UCLA

American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

The Island Chumash: Behavioral Ecology of a Maritime Society. By Douglas J. Kennett.

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/55z3w0sw

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal, 29(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

Author

Tveskov, Mark

Publication Date

2005-09-01

DOI

10.17953

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Reviews 145

today, who still confront postcolonialism in the politics of tribal recognition. Many present-day groups like the Mashpees of Cape Cod are viewed as mixed and "non-Indian." Such groups have been denied tribal status despite repeated appeals. Forced to answer to a government that defines tribe from an antiquated perspective, Southern New England Indians such as Mashpees can profit from books like Faith and Boundaries. As Silverman makes clear, Wampanoags ceased to define their sense of "peoplehood" in terms of distinct, autonomous, and indigenous political entities. In contrast, they abandoned their sachems to preserve their lands, adopted outsiders to fend off demographic disaster, and borrowed from what was new to preserve some of the old. At the core of many Native identities in Southern New England has always been a sense of community tied to specific lands; such a relationship is imbued with mythical and spiritual substance and generational value. Perhaps if governing authorities started to understand "tribal recognition" in this way, many Indian peoples of Southern New England who still face the legacies of colonialism as well as current racism might get at least the recognition they so justly deserve, if not a portion of their territory. Silverman's study also had this reader thinking about the power of Christianity when confronted by race. Have people of different skin color who have come to worship together ever managed to fully break down the boundaries of racial consciousness in other periods and regions throughout American history?

Faith and Boundaries is one of the finest books to appear in some time about Southern New England Indians. One can only hope that Cambridge University Press will publish a paperback edition soon, for it will stimulate interesting discussions in upper-division undergraduate classes and graduate seminars.

Mark A. Nicholas Lehigh University

The Island Chumash: Behavioral Ecology of a Maritime Society. By Douglas J. Kennett. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 298 pages. \$60.00 cloth.

There is a long and rich history of archaeological research on the northern Channel Islands of the California coast. The reasons for this sustained interest are varied. Prior to the first encounter with Europeans—Spaniard Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo reached the islands from Mexico in 1542—the islands were the home of a culturally rich, maritime-oriented people. The Island Chumash lived in highly populated permanent villages that were ruled by chiefs who wielded considerable social power as they negotiated trade networks between the islands—San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, and Anacapa—as well as across the Santa Barbara Channel to the mainland and beyond. The unsulied setting of these islands contrasts with the nearby urban sprawl of the Los Angeles—Santa Barbara region, and archaeologists working on the islands, thanks to the relative lack of destructive modern development and their

conservation in Channel Islands National Park, find a relatively undisturbed and rich archaeological record of villages, shell mounds, and campsites that date from more than ten thousand years ago to the historic period.

Intensive antiquarian and professional work in this area has been undertaken since the nineteenth century. One of the earliest professionals was Phil Orr, who spent forty-odd years conducting geological and archaeological research on the islands. Ahead of his time and somewhat eccentric, by the 1960s Orr not only had recorded numerous archaeological sites on the islands (work that served as a guidepost for later researchers), but, through the then-innovative use of radiocarbon dating, demonstrated one of the most important aspects of Channel Islands archaeology: that people had been living there since at least the early Holocene—at least eight thousand years ago—and perhaps even earlier. These early inhabitants may even have encountered (and perhaps contributed to the extinction of) some of the island's Ice Age fauna, such as the pygmy mammoth (Mammuthus exilis) and the giant mouse (Peromyscus nesodytes). In more recent decades, scholars from the University of California, Los Angeles; University of Califonia, Santa Barbara; and other universities have built on Orr's and other earlier archaeologists' work, subjecting the island to intense survey and excavation. Douglas J. Kennett's book, The Island Chumash, is based on his doctoral work on the islands while a graduate student in anthropology at University of Califonia, Santa Barbara, as well as subsequent efforts from his current position at the University of Oregon, and is the latest contribution to this most recent era of research.

The Island Chumash centers on an academic debate that surrounds one of the most fascinating aspects of Channel Islands archaeology and huntergatherer studies in general: When, how, and why did the Island Chumash begin to organize their social relations into larger-scale systems characterized by social inequality, warfare, craft specialization, and extensive regional and extraregional trade in a way that contemporary and better-known huntergatherers (such as the Native American people of the Great Plains or the San of the South African Kalahari Desert) did not? The key, for Kennett and other researchers, is the environment and how it has changed. As he states on page 7, "Central to this debate are the specific environmental and biotic changes that may have triggered sociopolitical and economic developments." Marine or terrestrial environmental stress, climate change, drought, population growth, and other ecological, environmental, or demographic variables have been variously posited, debated, and held up as limiters or catalysts to adaptive responses that, after eight hundred years ago, included increasing regional social competition and cooperation, warfare, sedentism, and subsistence intensification.

Kennett's work includes thorough descriptions of the ecology and environments of the northern Channel Islands, a detailed overview of ethnohistoric accounts of the Island Chumash and their village locations and composition, and a detailed synthesis of the islands' prehistory based on his own and others' survey and excavation work. The most original and substantive contributions of his study, however, are (1) the discussion of the development of the

Reviews 147

islands' complex societies through the theoretical lens of human behavioral ecology, and (2) the presentation of original, high-resolution proxy measures of climate change in the Channel Islands region and the consideration of the implications of these climatic perturbations for social changes over the last ten thousand years.

Human behavioral ecology, as presented by Kennett, attempts to compensate for the perceived shortcomings of earlier ecological and materialist models of cultural and social change that have dominated archaeological studies of the northern Channel Islands and other regions of North America. Originating in biology, human behavioral ecology is a neo-Darwinian approach that considers the adaptive responses of human behavior to specific ecological contexts, and according to Kennett, has the advantage over other "processual" or "adaptionist" theories that focus on "group level adaptive responses" and ignore the importance of individual decision making (10). Applying the principles of human behavioral ecology to a hunting and gathering society in a resource-rich but ever-changing maritime environment, Kennett sets up specific implications that can be tested in the Channel Islands: that, for example, hunter-gatherers will "choose the combination of foods that maximize the net intake of calories . . . minus the energy expended in acquiring them" (16), that coastal-adapted people will tend to situate their settlements close to resource-rich patches (i.e., near the resource-rich coastlines), or that in times of resource stress, social hierarchies might develop as individuals choose to participate in the formation of larger-scale social forms that allow for the more efficient harvesting, redistribution, and defense of ever-scarcer or more locally abundant resources.

Kennett's high-resolution data pertaining to climate change contribute to the last point in particular. This climate record is constructed from cores into built-up sediment in the Santa Barbara region that preserve two different planktonic foraminiferal species: Globigerina bulliods and Neogloboquadrina pachyderma. The ratio of oxygen isotopes in these species are sensitive to changes in sea-surface temperature, and Kennett and his colleagues were able to use changes in these ratios as a proxy measure of sea-surface temperature change—and thus marine productivity—over the last ten thousand years. The result, in Kennett's words, is "one of the highest-resolution marine Holocene climate sequences in the world" (64). Within this sequence is found the key to the emergence of social complexity on the northern Channel Islands. According to Kennett, a 150-year span of highly variable environmental conditions, high marine productivity, and sustained terrestrial drought set the stage for the development, 650 years ago, of increasing degrees of social competition and cooperation, intensified fishing, higher degrees of sedentism, increased populations, and the subsequent development of social inequality.

My critique of Kennett's work lies in his application of human behavioral ecology to human societies. Cultural anthropologists, sociologists, Native American scholars, and archaeologists interested in nonprocessual social theory might find the emphasis on the agency of individual decision making encouraging and laudable, but Kennett's analysis, in practice, fails to escape its roots. Resource values are measured by ideal Western rational standards:

bigger animals are better and a short walk is better than a long walk. Likewise, Kennett states that the "pace of cultural change also increased dramatically between 1,300 and 650 years ago, just prior to their solidification" (154). Where, in a "solidified" human society, is the cacophony of divided interests, values, cultural meanings, and individual agency? Human actors remain largely invisible, and in the end we are still left with abstract systems responding to environmental stimuli. Individual actors, culture in general, and Chumash ethnography in particular are ominously absent from the analysis.

My critique notwithstanding, I highly recommend this book. Kennett's analysis is well organized and is exceptionally clear in its presentation of a theoretical model and the implications of that model and the comparison of those test implications against the archaeological record. The book is enjoyable to read and thought provoking and contains beautiful maps and other graphic elements. Kennett contributes an exceptionally thorough synthesis and substantive analytical contribution regarding one of North America's premier archaeological regions.

Mark Tveskov Southern Oregon University

Native American Picture Books of Change: The Art of Historic Children's Editions. By Rebecca C. Benes. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2004. 168 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Rebecca C. Benes's beautifully illustrated text offers the reader a glimpse into how federal Indian policy during the New Deal era altered the depiction of Native peoples in books published primarily for Native children and how this change was appropriated by mainstream children's publishers. In so doing, *Native American Picture Books of Change* contributes a vital link in the history of the written word and visual descriptions of Native Americans for children.

Gloria Emerson's sober forward provides the reader with an excellent historical context. She discusses the Brookings Institute's Meriam Report of 1928, which put into motion the assimilation of Indian children via the print media. Emerson does not ignore the urgent demand for changes in how the Bureau of Indian Affairs conducted its "management" of the Indian assimilation. She is careful to explain how the Meriam Report cited the gross hopelessness among Native people in the face of their dehumanizing treatment by the United States federal government. This document advocated the encouragement, protection, and preservation of not only the Native peoples but also their cultures and arts.

According to Emerson, the Meriam Report opened the doors that facilitated reorganization of the bureau and its move from the jurisdiction of the War Department to the Department of the Interior, where it has remained to this day. The shift in the federal mind-set that caused this administrative relocation ushered in a method of multicultural education that is still in use today—the attempt to actively engage students by weaving their cultures into