-Sawmill mountain range in the northern reaches of Tataviam territory and into the Antelope Valley (Coues 1900:268; Earle 1990:89-92).

In travelling northeast from the upper Santa Clara region, Garcés was guided by Indians from the Antelope Valley who "promised to conduct me to their land." The village in the Antelope Valley to which these Indians took him (in the Lake Hughes-Elizabeth Lake area) was later identified by him as being Beñemé (the Mojave Desert branch of the Serrano), and its inhabitants were clearly distinguished from the Indians of Santa Clara. In discussing boundaries of indigenous linguistic territories in Southern California, Garcés elsewhere stated that the Beñemé were bounded by the Indians of San Gabriel and Santa Clara (Coues 1900:444). Garcés thus identified an Indian territorial and linguistic unit, "Santa Clara," which was, he indicated, distinct from that of San Gabriel (Gabrielino) and that of the Beñemé (Mojave Desert Serrano).

TATAVIAM SETTLEMENTS

King and Blackburn (1978:536) have listed several major Tataviam ranchería sites on the basis of information from the Harrington notes and other sources. These include the major village of *tsawayung* at the site of Rancho San Francisquito (Newhall Ranch), near Castaic Junction, *tikatsing* on upper Castaic Creek, and *pi'ing*, located at the intersection of Castaic Creek and Elizabeth Lake Canyon (Fig. 1). The important ranchería of

Tochonanga, documented in an 1843 land-grant *diseño* (map), appears to have been located to the southeast of Newhall (Fig. 2). We have identified other villages and campsites named by Harrington's informants (see Fig. 1). They include the following: *akure'eng*, located at the original Newhall townsite spring; *apatsitsing*, situated on upper Castaic Creek near *tikatsing* and north of Redrock Mountain; and *naqava'atang*, farther downstream and east of Townsend Peak.² Several rancherías also were located on Piru Creek. The Piru villages and several other rancherías located on the northern edge of Tataviam territory are discussed in the next section.

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES

A delineation of the territorial extent of Tataviam speech involves the problematic issue of boundaries. Two difficulties have presented themselves in analyzing territoriality among Takic groups. First, the disruptions and population decline that occurred in Mission times often made later recollection difficult regarding what may have been former physically marked boundaries. Later consultants were much clearer about core territories than about the locations of peripheral borders. Second, in discussing the "real world" significance of territoriality, one must distinguish between the formal and substantive manifestations of territorial occupation and use. The boundaries of linguistic/ethnic units reflected the organization of society into a series of multi-lineage territorial political units ("localized clans"). These clan units claimed certain territories as their own, but were not the only groups to gather resources in them or establish temporary camps therein. The granting of permission by one group to another to gather and establish seasonal camps in its erstwhile territory was very common. Harrington's consultants at the Tejon Ranch noted this phenomenon in discussing areas

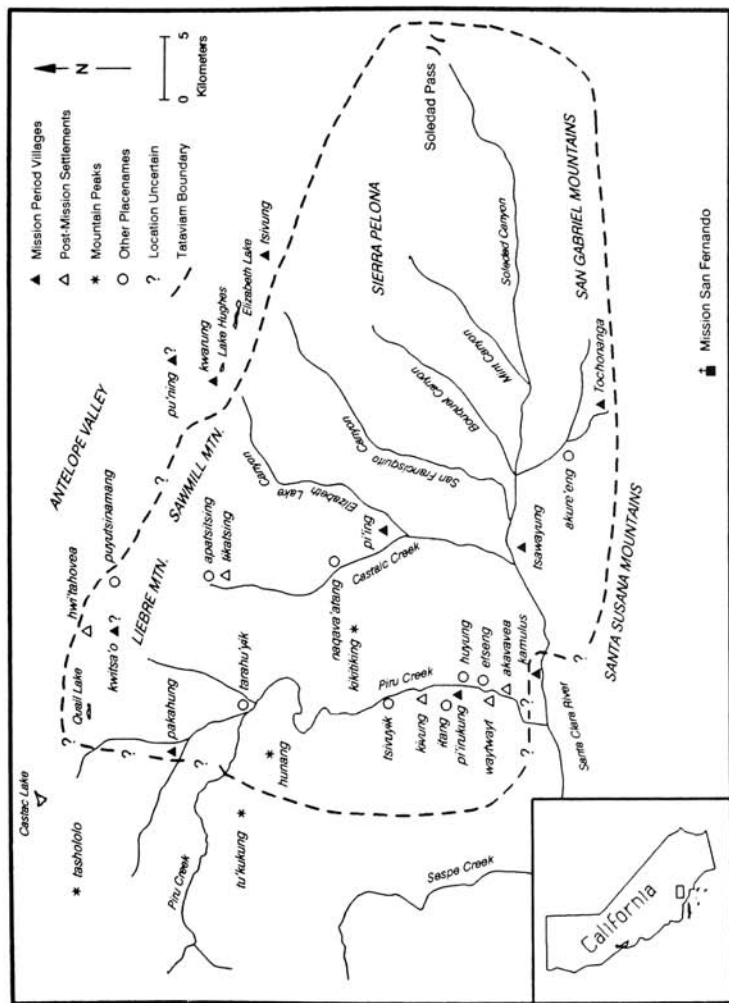


Fig. 1. Map of Tataviam territory with known settlement locations and many of the placenames recorded by Harrington. Most placenames appear in their Kitanemuk forms, but a number of these were based on Tataviam originals, according to Harrington's consultants.

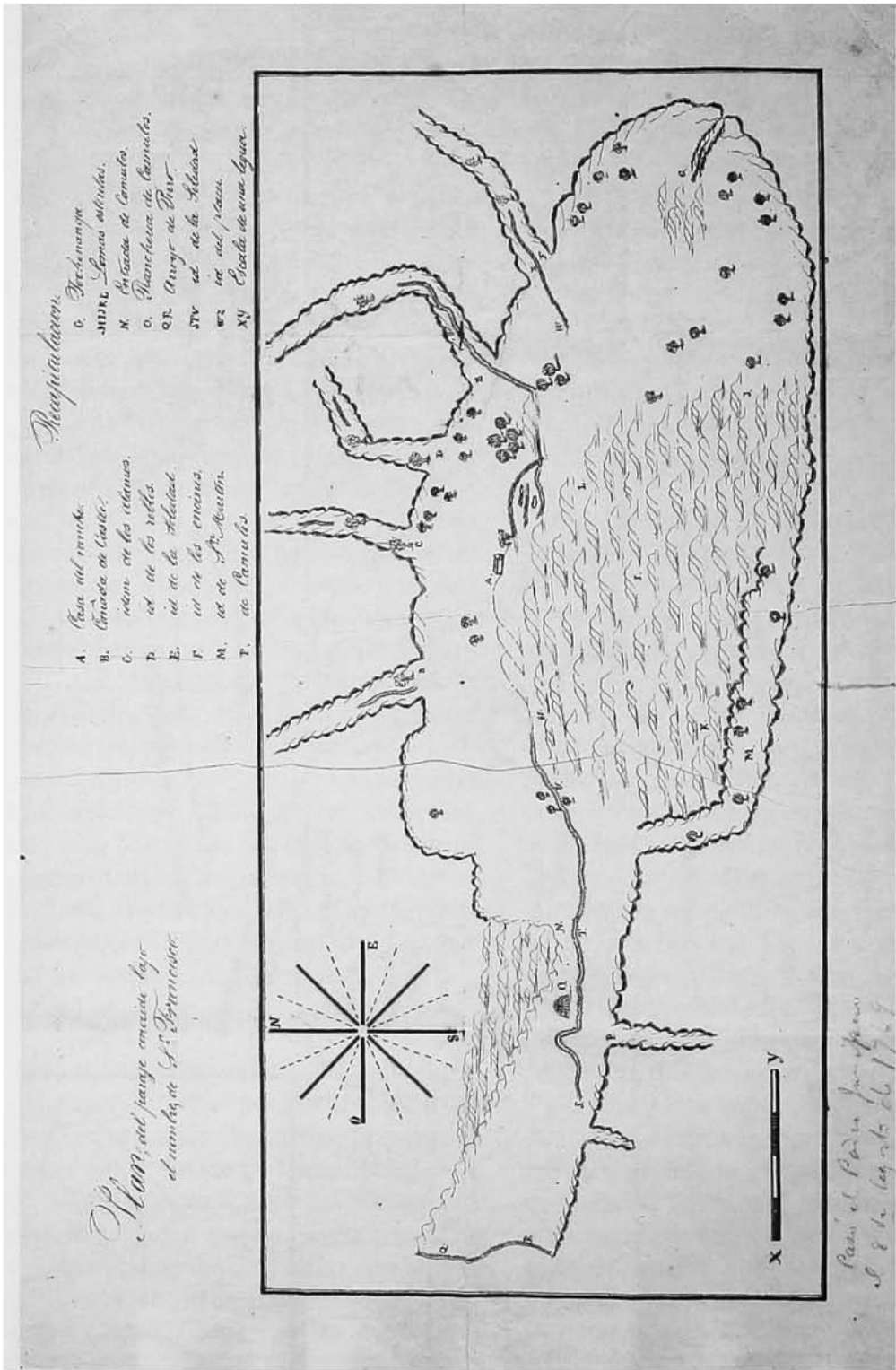


Fig. 2. The 1843 land-grant *diseño* (map) for Rancho San Francisco with information on village locations in the upper Santa Clara River Valley. The site of *Tochonanga* is indicated by the letter G. The *Rancheria de Camulos* is indicated by the letter O (courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino).

shared between the Kitanemuk and the Kawaiisu, and many other examples could be cited (Earle 1990:94-95, 98). Thus, while formal territorial frontiers appear to have existed in at least some areas of southern California, their expression "on the ground" is complicated by this permission-granting and seasonal movement of visiting groups.

The trans-boundary occupation of campsites, as well as historical changes in the location of ethnic frontiers, have made it difficult to use the linguistic affiliations of local placenames to reconstruct linguistic or political frontiers. As we shall see, many cases are encountered for the Santa Clarita and Antelope Valley areas where people of a certain linguistic affiliation lived in *rancherías* historically known by a name associated with a different language group. Such cases are most typical of ethnic frontier or boundary areas. Keeping these facts in mind, we will briefly outline what we know about the areal extent of Tataviam occupation. Questions have arisen in particular about the northern and eastern boundaries of Tataviam territory.

Our analysis of available sources on the northern boundary of the Tataviam indicates that their territory did include portions of the very west end of the Antelope Valley around modern Quail Lake and Liebre Ranch (see Fig. 1). One *ranchería*, *hwi'tahovea*, located next to the Liebre Ranchhouse, was known to have been occupied by Tataviam descendants during the Historic Period. Directly behind and to the south of this site was a ridge associated with the name *kwitsa'o*, which is also listed as an important *ranchería* (*Cuecchao*, *Quecchao*, *Quissaubit*) in Mission San Fernando documents (Merriam 1968; Earle 1990:94; Temple MS). Other communities located on the southern margin of the Antelope Valley to the east of Liebre Ranch—*pavuhavea*, *kwarung*, *tsivung*, and *pu'ning*—were said by one of Harrington's principal

Kitanemuk consultants, Eugenia Méndez, to have spoken a dialect of Serrano/Kitanemuk³ (Harrington 1986:RI. 98, Fr. 675-676; Earle 1990:92-93).

Three of these four communities are mentioned in Mission-era documents (Cook 1960:256-257; Temple MS:49-53). The village in the Antelope Valley visited by Garcés and identified as *Beñemé* (Serrano/Kitanemuk) in linguistic affiliation was most probably *kwarung*, located near Lake Hughes. Garcés clearly indicated that the village was not Tataviam. Other Kitanemuk informants, besides Eugenia Méndez, also identified *pavuhavea*, near *tsivung* and *pu'ning*, as speaking some dialect of Serrano/Kitanemuk.

Such direct testimony has been crucial in sorting out the ethnogeography of the Tataviam northern frontier. In this area the linguistic affiliation of reported village names is of little help. The name *hwi'tahovea*, for instance, applied to a known Tataviam *ranchería* at Liebre Ranchhouse, is Serrano/Kitanemuk. By the same token, the name *kwarung*, associated with a village occupied by Serrano/Kitanemuk speakers, was said to mean 'frog' in Fernandeano (Harrington 1986:RI. 106, Fr. 102).

Thus the northern boundary of Tataviam territory appears to have included the northern foothills of the Liebre Mountains (which include Liebre Mt. and Sawmill Mt.) on the southwestern edge of the valley. Their boundary with the Castac Chumash, apparently rather fluid, was situated somewhere between Oso Canyon and Bear Trap Canyon (upper Pastoria Creek) at the southern edge of the Tehachapi Mountains north-northwest of Liebre Ranch (north of the area shown on Fig. 1). Eugenia Méndez mentioned Twin Lakes or *patšrawvapea* as a boundary between the Kitanemuk and the Tataviam (Harrington 1986:RI. 98, Fr. 667). *patšrawvapea* is situated at the northwestern edge of the Antelope

Valley just east of Cottonwood Creek and north of the so-called "Sand Hills" in the valley itself (north of the area shown on Fig. 1). This suggests that the valley floor itself north of Liebre Ranch and Neenach, and perhaps north of Sawmill Mountain, may have been considered Tataviam territory, although we have not mapped it that way in Figure 1.

Further to the east, while the Tataviam held the south-facing slope of Sawmill Mountain and Sierra Pelona as far east as Soledad Pass, they do not seem to have held the San Andreas Fault rift zone between the Pine Canyon-Lake Hughes area and Leona Valley. The Rift Zone lies between the north-facing slopes of these mountains and the southern edge of the Antelope Valley. This area included Elizabeth Lake. Here a very approximate boundary appears to follow the summit of the mountain range. The Three Points vicinity and the western shoulder of Sawmill Mountain may have been included in the territory of either the Tataviam or of Indians speaking a Serrano/Kitanemuk dialect.

The eastern and southeastern boundaries of Tataviam territory were not referred to in any detail by Harrington's various Kitanemuk, Serrano, Fernandeno, and other consultants. One is left to infer from its geographic position that "La Soledad," the upper reaches of the Santa Clara River drainage, was included in Tataviam territory. The canyons lying immediately to the northwest of Soledad Canyon are clearly stated as having been occupied by the Tataviam. Archaeological evidence suggests that the upper Soledad Canyon-Acton area contained important settlements during the Late Prehistoric Period (King et al. 1974; Landberg 1980; Wessel and Wessel 1985; McIntyre 1990). The upper Santa Clarita River drainage provided an important transportation corridor for travel from the western Mojave Desert to the coast. Unfortunately for the ethnohistoric record, both the

threat of desert Indian raids through the Soledad Canyon drainage after 1820 and later intensive mining activities appear to have led to avoidance of the area by local Indians in post-Mission times. This is indicated by the reminiscences of Harrington's consultants at Tejón (Manly 1949:251, 475; Perkins 1958a, 1958b, 1958c; Harrington 1986:Rl. 96, Fr. 219-287; Johnson and Johnson 1987:89; McIntyre 1990:10-13).

The southern boundary of Tataviam territory was situated approximately at the high elevations of the western arm of the San Gabriel Mountains north of San Fernando and ran westward past Fremont or San Fernando Pass and along the crest of the Santa Susana Mountains towards the northwest. The boundary then swung north across the Santa Clara River and continued north along the high ground west of lower Piru Creek, probably including Hopper Canyon. It then passed across upper Piru Creek below Hungry Valley and the Cañada de los Alamos to turn northeast into the Antelope Valley near Oso Canyon (Johnson 1978). Juan José Fustero and several other of Harrington's consultants provided information on this western boundary. This included the identification of Tataviam village sites and placenames in the Piru Creek drainage, including *pi'irukung*, *akavavea*, *etseng*, *huyung*, and *kivung* (Kroeber 1915; Lopez 1974; King and Blackburn 1978: 536; Harrington 1986:Rl. 95, Fr. 219-287, Rl. 98, Fr. 37, 613-614, 673). Of these, only *pi'irukung* at La Esperanza (Fig. 3) may be correlated definitely with a ranchería mentioned in mission documents.

The accounts of the 1769 Portolá expedition also give us an indication of the location of villages in the Santa Clara River Valley. Pedro Fages's account of the expedition suggests that the first Chumash settlement encountered, after travelling through Tataviam territory, was situated well to the west of the

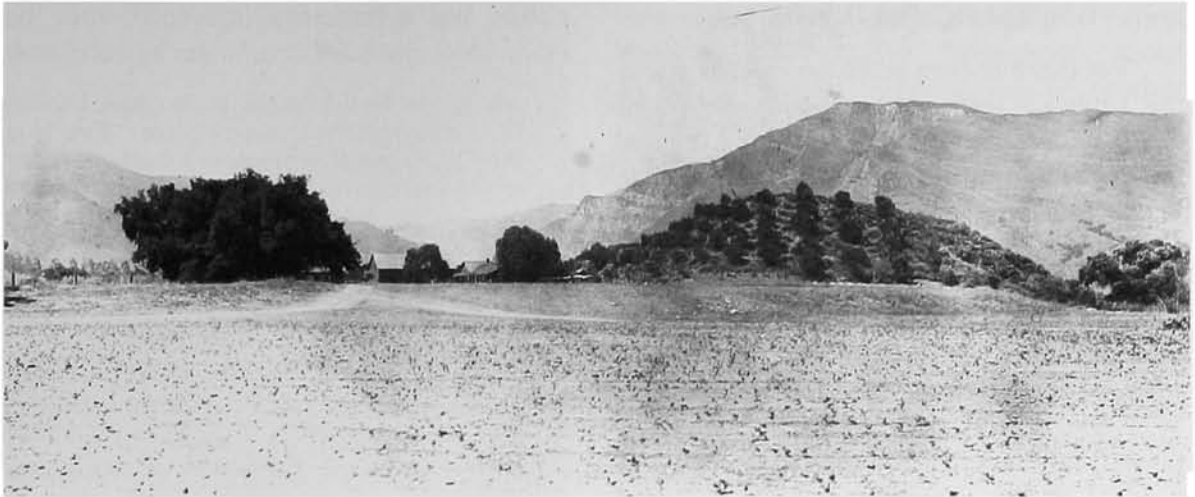


Fig. 3. Site of the Tataviam village of *pi'irukung* (or *piδukung*) at La Esperanza, now the location of Lake Piru, photographed by J. P. Harrington about 1917 (courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives).

mouth of Piru Creek (Bolton 1927:155-157; Priestly 1937:24-25). The affiliation of *kamulus* (Camulos), to the east of Piru Canyon, bearing a name that is undeniably Chumash, appears problematical; however, King and Blackburn (1978:535) viewed it as consisting of a mixed Chumash-Tataviam population.

This reconstruction of Tataviam cultural geography is derived primarily from interviews conducted by Kroeber and Harrington with consultants mainly of Kitanemuk ancestry at Tejón and Piru. Harrington's fieldwork among other groups has, however, shed some additional light on the issue of the linguistic and cultural status of the Tataviam. Serrano consultants, living mainly at the San Manuel Reservation near San Bernardino, were interviewed by Harrington in 1918. They were familiar with the Antelope Valley and Upper Mohave River drainage areas, and in decades past had visited the Tejón ranchería. They considered the Tataviam to have been closely related in speech to both the Gabrielino and the Serrano. They in fact classified the Tataviam, along with the Gabrielino, as groups having both social connections and historical linkages with the Serrano clan

system. Their lists of Serrano territorial clans sometimes included the Tataviam as a component unit (Bean et al. 1981:256; Harrington 1986:Rl. 101, Fr. 344).

Harrington also interviewed a Fernandeano Indian named Sétimo in 1915. He apparently had worked as a shepherd or *vaquero* in the Elizabeth Lake area in his younger years. Sétimo used the term "Serrano" to identify both the Tataviam of the Santa Clarita Basin and the Serrano/Vanyume to the northeast of them (Harrington 1986:Rl. 106, Fr. 89-90, 92). This identification is interesting because he did not in effect distinguish Tataviam speakers as radically different in speech from the Serrano, as he did the Yokuts, Chumash, and Kawaiisu from the Kitanemuk and Serrano. He also noted a distant connection between what he called the "Serrano" language and Fernandeano, while he said that Fernandeano and Gabrielino were closely related (Harrington 1986:Rl. 106, Fr. 90-91). Both Harrington's Serrano and Fernandeano data thereby suggest that Tataviam was a Takic language, supporting Bright's tentative conclusion based on Harrington's Kitanemuk data (Bright 1975:230).

GENEALOGICAL EVIDENCE

Yet there is even more we can say about the Tataviam than just presenting additional direct information on geography and linguistics gleaned from Harrington's consultants. While collecting ethnographic and linguistic data, Harrington frequently recorded biographical and genealogical details regarding other Indians known to his consultants during their lifetimes. Among people mentioned were those said to be of Tataviam descent. With the names and places of origin mentioned in Harrington's notes, it becomes possible to turn to other ethnographic and historiographic sources for information on Tataviam descendants. Of greatest importance is genealogical evidence recorded in the San Fernando Mission sacramental registers that may be used to confirm and augment Harrington's data and to trace family ancestry to villages occupied during the Mission Period.⁴ Villages thus identified as ancestral villages of Tataviam speakers provide an independent test of direct ethnographic and ethnohistoric statements regarding territoriality.

Juan José Fustero's Ancestry

Juan José Fustero (Fig. 4) was the first and primary source of information about the Tataviam as a distinct cultural and linguistic entity.⁵ Fustero was fluent in both Kitanemuk and Spanish, but he told both Kroeber and Harrington that his grandparents had spoken a different language, of which he remembered only a few words (Kroeber 1915:773; Bright 1975; Harrington 1986:Rl. 181, Fr. 10-12). Kroeber did not record which side of Fustero's family had spoken the different language, but did mention that his grandparents were from "San Francisquito," while his mother and father had been raised at Mission San Fernando.⁶ Harrington's 1913 notes were not directed towards precisely determining the linguistic affiliation of Fustero's ancestors

either, but satisfactory inferences may be made from the brief comments he recorded:

pišukung = La Esperanza, place (plain, huerto) three miles below Fustero's place. This is in the Castec language. Fustero's mother's father talked that dialect which is much like the one that Fustero talks.

San Fernando [Fernandeño Indians] talked different from Castec and from what he talks. . . . [There is] no one left who talks [the] Castec language.

Newhall talked the Soledad language—Fustero's father was from Soledad. Soledad is [the] sierra this side of Saugus.

ha-ikwi, = que hay amigo, in language of Castec and Soledad. But in Fustero's language say *yamei*, "que hay, amigo." The old grandfather used to say *ha-ikwi* to Fustero [Harrington 1986:Rl. 181, Fr. 10-12].⁷

From these selected extracts from Harrington's 1913 interview, it may be deduced that what Fustero termed the "Castec" and "Soledad" languages were the same. These two names for the Tataviam are preserved today as two canyon names, Castaic and Soledad, tributaries of the upper Santa Clara River.⁸ Fustero explicitly stated that his maternal grandfather spoke the "Castec" language, i.e., Tataviam, and because his father's parents were from Soledad, they presumably were Tataviam also. Fustero's opinion was that although the Tataviam language was distinctive, it was similar to his own native speech, Kitanemuk.

When Harrington began his fieldwork at the Tejon Ranch Indian community in 1916, he obtained more information regarding Fustero's ancestry from his Kitanemuk consultants. He was told that Fustero's parents were named José and Sinforosa. Both had spoken Kitanemuk as their ordinary language, but they knew other languages too, because they had been raised in a mixed linguistic community at Mission San Fernando (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 10, 23, 57). Sinforosa had a brother, Casimiro, who had



Fig. 4. Juan José Fustero (courtesy of the Ventura County Museum of History and Art).

also been known to Harrington's Tejón consultants and who had eventually moved to the Tule River Reservation where he died.⁹

Eugenia Méndez, one of Harrington's most important Kitanemuk consultants, had the following to say about the Tataviam language and Fustero's mother's descent:

When I read to Eugenia Fustero's "*ha-ikwi*," [she] says *ikwi* means "amigo" in that difficult language that Eugenia was telling me about the other day—that was spoken at La Liebre. This tribe was called *tataviam*. The deceased Simforosa [sic] spoke that because it was her language. Her father, Narciso, was *tataviam* [Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 28].

Eugenia's information reinforced that given by Fustero. She agreed that his maternal grandfather had spoken the Tataviam language. Additionally she provided another locality that was considered to have been in Tataviam territory: La Liebre, at the south-

western fringe of the Antelope Valley. Eugenia gave further information about Sinforosa's family: "Casimiro was full brother of Sinforosa. Their father was Narciso and Narciso's wife (their mother) was Crisanta" (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 10).

Eugenia also reported that Juan José Fustero's father, José, had a sister named Felipa, whose name she pronounced as *xelipa* (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 10). Both of Harrington's principal Kitanemuk consultants, Eugenia Méndez and Magdalena Olivas, stated that they were relatives of Juan José Fustero in some way, and Magdalena noted that she used to hear her "Aunt Felipa" (like Eugenia, she also pronounced the name *xelipa*) speak the Tataviam language (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 434). Because the names are identical and the linguistic affiliation is what we would expect based on the evidence given above, there is strong reason to identify Magdalena's "aunt" and Juan José Fustero's father's sister as the same individual.

The information recorded by Harrington makes it possible to identify Fustero's relatives in the mission registers of San Fernando and San Buenaventura and to reconstruct his family tree (see Figs. 5 and 6). Fustero's paternal grandparents were Zenon *Chaamel* and Zenona *Gemiuna* from the village of *Cuecchao*, and as Eugenia Méndez had said, his maternal grandparents were Narciso, whose village affiliation was *Piribit*, and Crisanta, who was from *Tectuaguaguiyajavia*. These ranchería names may be further identified using Harrington's placename notes. *Cuecchao* was apparently the Spanish spelling for *kwitsa'o*, a name that Eugenia Méndez said was in the Tataviam language and referred to the big range of mountains behind La Liebre (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 32; Earle 1990:94). *Piribit* referred to a person from the village of *pi dukung* (Kit. *pi'irukung*) on Piru Creek. *Tectuaguaguiyajavia* may cor-

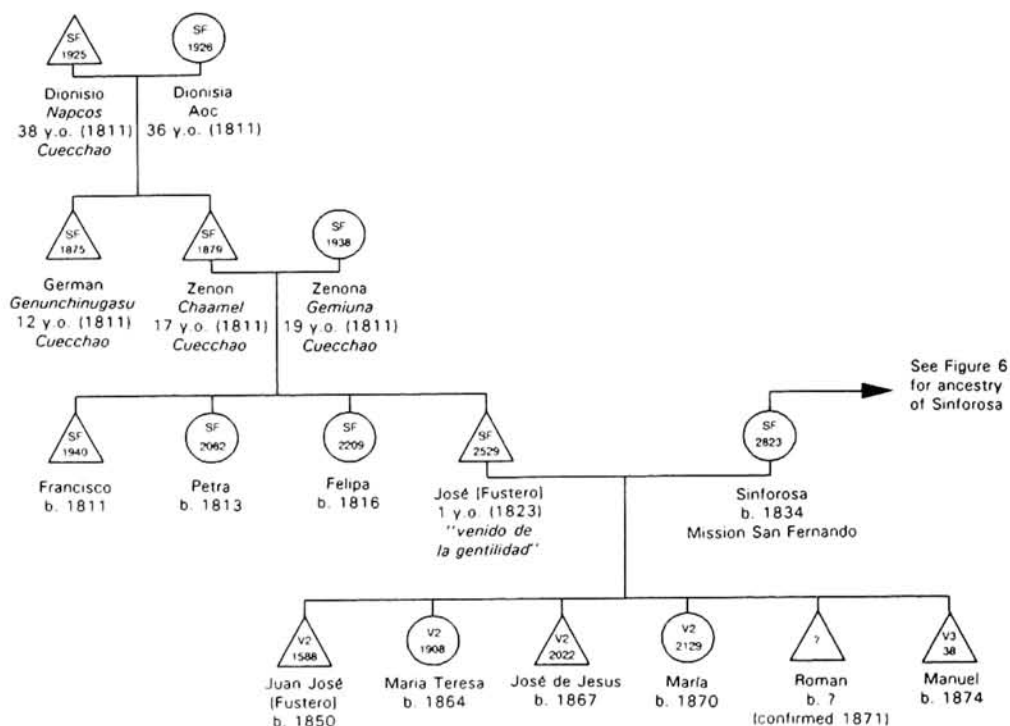


Fig. 5. Juan José Fustero's paternal ancestry.

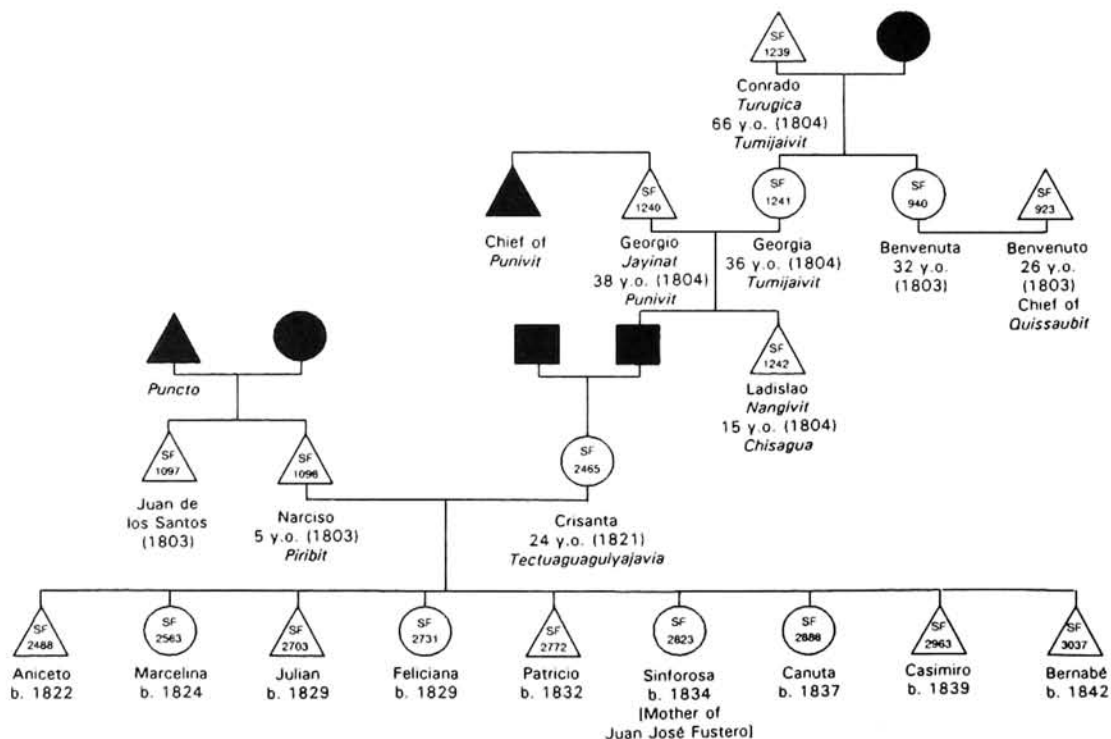


Fig. 6. Juan José Fustero's maternal ancestry.

relate with the Kitanemuk placename *tíhtik-waka'hyavea*, located at El Monte on what later became the Tejon Ranch (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 671; Anderton 1988:522).¹⁰

The first of Fustero's ancestors to have been baptized was Narciso, who came to the mission in 1803, when he was only five years old. Narciso's baptismal entry mentions that his father was an unconverted Indian named *Puncto* (Fig. 6).¹¹ Zenon and Zenona, Fustero's father's parents, arrived at the mission in 1811 with a large group of other Indians from villages along the southern fringe of the Antelope Valley and in the neighboring mountains. They apparently left the mission community some years later, because their son, José, was born away from the mission and was already a year old when he was baptized in 1823 (Fig. 5).¹² Fustero had said that his father was from Soledad, so his grandparents may not have returned to their native village of *Cuecchao* after leaving the mission. The name "Soledad" may refer either to the Soledad Canyon region or to La Soledad, a Mission Period camp that once existed on the upper Santa Clara River in the vicinity of Newhall.¹³

Fustero's maternal grandmother, Crisanta, came to San Fernando relatively late in the Mission Period, being baptized in October, 1821 (Fig. 6). She was married later that year to Narciso. Two of Crisanta's grandparents and a great-grandfather previously had been baptized in 1804. Her grandfather's village affiliation was *Punivit*, a name correlated with *Pu'ning*, a Serrano/Kitanemuk village located northwest of Elizabeth Lake in the Antelope Valley (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 675-676; Earle 1990:93). Crisanta's grandmother's affiliation was *Tumijaivit*, referring to an unlocated village. Her grandmother's sister was married to a *Quissaubit* chief. The latter village reference is likely an alternate Spanish spelling for *kwitsa'o* near La Liebre.

The order of baptism of Fustero's grandparents reflects to some extent the incremental spread of Mission San Fernando's influence. After its establishment in 1797, the mission drew its earliest converts from the San Fernando Valley, then gradually expanded its proselytizing activities to the Upper Santa Clara River Valley and the Santa Monica Mountains. By the end of 1805, the reduction of the Indian population in these latter areas was largely completed. The next region to receive missionary attention was the territory north of the San Gabriel Mountains at the southern fringe of the Antelope Valley. A large group of Indians from villages located in this region was baptized in 1811, including Fustero's paternal grandparents. In smaller groups, Indians from farther afield, especially Kitanemuk and Serrano, continued to join the mission community until the end of the Mission Period in the 1830s.

The information about Fustero's family relationships contained in Harrington's notes and the mission documents is consistent in the identification of villages that were Tataviam. Fustero's parents had apparently used Kitanemuk as their ordinary speech, but Fustero's maternal grandfather was Tataviam from *Piru*, and his paternal grandparents had come from a village with a Tataviam name, *Cuecchao* (*kwitsa'o*), located in the vicinity of La Liebre. Further information about the latter village comes from consideration of the ancestry of another Tataviam speaker.

Agustin and Teodora

The San Fernando baptismal records reveal that in 1837 a group of Indians arrived at the mission who had been living for some years in the vicinity of La Liebre.¹⁴ On June 8, 1837, five children from *Cuecchao*, ranging in age from 4 to 7 years, were baptized (Entry Nos. 2900-2904). In all cases these children were progeny of former neophytes who had

left the mission community and were living with spouses who had never been baptized. The father of two of these children, Theodora and Francisco, was a man identified as "Agustin, a widower of Julia." His new wife, the mother of the two above-named children, was baptized on July 26, 1837, and given the name "Ana Teodora." Their marriage was consecrated in a September 6 ceremony at Mission San Fernando.

With this information from the mission registers as background, we may again turn to Harrington's notes about the Tataviam from a long interview with Eugenia Méndez at Tejon Ranch. The name "Pujadores," by which he refers to the Tataviam, is the Spanish translation of the Chumash word *alliklik*, meaning 'gruners, stammerers' (King and Blackburn 1978:537). It was a term he had learned from his Ineseño Chumash consultant, María Solares.

tataviam. This form is singular and plural both [in Kitanemuk]. Pedro was here and says (Eugenia prompting him) that the *Serrano* [meaning Kawaiisu in this case] called the Tataviam by this same. . . . Eugenia never knew the word *Pujadores* until I came here and did not understand me when she first heard me. . . .

Eugenia's aunt was married to a Pujador. She lived many years with her husband at a ranchería at *tikatsing*, about as far this side of *tsawayung* as we are from Tejón Viejo. The aunt had two children [who reached adulthood]. . . . Francisco (a son) and Teodora. Eugenia's aunt (their mother) also was named Teodora. They were Christians. Teodora's husband (Pujador) was Avustin (for Agustin). Teodora . . . and Francisco died at Las Tunas, Agustin died at La Pastoría and Teodora (the daughter) died at El Piro.¹⁵

tsawayung was a vaquero camp [Rancho San Francisco Xavier of Mission San Fernando]. Agustin would go from *tikatsing* down to *tsawayung* to pick up meat when they slaughtered and would bring it home to us.

[Eugenia] thinks *tikatsing* is Pujador language name. The Pujadores lived at *tsawayung* and all up this way. [She] does not know

if they lived in the desert. From *tikatsing* the Liebre Mountain that is across [the horizon] looks big - from this [Tehachapi Mountains] side it does not look so big. The name of that sierra grande is *kwitsa'o*. That is the correct name. Eugenia says *kwitsa'ong* sometimes. [She provides] no etymology [because the name is from the] Pujador language [Harrington 1986: Rl. 98, Fr. 110-112].

It is clear from this quotation that Eugenia's aunt had been married to a Tataviam speaker and that Eugenia had lived for a time with their family at *tikatsing*. Her statements regarding Tataviam linguistics and geography may be regarded as highly reliable.

Because the name of his former wife, Julia, was mentioned in the 1837 register entries, "Agustin" may be identified as a man originally baptized as "Faustino," who was among the large group of Antelope Valley Indians who arrived at Mission San Fernando in 1811 (Bap. No. 1856). His Indian name was recorded as *Oyogueninasu*. Faustino's Spanish name apparently became transformed into "Agustin" because of the difficulty the Indians had in pronouncing the Spanish /f/.¹⁶ He was twenty years old when he originally came to the mission from *Siutasegena*.

Although the location of *Siutasegena* is unknown, it may be presumed to have been a Tataviam village. Agustin's reconstructed genealogy (Fig. 7) reveals that both his father and first wife were from *Cuecchao*, a village previously identified as Tataviam. These kinship connections and Eugenia Méndez's testimony that Agustin was a native Tataviam speaker suggest that *Siutasegena* may be added to the list of known Tataviam ranchería names.

To continue with what is known about Agustin's family history, we return to a section of Harrington's notes from his long interview in 1916 with Eugenia Méndez, in which she described her family's participation in mourning ceremonies held at various fiestas:

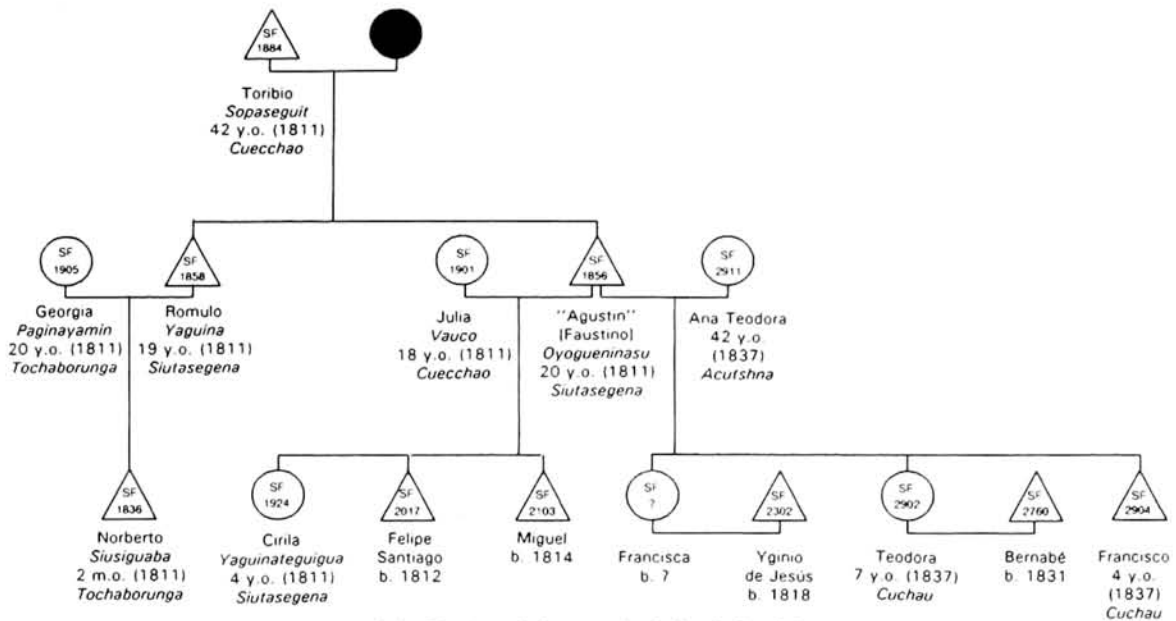


Fig. 7. Agustin's genealogical relationships.

Eugenia was living at the place back of Newhall [*tikatsing?*] when [she] went to the San Fernando and *mat'apqa'w* fiestas. Then all [the] family went over to El Piro in that same summer and had [a] jacal there. Eugenia's aunt [Teodora] was married to a capitán [Agustin]—he was the *capitán grande* of La Oreja.^[17] The fiesta was at La Oreja (not at *pi'irukung*). Later Eugenia's aunt and uncle (the *capitán*) went to Saticoy to help Luis Francisco and his wife María prepare the fiesta there—Eugenia's uncle [Agustin] also had other business there. Eugenia's mother and the rest of them remained at El Piro—her mother preparing bellota [acorn meal] to give to the *capitán* [Luis Francisco] at Saticoy. These food presents were not given as pay to the *capitán fiestero*, but to assist him in feeding the people at his fiesta.^[18]

Eugenia with her own eyes saw her aunt take a silk scarf that . . . [had belonged to her] daughter (who had died some time . . . before the fiesta of San Fernando) and wrap it into a bundle . . . and tie the most costly kind of string [of beads] about it and put it into a fine basket. The aunt took this to Saticoy and there gave it to María (Luis Francisco's wife) to burn at the burning [mourning ceremony]. . . .

Eugenia's aunt was Teodora. Teodora's daughter that died (mentioned above) was also

named Teodora. She died in El Piro. Teodora's younger sister, Francisca, was just Eugenia's age and died shortly after Teodora died. . . . Teodora had [five children]: [1] Francisca (died—Eugenia never saw), [2] another girl (Eugenia did not know her name, [she] died early—Eugenia never saw her), [3] Francisca (no. 2) (died as said above—Eugenia saw her), [4] Francisco (grew up to manhood and died at Las Tunas), [5] Teodora . . . (died as said above).

No doubt Teodora and her husband [Agustin] burned things of [their daughter] Teodora at El Piro fiesta too, and may have sent things to the *capitán* of San Fernando for the fiesta there [Harrington 1986:RI. 98, Fr. 166-167].

The mission register data on Agustin's and Teodora's children corroborate some of Eugenia's testimony (Fig. 7). As has been mentioned, two children, Teodora and Francisco, were baptized in 1837. Although we have been unsuccessful in identifying her baptismal entry, a third child, Francisca, is documented when the latter was married on June 26, 1837 (Mar. No. 860).¹⁹ No mission register information has been found for the

remaining two children of Agustin and Teodora mentioned by Eugenia.

Agustin was considered to have been a chief of a community of former Mission San Fernando Indians in Tataviam territory, and it may be significant in this regard that his daughter, Teodora, was married in 1846 to Bernabé, the son of the "Malibu Chief," Odón, one of the Indian grantees of Rancho El Escorpión in the San Fernando Valley (Gayle 1965:22). Agustin's death occurred at La Pastoria, where apparently the family had relocated sometime after the establishment in 1853 of the short-lived San Sebastian Indian Reservation on the Tejon Ranch (Giffen and Woodward 1942). Further information about the Pastoria Indian settlement comes from consideration of another family of Tataviam Indian descendants.

Melchor, Estanislao, and the Tataviam Community at La Pastoria

Melchor was another individual whose name would often arise during Harrington's questioning about the Tataviam. The following quotation from his notes is typical:

[I] interviewed old Pedro and Sebastiana together last night about the Pujadores.^[20] Pedro says with a gesture that they lived over across the ridge from the Tejón here (gesture indicating the region coastward from here). Sebastiana says that the deceased Melchor was one of that tribe, that they are now all dead [Harrington 1986:RI. 98, Fr. 143].

Frank Latta also recorded information about Melchor from José Jesús López, the former mayordomo of the Tejon Ranch. López described Melchor as a leader among the Indians and as someone who had worked as a shepherd for the ranch. He also mentioned that Melchor's crippled brother, Mateo, served as chief and "medicine man" for their tribe (Latta 1976:129). This identification of Mateo as a brother of Melchor was corroborated by Jim Monte, a

consultant to Harrington [Harrington 1985:RI. 101, Fr. 65].²¹

Two brothers named Melchor and Mateo may be identified in the San Fernando baptismal register. Their parents were Estanislao *Cabuti*, the son of the chief of *Tochonanga*, and Epifania *Saliyotelen* from *Cuechcho* (Fig. 8). *Tochonanga* was situated near the head of the Santa Clara River Valley, according to ethnogeographic information contained in nineteenth-century Spanish manuscripts (King and Blackburn 1978; C. King, personal communication 1990; and Fig. 2, this article). *Cuechcho* was located near La Liebre, as mentioned above. Epifania was among the large group of Antelope Valley Indians who came to Mission San Fernando in 1811, as has been mentioned previously. At that time, she was married to the son of the chief of *Pabutan* and his wife, a *Piru* woman (Fig. 8). Only *Pabutan* has not been located; all the other villages named accord well with territory attributed to the Tataviam by Harrington's consultants.

An 1850 census of Los Angeles County lists a number of Mission San Fernando Indians living in separate communities and ranchos in inland regions. One of these ranching operations was headed by an overseer named Dolores Ochoa. Among his Indian laborers are Stanislaus (i.e., Estanislao), Melchor, Mateo, and Epifania. Also listed with this group is an Indian named Clemente (Newmark and Newmark 1929:69-70). By 1854 this community of Indians had moved to the southern San Joaquin Valley. The *Los Angeles Star* reported on January 17 of that year that one of the Tejón reservation settlements of 100 Indians was headed by "Stanislaus from the mountains near San Fernando" and "under him Clemente from Lake Elizabeth" (Giffen and Woodward 1942: 30). Two years later, the name "Stanislaw" appears as one of ten Tejón Indian chiefs listed in

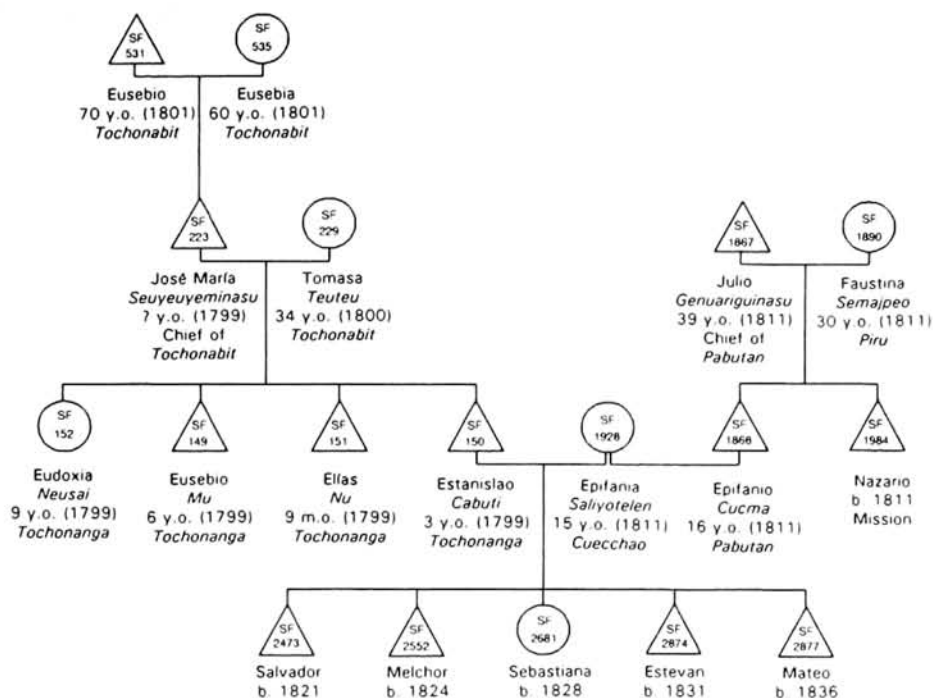


Fig. 8. Melchor's genealogy.

U.S. congressional documents (Merriam MS).

The location where Estanislao and his people settled may be identified as Pastoría Creek at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Their village was called *čipowhi* by the Chumash, *šripowhi* by the Yokuts, and *powhi* by the Kitanemuk. The etymology of this name cannot be analyzed for any of the above languages. Eugenia Méndez told Harrington that the "correct real name [was] *poxwi*" and stated that it might be in the Tataviam language (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 92).

[*poxwi* was] the name of the bare stony hill which lies to the east of the mouth of Pastoría canyon, across the canyon from the Flying Squirrel Spring place. . . . It was in front of this stony knoll that there was a ranchería of Pujadores. Eugenia later explained to me that Sebastiana must have meant that there was a ranchería of them there in recent Christian times, because in primitive times the mouth of Pastoría canyon did not belong to the territory of the Pujadores but their territory was way over by La Liebre [Harrington 1985:Rl. 89, Fr. 573].

The name *La Pastoría*, meaning "the pasture land," seems to be related to the occupations of many of the former San Fernando Indians who settled there. Both Harrington's notes and the testimony of J. J. López indicate that Estanislao, Melchor, and other members of their families were shepherds. The size of the settlement is described as consisting of only three or four *jacales* by the 1870s. It was abandoned before 1880 when Melchor, Mateo, and their families were forced by the Tejon Ranch management to relocate their community to Paso Creek just above the ranch commissary. Melchor and his wife died not long after their move (Latta 1976:129; Harrington 1985:Rl. 100, Fr. 1183).

More is known about Melchor's descendants and family history than for most of the Tataviam Indians who had settled in the Tejón region. His first marriage was to Angela at Mission San Fernando in 1839 (Mar. No. 871). A later wife was Felipa, the

paternal aunt of Juan José Fustero, by whom he had a child, born in 1852 (San Buenaventura Bap. Bk. 2, No. 1590). This is the same Felipa whom Magdalena Olivas called "aunt," who spoke Tataviam (see above) (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 434).

Melchor had two sons who reached adulthood, Eusebio and Miguel Elías, both named, at least in part, for their grandfather's brothers (see Fig. 8). The former was murdered while shepherding on the Tejon Ranch (Harrington 1985:Rl. 89, Fr. 1482). The latter was once married to Josefa Cordero, a Yokuts woman who was to serve as a consultant to Harrington at Tejon Ranch in 1916 (Harrington 1986:Rl. 100, Fr. 180-181). Miguel Elías later overstepped the bounds of the law and served nearly four years at San Quentin Prison.²² After his release, he did not return to the Tejon Ranch but moved to the Tule River Reservation where he married a Yawelmani Yokuts woman and raised two sons (Harrington 1986:Rl. 97, Fr. 298, Rl. 100, Fr. 250). One of his sons, Rosendo Elías or "Ross Ellis," later served as a Yokuts linguistic consultant for Harrington and Newman (Newman 1944:5; Mills 1985:148).

Altamirano Badillo

Another individual who had lived at La Pastoría was an Indian with the unusual name of Altamirano Badillo, two Spanish surnames strung together. Kroeber and Harrington both collected information about this man, and C. Hart Merriam actually interviewed him in 1905 (Merriam 1905, 1967:435).²³ In the notes of these researchers, Badillo is variously spelled "Vadillo," "Vadilla," "Vadiyo," "Vadio," "Vadeo," and even "Video!" Merriam recorded that "Alto Mirano Vadio" had been born on Piru Creek and as a child had lived at Camulos. He later lived 15 years at Cahuenga before moving to La Pastoría,

where he lived for two years. His last residence was in Tejón Canyon (Merriam MS). Merriam collected a vocabulary from Badillo that has been shown to be Kitanemuk (Anderton 1988:666-684).

Based on an interview at Tejón with María Ignacia, a Tulamni Yokuts woman, Kroeber made the following notes:

tcipowi en la Pastoría, creek to west of here. [The people there] talked different from San Emigdio, entirely. [María] does not know [their] language or tribal name; all dead. [They] said *u u u u* for "yes." Badillo in next house to María knows a few words of the language. She *thinks* Badillo [was] born in Camulos [Kroeber 1906:27].

Harrington recorded additional information about Badillo from several of his consultants at Tejón in 1916:

Vadiyo (old man who lived . . . in the house just above here where the old Mexican lives . . . now) died here 2 years ago – it is now going on 3 years [c. 1913]. His family talked Pujador. . . . José Juan said that Vadiyo died here and that a man who came writing languages had worked with him [apparently Merriam]. José Juan said that it was a fine sounding language and had some *cantar* [singing quality] when they talked. Vadiyo had no other name known to Eugenia. All his relatives are dead [Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 98].

Badillo's father and mother both were from San Fernando. Eugenia does not know that either Badillo's father or mother or Badillo himself talked Tataviam. But many at San Fernando Mission did and so Eugenia imagined that Badillo may have.

Roroteo [Doroteo] was father of Badillo. Iyerme [Guillermo] was father of Roroteo, paternal grandfather of Badillo. Roroteo and Iyerme talked pure *hita* (Fernandeño language). They did not talk Jaminat [Serrano/Kitanemuk] at all. Eugenia knew them. . . .

Badillo's mother was named Juana. She was daughter of Polonia. Juana and Polonia talked both Jaminat and Fernandeño [Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 441].

From the information collected by Merriam, Kroeber, and Harrington, it is not

at all clear that Badillo actually grew up speaking any Indian languages other than Serrano/Kitanemuk and Fernandeano. Thanks to Harrington's genealogical information recorded from Eugenia Méndez, it is possible to determine that Badillo was indeed partially of Tataviam ancestry by reconstructing his family tree based on mission records (Fig. 9).

As was the case with others identified as Tataviam descendants, Badillo had ancestors from the Tataviam village of *Cuecchao* (*kwitsa'o*) in the Liebre Mountains. His maternal grandfather was Isaac *Cacaguama* from *Cuecchao*, who, when he was baptized, was described as *tuerto mordido por un oso* 'one-eyed [from being] bitten by a bear'. Isaac came to Mission San Fernando in 1811 with the large group of Indians from Antelope Valley villages. His wife, Apolonia *Panegue*, and two children were natives of *Chibuna* (*tsivung*), a Serrano village near Elizabeth Lake.²⁴ Isaac's and Apolonia's mothers were also among those baptized in 1811; both originated from *Cuecchao*.

Eugenia's statements about the languages spoken by Badillo's parents and grandparents accord well with his reconstructed genealogy and do not conflict with other information that he was partly of Tataviam descent. His paternal grandfather, Guillermo, was said to speak Fernandeano, which is consistent with someone whose parents were from villages at the western end of the San Fernando Valley: *Siutcanga* (Encino) and *Cahuenga* (Fig. 9). His maternal grandmother's language was said to be *Jaminat*, usually given as a synonym for Kitanemuk (Blackburn and Bean 1978:569), but, as used by Harrington's consultants, also referring to other Serrano dialects (Earle 1990:93).

Badillo's own identity in the mission registers remains somewhat of a mystery. His parents, Doroteo and Juana, had four children born between 1835 and 1840. The last of

these was a boy named Marin (Fig. 9). Given the way many Spanish names were pronounced in Indian languages, examples of which appear above, it is possible to suggest that Marin may have become "Alto Marin" (Big Marin), later to be transformed into "Altamirano."²⁵ The United State Census (U.S. Census Office 1860:Rl. 59, Fr. 541) lists a nineteen-year-old Indian boy named "Badillo" on the same page as other Indians settled in the Piru Creek vicinity. His age would match that of Marin, if the latter had adopted the surname *Badillo* by this time.

Other Tataviam Speakers

Besides those whose genealogies have been presented above, there are several other Indians who were mentioned as being Tataviam descendants by Harrington's consultants. One of these was a blind man named Juan José López:

The grandfather, grandmother, mother, and uncle of Juan Jose of the dark glasses Eugenia saw at *tikatsing*. He used to work down at [the] ranch all the time, but since [he] cannot see, [he] stays up around here [in Tejón Canyon]. His mother talked pure *Jaminat* and [the] Fernandeano language, but his grandfather and grandmother talked Tataviam [Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 114].

šrits apa'ovea is Juan José López' (the blind man's) farm. . . . He had board house there [and] raised barley there. Then [he] had good eyesight. [He was] unmarried. . . . Eugenia asked him a short time ago if he talks Fernandeano. He answered real nicely that it was true that Fernandeano is his language, but that they talked only *Jaminat* at home. When he was David's age, his mother died, his father having died still earlier, and he was raised by his godmother, who was named Catarina and was a member of the López family at San Fernando. He talks no Tataviam. His maternal grandfather talked Tataviam, but it was never talked at home. Juan José López talks *Jaminat* but poorly, very poorly [Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 209-210].

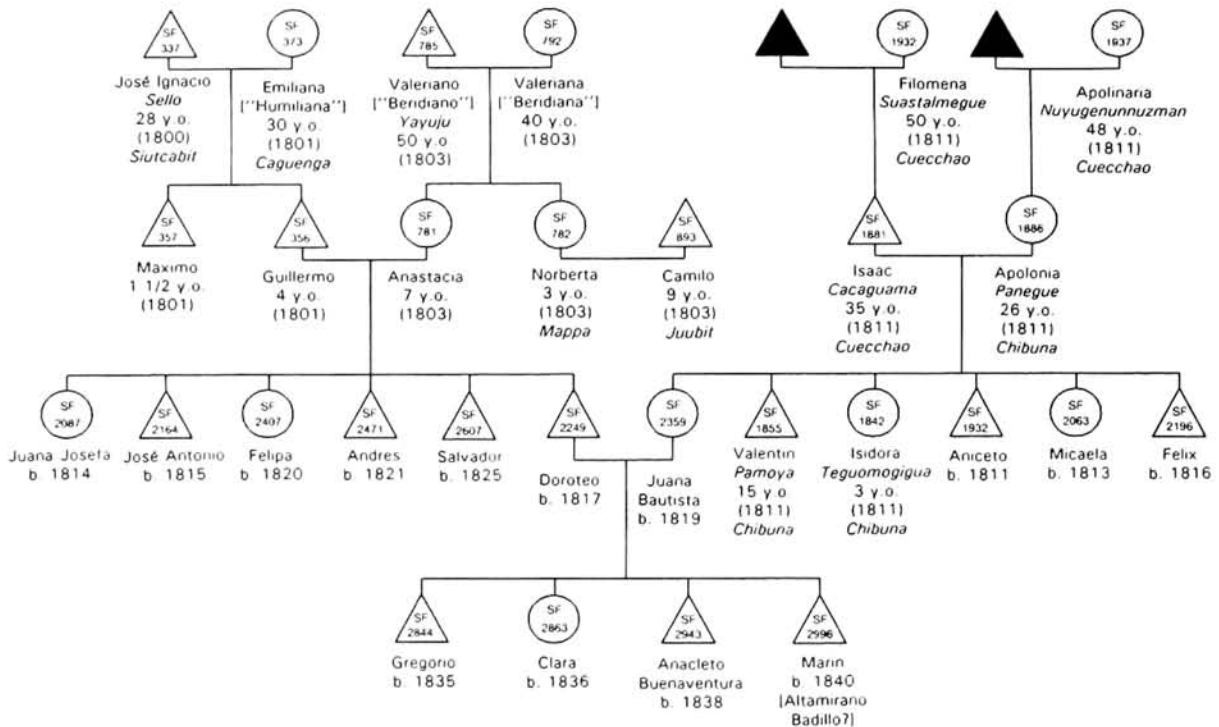


Fig. 9. Altamirano Badillo's genealogy.

I asked Magdalena if Juan José López talked Jaminat. Alejandro Sandoval had told me yesterday that Juan José López does. Magdalena and José Juan [Olivas] say that Juan José López talks Jaminat but does not talk it at all fluently. He understands it perfectly, but does not talk it much.

It is true that he is silly and doesn't want to talk Indian, but he does not know how to talk it at all well anyway. And when it comes to the possibility of his knowing Liebreño [Tataviam], neither Magdalena nor José Juan [Olivas] thinks that he knows a word of it. They consider that language entirely dead with the death of Badillo and Casimiro [Harrington 1989:RI. 2, Fr. 43].

Unfortunately, no baptismal entry for a Juan José has been identified in the late 1830s onward in the Mission San Fernando registers, and without any names for Juan José López's parents or grandparents, it has not been possible to reconstruct his genealogy.²⁶ The fact that his family lived at *tikatsing*, where the Tataviam chief Agustín lived (see

above), suggests that an enclave of Tataviam people seems to have settled together in a part of their old territory in post-Mission times.

Another name of a Tataviam man was provided by Eugenia Méndez from an event she witnessed as a girl:

paqa', *payaso* [ceremonial leader]. He is an old man who goes walking little by little, yelling. Eugenia saw [a] *paqa'* at El Piro fiesta. He was named Alefonso and was shouting in Tataviam language. Eugenia did not know what he was saying. That old man was not of El Piro—lived at San Fernando [Harrington 1986:RI. 98, Fr. 235].

A man named "Alifonso," "95" years old, is listed in the 1850 census of Los Angeles County among other San Fernando Mission Indians (Newmark and Newmark 1929:71). The most likely candidate for this man is Ildefonso *Liguiguinassum*, an Indian from the village of *Tochaborunga*, who was baptized in

1804 (Bap. No. 1216). The possibility that the latter village might have been Tataviam gains support from identification of another former San Fernando Mission Indian, Norberto, who lived at Rancho El Tejón:

Old Camilo . . . was neighbor of Menchor [after Melchor moved to Paso Creek]. Camilo talked [the] Fernandeano language, and some Jaminat. Norberto, who talked Jaminat, was also neighbor, and lived near Menchor, and may have been Tattavyam also [Harrington 1986:Rl. 97, Fr. 298].

Camilo and Norberto may be identified with two individuals who have already appeared in the reconstructed genealogies presented earlier. Camilo was a great-uncle by marriage to Altamirano Badillo (Fig. 9), and Norberto was a nephew of Agustin, a Tataviam chief (Fig. 7). Like Ildefonso (mentioned above), Norberto was a native of the village of *Tochaborunga*.

CONCLUSION

Our genealogical reconstructions for Tataviam descendants have demonstrated remarkable convergence and consistency in ancestral village affiliation. Most prominent in all of the genealogies is the village of *Cuechao*, identified with *kwitsa'o*, a placename in the Tataviam language that referred to the Liebre Mountains. Genealogical research also supports the Tataviam affiliation attributed to *Piru* and *Tochonanga* (King and Blackburn 1978). Two additional villages, not hitherto recognized as Tataviam, have also been identified: *Siutasegena* and *Tochaborunga*.

The correspondence between (1) ancestral villages traced using genealogical evidence and (2) independently elicited information regarding Tataviam territoriality builds confidence in the reliability of the ethnographic record compiled by Kroeber and Harrington. The distinctiveness of the Tataviam as an ethnic entity, separate from the Kitanemuk and Fernandeano, is supported by our research.

The process of working with genealogical records also has produced historical information regarding the fate of a number of Tataviam families and communities as they intermarried, moved, and were absorbed into other Indian settlements in south central California during the middle to late nineteenth century. Our research indicates that several families of Tataviam descendants persisted into the twentieth century, indicating some degree of genetic survival, although their language was largely lost to posterity.

NOTES

1. This article is anticipated to be the first in a two-part study of Tataviam ethnohistory and linguistics. An analysis of some new linguistic data conducted in collaboration with Pamela Munro and Alice Anderton is in progress.

2. On *akure'eng*, see Harrington (1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 543). Kroeber (1925:621) noted a ranchería called "Akuranga" as located at La Presa near Mission San Gabriel, but the latter is a locality distinct from the Newhall spring site, notwithstanding the similarity in names. For *naqava'atang*, see Harrington (1986:Rl. 95, Fr. 254, Rl. 98, Fr. 539-540); regarding *tikatsing* and *apatsising*, see Harrington (1986:Rl. 95, Fr. 250-253). We have used *ng* for Harrington's /ŋ/ in placenames and Tataviam words throughout this paper.

3. We have referred to the Beñemé of Garcés as Desert Serrano. These were speakers of dialects of the Serrano language who lived in the Mojave Desert. The Kitanemuk who lived west of them in the Tehachapi Mountains also spoke a dialect of Serrano which they called *Jaminat* (Haminot).

4. Problems in using mission register data for anthropological purposes have been described by Milliken (1987) and Johnson (1988), among others. For this study, we first consulted a partial transcript of the San Fernando registers prepared by Thomas Workman Temple (MS) and then supplemented Temple's information by working directly with photocopies of the original registers at the Archdiocese Archives of the Chancery of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando. A useful guide to village names contained in the San Fernando baptismal register was prepared for C. Hart Merriam by Stella Clemence (Merriam 1968). Some of our transcriptions of Indian names differ in particulars from those copied by Temple and Clemence, an understandable situation given

difficulties in reading missionary handwriting and varying degrees of familiarity with native languages.

5. See Smith (1969) for a short biography of Juan José Fustero.

6. Kroeber equated San Francisquito with the Newhall Ranch. The name San Francisquito was derived from Rancho San Francisco Xavier, an outpost of Mission San Fernando, that was established there during Mission times (Engelhardt 1927; Perkins 1957). Kroeber's notes do not make it clear whether Fustero's grandparents were living at San Francisquito only as part of the community of Mission Indians stationed there or whether they had been associated with the aboriginal village of *tsawayung* that existed there prior to the mission rancho's establishment.

7. In this and other quotations from Harrington's notes, we have lightly edited the material: combining repetitive phrases, fully spelling abbreviated words, substituting the consultant's name for "inf.," and translating some words and phrases originally written in Spanish. Our identifications of particular persons and places appear in brackets or are discussed more fully in the text of the article and in the end notes.

8. The name "Castec" or "Castaic" is derived from the Ventureño Chumash village *kashtiq* located at Castac Lake at the head of Grapevine Canyon. A historic trail that led up Castaic Creek towards Castac Lake was apparently responsible for a Chumash name being applied to a creek in Tataviam territory (Johnson 1978).

9. Juan José Fustero's uncle Casimiro was still living when Kroeber, Harrington, and Merriam undertook their earliest fieldwork at the Tule River Reservation. But at the time of their various visits, these researchers do not seem to have realized that Casimiro might have informed them about an undocumented language. Indeed, Kroeber's 1915 article reporting on the discovery of the Tataviam language had not yet appeared before Casimiro's death. Kroeber's information from his Yokuts consultant, José María Cholola, indicated that Casimiro spoke *Fernandeño* (Kroeber 1906:1, 58), while Harrington's various consultants stated that he had spoken *Kitanemuk*, *Tataviam*, *Fernandeño*, and *Ventureño Chumash* in addition to Spanish (Harrington 1985:Rl. 89, Fr. 256, 438, 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 615, Rl. 106, Fr. 125)!

Harrington actually interviewed Casimiro in October, 1914, but only elicited two placenames (*tsawayung* and *apenga*) from him during a brief visit (Harrington 1985:Rl. 89, Fr. 2). C. Hart Merriam also may have met Casimiro, which he implies in a short notation about the Tejón Indians:

At Tejon or Tule River. Old Man Casamero

[sic]—Came originally from Piru Creek and Camulus. Lived for some time at Lievra [sic] (not an aboriginal ranchería at Lievra). His name for people (or tribe) is *koo!* His name for place is *mah??* I don't seem to have any vocabulary from him [Merriam MS].

Although the two words Merriam wrote down from Casimiro seem to have been Chumash (one was doubtfully recorded), it is difficult to draw any conclusions from these, because of the diversity of languages attributed to him.

10. Only one other baptism at San Fernando listed a variation of this placename as a village affiliation. In 1818 a year-old girl from *Tectecuyayave*, christened María de Jesús, was listed into the baptismal register (Entry No. 2337). Her parents were unbaptized Indians named *Patinetuyec* and *Cuiquam*.

11. So far, we have been unable to identify Narciso's parents in the San Fernando registers, although it is likely they were baptized. A large number of people from *Piru* were baptized within a few months of Narciso's christening, including the chief of the village, but none of the men's Indian names match that given for Narciso's father.

12. Fugitivism seems to have been more prevalent at Mission San Fernando than at other missions in South Central California. There are a fair number of instances recorded in the registers, especially in the later Mission Period, the 1820s and 1830s, where evidence may be found regarding individuals and families who had fled from the mission to the Antelope Valley and southern Tehachapi Mountains.

13. The location of "La Soledad" on the "Rio de Santa Clara" is shown on a nineteenth-century *diseño* for Rancho San Francisco (Engstrand 1989:9; also see Figure 2 of this article for a different *diseño* of the same land grant). Perkins (1957:111) implied that "La Soledad" came to be used as the general name for the easterly end of the Rancho San Francisco grant.

14. One of these was Juan José Fustero's grandmother, Zenona, who as a widow had returned to her birthplace at *Cuecchao*. There she bore another child, Feliciano, who was among the children baptized from "*Cuchau*" (i.e., *Cuecchao*) on June 8, 1837 at Mission San Fernando. Zenona remarried a man named Antonino in 1841 (San Fernando Mar. 883). The latter has been tentatively identified as a Serrano Indian from the village of *Atongaina* (San Fernando Bap. 2110).

15. Las Tunas and La Pastoría were nineteenth-century Indian settlements on the Tejon Ranch in the Southern San Joaquin Valley (Merriam 1967). "El Piro" refers to the Indian

community of former San Fernando Mission Indians on Piru Creek, where the Fustero family also lived.

16. Similarly, Juan José Fustero's sister's name, Felipa, was pronounced "*xelipa*" by Kitanemuk speakers, as has been previously noted. See Johnson (1988:17-18) for other examples of name transformations in the mission registers.

17. La Oreja was an Indian community on Piru Creek. The Spanish name, meaning 'the ear', was a loan translation from its Indian placename: *akavavea* in Kitanemuk or *kaštu* in Ventureño Chumash (Applegate 1975:32; Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 673; Anderton 1988:345).

18. The series of fiestas mentioned by Eugenia were held during the course of a single summer and have been described previously by Blackburn (1976:232). It is tempting to correlate the Saticoy fiesta she attended with a major gathering of 300 to 400 Indians that was held there in the fall of 1863 and that was reported in an early newspaper article (Heizer 1970:75). However, the Saticoy fiesta witnessed by Eugenia in her childhood may have occurred as much as a decade earlier. Luis Francisco was the chief of the Saticoy Indians in post-Mission times (Hudson 1979:143; Taylor 1863).

19. Francisca is described in her marriage entry as being the daughter of Agustín and a gentile mother (Ana Teodora had not yet been baptized). She married a man named Yginio de Jesús, whose parents were from the Castac Chumash village of *Sujuiojos*. Francisca died sometime prior to 1845 when Yginio, her widowed husband, remarried (Mar. No. 918). The latter became the founding father of the Yginio family at Piru and Tejón (see Latta 1976:122-126). One of his daughters, Rosa, became the wife of Juan José Fustero in 1881 (San Buenaventura Mar. 1448).

20. Harrington referred to Pedro *kuweye*, an Indian resident of Tejón Ranch, as "old Pedro" to differentiate him from the latter's son-in-law, Pedro Villareal. Sebastiana, of Yokuts ancestry and widow of José Yginio, was another consultant to Harrington at the Tejón Ranch (Mills 1985:145).

21. Latta (1976) also discussed a former San Fernando Indian named Camilo as being a brother of Mateo and Melchor. This is apparently erroneous, according to both mission register evidence and Harrington's notes. Estevan Miranda, a Tübatulabal Indian, who had been raised in the Tejón Indian community, mentioned to Harrington that "Old Camilo" lived near Melchor and Mateo on El Paso Creek on the Tejón Ranch, but claimed no relative status for him (Harrington 1985:Rl. 101, Fr. 7). Another of Harrington's consultants, Bill Chico, named two other Indians, Ventura and Clemente, as Melchor's brothers, but these two are

not documented as siblings using mission register evidence (Harrington 1985:Rl. 101, Fr. 15).

22. According to information contained in his prison register entry (No. 7789), "Magill Melchoir" (sic) had been convicted of assault and served his sentence between October 7, 1877, and May 7, 1881. His age in 1877 was 22 years, and he was described as 5 ft. 5 in. (1.63 m.) tall, with "square features, wide jaws, mole on side of neck [and] on left collar bone, scar [at] base of thumb [and] on back of left shoulder blade, stout built" (San Quentin Prison 1851-1855:87, entry no. 7789). Harrington recorded the story of Melchor's son Miguel Elías several times from his various consultants (e.g., Harrington 1986:Rl. 97, Fr. 298, Rl. 100, Fr. 305).

23. Merriam's notes from his visits to the Tejón Ranch indicate that he photographed "Vadio" (Merriam MS), but no pictures of him are so identified in his photographic collection now on file at the Bancroft Library.

24. Eugenia Méndez stated that *tsivung* was *Jaminat* in speech (Harrington 1986:Rl. 98, Fr. 676).

25. A case that may be parallel to that of Badillo can be documented for an Indian man known as "Jim Alto," meaning "Big Jim." The latter was a Yokuts man born and raised at Tejón, who later served as an Indian policeman at the Tule River Reservation (Harrington 1985:Rl.100, Fr. 1043; Mills 1985:145).

26. Juan José's Spanish surname, López, was adopted from that of his godparents, who raised him. The latter were the parents of José Jesús López, who later became *mayordomo* of Rancho El Tejón (Latta 1976:251).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors express their appreciation to the following individuals for their comments and assistance in locating research materials used in preparing this article: Alice Anderton, Oklahoma State University; Kathleen Baxter and Elaine Mills, National Anthropological Archives; Fr. Virgilio Biasiol, Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library; Thomas Blackburn, California Polytechnic University, Pomona; Richard Buchen, Southwest Museum; William P. Frank, The Huntington Library; Mrs. Wayne Hayes, Chancery Archives, Fresno Diocese; Stephen Horne, Los Padres National Forest; Charles Johnson, Ventura County Museum of History and Art; Chester King, Topanga; Pamela Munro, University of California, Los Angeles; George Phillips, University of Colorado; Steve Schwartz, Pt. Mugu Naval Base; and Mrs. Francis Weber, Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives. An earlier version of this paper, "Who Were the

Tataviam?," was presented at the annual meeting of the Society for California Archaeology, Foster City, California, April 5, 1990.

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