Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology | Vol. 33, No. 2 (2013) | pp. 167–178

The Inland Chumash Research Project (1975–1980): Wringing Out the Old

MICHAEL R. WALSH
Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles

The Inland Chumash Research Project (ICRP,) conducted by UCLA in the 1970s, was spearheaded by C. William Clewlow, Jr. Although the focus and nature of Chumash studies have changed dramatically in the intervening years, many of the questions concerning inland Chumash populations posed in the 1970s continue to interest scholars today. Selected examples of current research into the inland Chumash are briefly examined and compared to the findings of the ICRP. This comparison shows that ICRP data still have a significant contribution to make to our understanding of Chumash economic and settlement systems.

Data recovered and analyzed by UCLA's Inland Chumash Research Project (ICRP) between 1975 and 1980 continue to hold promise for furthering our understanding of the greater inland Chumash. This conclusion is remarkable, considering several of the challenges that faced ICRP from its inception, as well as the astonishing changes that have taken place in the discipline over the last 30 years. ICRP data from the Conejo Corridor region of southern California (Fig. 1) include publications, curated artifacts, faunal and floral remains, and associated archival materials.[1] I suggest that these data should be neither dismissed nor forgotten in view of their inherent utility and—frankly—because the data in any case represent essentially our one and only window into a significant sub-region of the overall inland Chumash adaptation.

In 1973, C. William Clewlow, Jr., became the first full-time Chief Archaeologist for UCLA's Archaeological Survey. Within two years he began the Inland Chumash Research Project, focused largely on the Conejo Corridor in southeastern Ventura County. Although intermittent work on inland Chumash sites had been a UCLA tradition for almost two decades (Wells et al. 1979; Whitley 1979; Whitley et al. 1980), inland Chumash studies greatly expanded and became unified under Clewlow (Walsh and Tabares 2011). What follows is the brief story of how Clewlow set this expansion into motion. Next, subsequent work on the inland Chumash is briefly summarized, focused on the Santa Ynez region in central Santa Barbara County, located a little over 100 km. west-northwest of the Conejo Corridor. Although the Santa Ynez and Conejo Corridor regions feature differing environmental characteristics, several models designed to characterize the Santa Ynez inland Chumash are assessed in light of the data recovered from the Conejo Corridor by the ICRP. We will see that data recovered by the ICRP compare favorably with those from several modern studies of the inland Chumash, which in some sense suggests the continued viability of the ICRP data.

The ICRP data are not without their limitations. Some of these are simply historical—few projects bear close scrutiny after nearly four decades. Others derive from external forces beyond archaeological control, including a rather unwieldy sampling procedure imposed upon the Project. Still other shortcomings are methodologically perplexing and not so benevolently explained. The ICRP nevertheless remains a source of data worth exploring, particularly because the inland Chumash are still better defined on geographic grounds than they are in social. political, or economic terms. The inland Chumash data collected by the ICRP, shortcomings and all, provide an important source in terms of which inland-coastal relationships may be compared and contrasted among differing regions, and in terms of which particular inland adaptations themselves may be compared to one another.

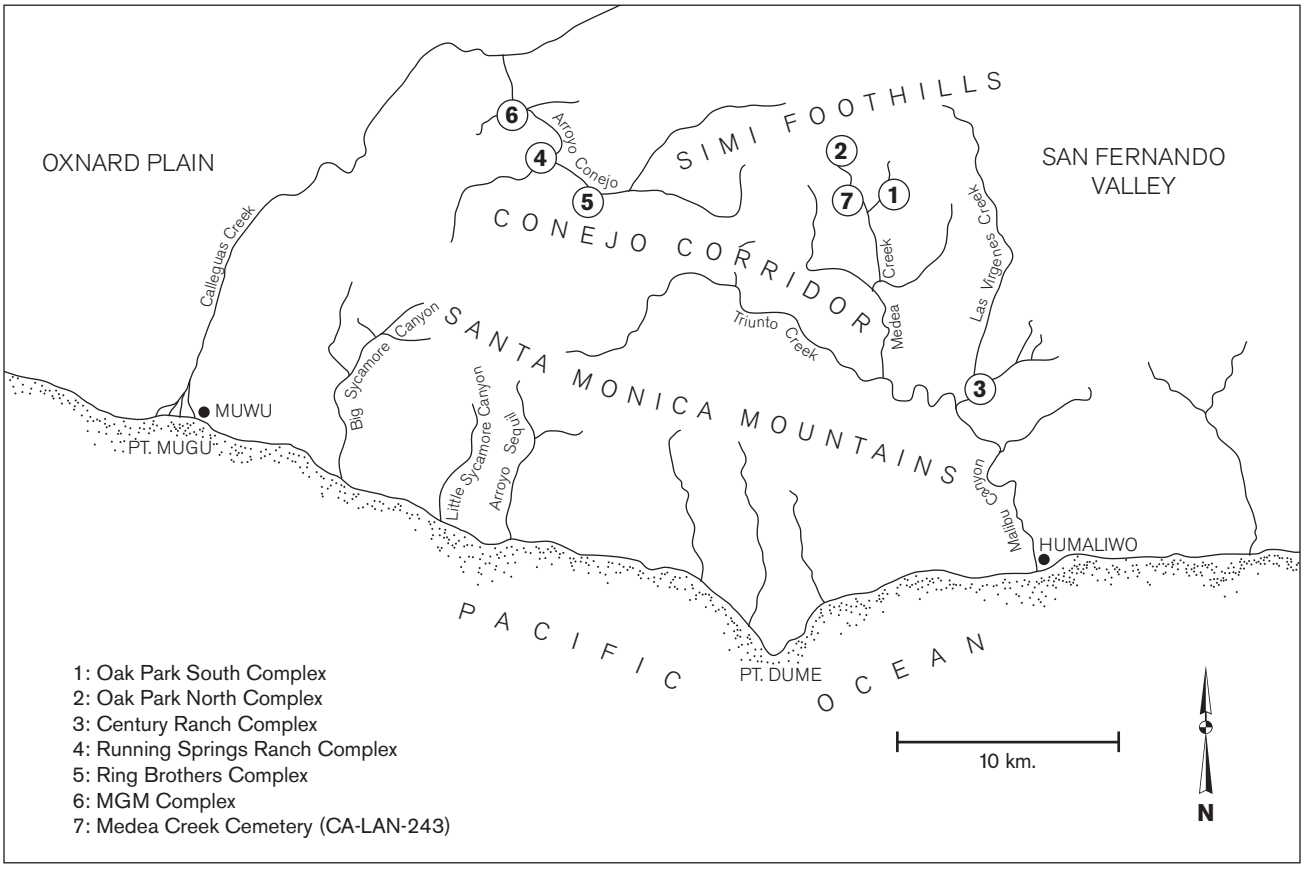

Figure 1. Selected locations in the Conejo Corridor (adapted from Whitley et al. 1979).

THE INLAND CHUMASH RESEARCH PROJECT

In 1975, numerous land developers had big plans for the Conejo Corridor, a large stretch of real estate located along the 101 Freeway between Agoura and the Conejo Grade overlooking the Oxnard Plain (Fig. 1). The Conejo Corridor and its surroundings were of great archaeological interest, owing largely to the late-1960s work of Linda King (1969, 1982) and others at the Medea Creek Cemetery (CA-LAN-243) at the eastern end of the Conejo Corridor. King looked at nearly 450 grave lots that clearly indicated the existence of a lineage-based social hierarchy among the Late Prehistoric inland Chumash, including a system of ascribed social status (see also Green 1999; Martz 1992). This was not news as far as the Chumash in general were concerned, but it strongly suggested that the inland Chumash were permanent residents of inland regions with their own sense of social hierarchy, and were something more than a simple seasonal extension of the coastal Chumash.

Archaeologists were eager to expand on King's findings and to study the inland Chumash for their own sake, with no necessary reference to the coast. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, these efforts included limited (but often commendable) tests of sites here and there in the classical tradition of "salvage archaeology." By the mid-1970s, large-scale development plans provided an opportunity to increase the scale of these projects immensely. But it must be emphasized that Cultural Resource Management (CRM) as we know it today was still in its infancy, and so the question was not truly resolved: Could archaeologists get in there well ahead of the bulldozers? That is, was it possible to conduct investigations without the urgency that was the hallmark of "salvage archaeology?" The way that Clewlow resolved this problem was extraordinary.

Clewlow convinced a few developers that it was in their own legal and financial interest to *donate* money to the UCLA General Fund, from which the Archaeological Survey at UCLA would then finance preliminary survey and limited test excavations.[2] UCLA eventually sponsored several field schools at selected sites that indicated fairly substantial deposits were present, and a corps of students was employed full-time during the summer months. Developers' donations were also used to fund student publications by underwriting the costs of several monographs dedicated to the inland Chumash. As it turned out, the donations were sufficient to further underwrite Clewlow's own brainchild, the *Journal of New World Archaeology* (published between 1975 and 1987). Finally, developers' contributions were used to endow scholarships for young Native Americans to attend UCLA field schools, engendering some appreciation for why archaeologists do things in such peculiar ways. All told, Clewlow persuaded at least seven different developers to contribute money and utilize the services of the UCLA Archaeological Survey.

However, individual developers came around to this idea in their own time. As a consequence, the overall project involved a patchwork of dozens of geographically-distinct development parcels that were investigated piecemeal and in a sequence dictated by developers' schedules. From an archaeological perspective, a structured, unified sampling design was not truly feasible. But a program of methodical survey, test, and mitigation (intensive excavation of selected sites) *was* possible for individual parcels at a rate somewhere between the frantic pace of a salvage effort and the careful design of an academic project.

UCLA's involvement in the development of the Conejo Corridor could only go so far, however. A labor force consisting of students alone was not qualified to meet professional standards except in limited and carefully supervised contexts. On a practical level, students could not work year-round to finish archaeological investigations, even within the expanded time frames provided by developers. For these reasons, a great deal of the survey, test, and mitigation that was carried out was subject to competitive bidding by a small but growing body of professional CRM firms. Contrary to the gossip of the day, existing relations between Clewlow, UCLA, and the developers had no hand in the actual selection process for the granting of archaeological contracts, which were awarded by local Planning Agencies and selected from multiple competitive bids. No single CRM company could keep up with the pace of development in the Conejo Corridor during the 1970s, and no fewer than eight CRM firms contributed archaeological assessments, testing, and mitigation.

The ICRP was faced with devising a research plan for a patchwork of discontinuous parcels of varying sizes and configurations. These parcels, drawn with complete disregard for anthropological concerns, perforce became the basic units of analysis. This unwieldy circumstance was further complicated when competing CRM firms held the contracts for contiguous parcels. (In at least one case, a site was bisected by a parcel boundary and investigated by different CRM firms.) To nobody's credit, there was little or no coordination of effort among the competing CRM firms, which by that time included Clewlow's own Ancient Enterprises, Inc.

Within a few short years after the end of the ICRP, remarkable gains were made in our understanding of the prehistoric Chumash, especially along the Santa Barbara coast and on the Channel Islands (see summaries in Arnold and Walsh 2010:110–124; Gamble 2008:52–54; Glassow et. al. 2007). These advances originated largely through the work of the faculty and students at UC Santa Barbara, not UCLA, and the ICRP was virtually buried in an avalanche of refinements to, and a recasting of, Chumash social, political, and economic prehistory. But the inland Chumash have never been entirely forgotten, and indeed efforts to establish their place within the larger Chumash sphere of influence appear to be undergoing a resurgence (e.g., Bernard 2008; Robinson 2007; and studies detailed below). Several important questions concerning the inland Chumash remain unresolved, and I intend to show that the ICRP may still make a contribution to their resolution.

SYNOPSIS OF ICRP GOALS

No project within or near the Conejo Corridor was viable without a recognition of Linda King's (1969) findings at the Medea Creek Cemetery (note that her dissertation on Medea Creek [1982] was completed after the close of the ICRP). Her analysis of grave lots and their spatial distribution within the cemetery suggested

the existence of ascribed status differences that cross-cut gender and age groups. Certain burials also suggested the presence of lineal ties to coastal elites, evidenced by redwood plank-canoe fragments within certain grave lots (a decidedly useless form of transport in the Conejo Corridor). In all, the Medea Creek cemetery suggested a permanent residence by something more than the simple country cousins of the coastal Chumash.

Clewlow (1978) devised a set of very general research questions that were mindful of both King's findings at Medea Creek and of the limitations imposed by the arbitrary development parcels. That is, the research design was driven largely by the sampling procedure, rather than the reverse. In the end, a series of "site complexes" were identified which largely conformed to development parcels (some of which are shown in Fig. 1). In addition to the archaeological imperative of establishing a chronological context for all of the sites encountered, the primary question to be explored concerned the functional nature of sites that were clustered in space, and whether component sites reflected an independent settlement system or were remote collecting localities for populations based at coastal villages. A second question concerned the nature and extent of exchange relationships between inland and coastal populations. A third question asked whether a ranked social hierarchy was evident at additional locations within the Conejo Corridor, commensurate with that encountered at the Medea Creek cemetery.

These questions were addressed with varying degrees of success in some 49 papers, most of which were written in whole or in part by students (Clewlow et al. 1978a, 1978b, 1979; Clewlow and Whitley 1979; Prichett and McIntyre 1980; Whitley et al. 1980). A complete summary of the results is clearly beyond the scope of this paper, but it should be possible to assess whether the overall conclusions are relevant to modern research into the inland Chumash. To do this I examine selected post-ICRP studies (i.e., subsequent to 1980), each focused beyond the Conejo Corridor, in order to identify questions which still intrigue inland Chumash scholars. Selected analogous studies conducted by the ICRP are examined to see whether the ICRP can contribute to the resolution of these questions.

In the following discussions of the Ynezeño Chumash and the Conejo Corridor, there is a great deal of painstaking work that is reduced to a few sentences, and I apologize in advance to the scholars involved. The thumbnail sketches presented here furthermore neglect to mention some individuals who made important direct as well as indirect contributions to inland Chumash studies. Notable among these are Thomas Blackburn, Robert Gibson, Chester King, Nelson Leonard, Clay Singer, Joseph Tainter, and a host of others who are duly recognized in the bibliographical entries of the works I *do* cite (see also Holmes and Johnson 1998).

COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF THE INLAND CHUMASH

Santa Ynez Region

It should be emphasized at the outset that the greater Santa Ynez Valley region and the Conejo Corridor differ from one another in several important respects. The Santa Ynez region is the richer in terms of virtually all important natural resources. The Santa Ynez region enjoys greater rainfall than the Conejo Corridor, as well as greater differences in regional elevation, both of which are attended by increased floral and faunal diversity and abundance. The lower elevations of the Santa Ynez Valley are not only plentiful in oak, they feature marshland, true riparian habitat, streams with permanent and anadromous fish, and surrounding mountains consisting of Piñon-Juniper Woodland and Montane Conifer Forest (Horne 1981:98–110, appendices C and E; Spanne 1975). In contrast, the Conejo Corridor features a habitat consisting primarily of Oak Grassland with scattered, very small or intermittent streams with sub-riparian corridors and hillside chaparral. The Ynezeño furthermore enjoyed access to rich sources of high-quality and highly-sought Franciscan Chert, as well as serpentine used to manufacture beads (Horne 1981:20, 50). Finally, I do not wish to sound flippant, but the Ynezeño were simply closer to "downtown" than the Ventureño of the Conejo Corridor. Population estimates and reconstructed power bases for the greater coastal Chumash clearly show the primacy of the Santa Barbara Coast, if measured only by the number of major (large) villages (Gamble 2008:71, 72, figures 6 and 7). In short, the Ynezeño simply had more to offer and to gain from mutual ties with the nearest coastal villages.

What resources did the Conejo Valley Ventureño have? They held the corner on the valuable fused-shale market, a material that was plentiful at Grimes Canyon and at selected nearby localities in Ventura County (Arnold 2011; Hughes and Peterson 2009; Rosen 1979). Or at least we thought they had a monopoly on the resource. Recently, the Santa Ynez region has revealed its *own* fused shale source, albeit a far more limited source than that found in Grimes Canyon (Erlandson et al. 2004:23, 2008:79; see also Arnold 2011:19). Instead of high-quality Franciscan Chert and sources of Monterey Chert, the Conejo Corridor had siliceous siltstone, a grainy, somewhat friable silty chert (Whitley and Clewlow 1979a:125). In all, the Ynezeño and the inland Ventureño Chumash lived in considerably different environmental circumstances, and arguably their most prominent common denominator was their shared standing as "inland Chumash." This may be a good thing: the two sub-regions provide a comparative data set that transcends mere geographical differences. We proceed now to an examination of selected efforts to understand these differing inlanders.

Glassow et al. (2011; see also Glassow 1979) has considered the occupation of the central Santa Ynez Valley prior to about 5,000 B.P. and proposed three alternative, abundantly testable scenarios concerning early inland populations. The first proposes that coastal and inland groups maintained distinct settlement systems, each with separate residential village bases and associated territories, but tied together by close exchange relationships. These relationships benefitted both inland and coastal peoples, particularly in times of localized subsistence stress, and was akin to the pattern observed in the ethnographic present (Blackburn 1974:100). This suggests a deep history to the adaptation, which in turn suggests its significance to both coastal and inland populations. The second alternative proposes that one population maintained seasonal bases in both coastal and inland contexts. A third proposes that people residing primarily on the coast made only short-term seasonal forays for inland resources. The authors (Glassow et al. 2011:69) caution that the data for resolving these questions are at present insufficient for definitive answers and, indeed, are scanty enough to provide some measure of support for any or all of the above propositions. They are also careful to suggest that any or all of the above propositions may in fact have obtained at differing locales within the Santa Ynez Valley, or in slightly differing time frames.

Stephen Horne's (1981) overview of the greater Santa Ynez Valley region focused on the later time frames. His work was largely conducted synchronously with the ICRP, though neither project acknowledged the on-going efforts of the other. In the briefest possible terms, Horne favored a separate-but-equal version of Chumash prehistory. This scenario had inland and coastal peoples autonomously organized along dialect lines (e.g., Ynezeño vs. Barbareño), and the inland Chumash were "...not a version of coastal Chumash culture which had been merely transported inland" (Horne 1981:5). Inland and coastal Chumash, however, engaged in ever-increasing interaction (exchange) beginning at about 500 B.C., presumably spurred by population pressure and resource depletions, particularly in inland locations (Horne 1981:46). Horne's conjecture for the Late Prehistoric inland Ynezeño was later supported by analyses spearheaded by Hildebrandt (2004:95–97), which showed that coastal resources, particularly fish and shellfish, were supplied to inland villages concomitant with proposed artiodactyl overexploitation. Horne further suggested that increased complexity, including status differentiation and craft specialization, proceeded in lock-step for both coastal and inland populations (Horne 1981:50–53). Sometime after A.D. 1100, smaller inland villages aggregated into fewer settlements of increased size, accompanied by synchronous changes in economic and social organization along the coast (Horne 1981:54).

Within a few years, Johnson's (1988, 1990) work with mission-era marriage records focused on the nature of inferred inter-village alliances. Cluster analysis of 804 exogamous marriages documented in mission records suggested a trend toward inter-regional (including coastal-inland) marriages during the ethnohistoric era (Johnson 1990:161). That is, marriages occurred with some frequency *across* ecological zones, and this suggested an effort to cement economic ties among environmentally diverse villages, presumably for the benefit of access to resources of differing seasonality and/or reliability (Johnson 1990:168, 2000:317). Although this finding does not contravene Horne's suggestion of inland autonomy, Johnson's (1990:167) data suggested

that individuals in federated, politically-allied villages tended to intermarry, and so formal political ties between coastal and inland villages cannot be wholly discounted. Although geographic proximity played a central role in marriage-partner selection, Johnson and Houghtaling (2004:15) found a good number of distant marriage partnerships, which suggested a more complex network of inter-village social ties, both within inland contexts and in coastal-inland interactions.

Finally, Armstrong (2011) has recently investigated the nature of coastal-inland contact by analyzing shellfish remains recovered from four inland sites. After associating various marine shell taxa with specific localities along the mainland coast (rocky shore vs. sandy shore/estuarine habitats), he found that simple distance from coastal sources played the most significant role in predicting the relative frequencies of differing shellfish species recovered from inland sites (Armstrong 2011:94). He further attempted (where possible) to compare his findings with predictions derived from ethnohistoric inter-village marriage patterns (after Johnson 1988; Johnson and Houghtaling 2004). This effort yielded ambiguous results, perhaps a consequence of small sample size—only two sites had both ethnohistoric marriage records and ample shellfish. Of these, one site had coastal-inland marriage ties that corresponded to the expectations derived from shellfish species. It clearly appears that more work along the lines proposed by Armstrong is warranted.

With these four different studies in mind, we now seek to evaluate the capacity of the ICRP to tackle these issues.

Conejo Corridor

The published sources derived from the ICRP do not appear to be able to directly address the significant issues raised by Glassow et al. (2011) for the inland Chumash prior to about 5,000 B.P. Several "Millingstone" era sites were proposed for the Conejo Corridor (Dillon 1978), but dating these was largely hampered by a lack of suitable materials for absolute dating. Where Glassow et al. (2011) relied on numerous radiocarbon dates as well as obsidian hydration, the ICRP of necessity placed almost exclusive reliance on relative dating techniques, including evaluations of broad artifact types and comparisons with nearby known Early Millingstone sites and their assemblages. Abalone shell from the lower reaches of the proposed Late village site CA-VEN-294 (South Complex: Fig. 1) yielded two radiocarbon dates in excess of 5,000 years, but Rosen (1978:14–17) expressed reservations about their reliability in view of overwhelming contradictory evidence that included additional radiocarbon readings, obsidian hydration measurements, and artifact typology.

During the course of the ICRP, numerous small sites with very low artifact densities were proposed as Early Millingstone in age. These assessments were often based on the presence of a few ground stone fragments and/or cobble tools, as well as a relative absence of evidence for hunting. It may be suggested that such sites provide some support for a short-term occupation of inland regions, possibly by coastal peoples. However, the ICRP elsewhere suggested (see below) that the later time frames were characterized by permanent inland villages with off-site gathering stations, so whether these foraging sites are "satellites" of local or coastal villages remains an open question, particularly in the absence of firm dates for such small sites. In all, it is wise to follow the lead of Glassow et al. (2011) and suggest that more data are required to adequately address the issue of Millingstone-era adaptations in the Conejo Corridor.

Horne's (1981) suggestion of a self-sufficient inland population finds support in the ICRP data. Population levels appear to have been fairly stable for all time frames, and thus suggest a permanent resident population. Absolute site size appears to be a function of long-term occupation, and not necessarily the number of residents at any particular time (Whitley 1979:28). The earliest sites suggest that resource procurement was done primarily on-site or near-site, as people moved freely among foraging localities. In contrast, later sites suggest mainly off-site resource collection (Rosen 1978; Wells 1978:180–181). Today we would call this latter pattern "logistical settlement," which in turn suggests extended residence at inland village sites. The ICRP concluded that the inland Chumash sites in the Conejo Corridor were not simply a seasonal expression of a coastal population.

The *degree* of interaction between inland and coastal villages proved a more difficult question to answer for the Conejo Corridor. Overall, it appeared that the connection to the coast was a little weaker than expected, given King's (1969) suggestion of strong lineal

ties between Medea Creek and coastal villages. For later sites in particular, contact between the Conejo Corridor and the coast was indicated by shell beads, by shellfish remains, and by fish and sea-mammal bone (Hector 1978; Langenwalter 1978; Roeder 1978; Rosen 1979). But the actual degree of interaction did not suggest a people in constant or even extensive contact with the coast (Hector 1978:157). Indeed, based on point styles and other raw materials, Conejo Corridor populations appear to have had far more contact with Takic groups to the east than with distinctly coastal Chumash populations (Rosen 1978:85–86). More recently, Chester King (cited by Gamble and Russell 2002:116) furthered this claim when he suggested that the Chumash of the Santa Monica Mountains specialized in the manufacture and exchange of arrow points with the Tongva of the greater Los Angeles region. Based on ICRP data, it does not appear that the primary direction of material exchange was *necessarily* toward the coast.

The relatively weak connection to the coast suggested by the ICRP data may be in some part influenced by the excavation procedures used or—more to the point—*not* used. Contact with coastal sources is inferred from an inland occurrence of shell and (significantly) fish bone, and these data are ideally collected through fine-mesh screening and flotation procedures (Glassow 1980). Screening was limited to 1/8"-mesh and no flotation or other fine-screening procedures were used by the ICRP (Langenwalter 1978:167). The possible influence of Takic peoples on the inland Chumash is, however, intriguing. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that an entire sphere of inland-coastal interaction is unrecognizable *per se*, if the inland Chumash served as exchange conduits between the coast and parts farther east.

A direct ICRP analog to Armstrong's (2011) attempt to reconstruct specific bonds between the Ynezeño and the coastal Chumash was presented by Drews (1979). Using the same methodology as Armstrong, Drews found that the habitats of certain shellfish species were useful for suggesting ties with either of the coastal locations of the villages of Muwu or Humaliwo (Fig. 1). These major villages feature, respectively, sandy-bottom lagoon/estuarine habitat and sub-littoral, rocky habitat (Drews 1979:134). Drews found, by and large, that ease of coastal access along specific major drainages was a significant factor in the distribution of habitat-restricted shell species at inland sites. Shellfish from sites within the Oak Park North and South and the Century Ranch complexes appear to correspond to Humaliwo's coastal habitat, while the Running Springs Ranch, Ring Brother's, and MGM complexes appear to correspond to that of Muwu (Fig. 1), no matter which time period is in question (Drews 1979:135, Table 5). This finding is compatible with the absolute-distance findings of Armstrong for the Santa Ynez region, assuming that "least-cost" routes to and from the coast followed major drainages.

The concordance of the conclusions arrived at by Drews and Armstrong from different data sets provides some support for the notion that *both* studies are on the right track, and that the ICRP faunal component still has much to contribute, notwithstanding the lack of fine-mesh screening. It may prove worthwhile to assess the degree to which (or even whether) the relative strength of interaction between the coast and inland localities differs between the Santa Ynez and Conejo Corridor sub-regions of the inland Chumash.

Finally, in the concluding paper in the third and closing volume of the Oak Park monographs, Whitley and Clewlow (1979b) provide an ambitious but cautious set of general conclusions about social, economic, and political hierarchies linking the coastal and inland Chumash (cf. Johnson 1988, 1990). Unfortunately, the paper presents something of a project *gestalt,* a distillation that generally lacks specific citations to hard data although implying that they are to be found within the corpus of the Oak Park monograph series. Nevertheless, Whitley and Clewlow present a reasonable reconstruction of linkages between coastal villages at Point Mugu and Malibu with specified points inland. These linkages are largely inferred by the authors from the evidence of shellfish species recovered from inland contexts, although their conclusions reach farther and are more speculative than those presented by Drews. While Whitley and Clewlow are cautious in stating that proposed linkages do not necessarily indicate the *direction* of hierarchical relationships (Whitley and Clewlow 1979b:171, Fig. 24), ethnohistoric data provided by Brown (1967) and by J. P. Harrington's unpublished notes clearly suggest coastal hegemony over inland provinces, and Whitley and Clewlow let this observation speak for itself. In the end, however, they suggest that archaeological data

do not reflect the ethnohistoric data with precision (Whitley and Clewlow 1979b:167, 172). In this regard, the degree to which the ethnohistoric record even *should* directly reflect the archaeological record remains an open question, given inherent biases in the collection of ethnohistoric information (Gamble 2008:41), differences in the time scale of the archaeological and ethnohistoric observations (Armstrong 2011:97), and even the possibility that the ethnohistoric period was drought-ridden and a poor reflection of much of prehistory in any event (Larson et al. 1995).

Unfortunately, it ultimately proved impossible for the ICRP to address the significant issue of social hierarchy raised by King's work at Medea Creek. No cemeteries were found, although several isolated burials were uncovered at or near habitation sites, but never more than one per site and each unassociated with identifiable features (such as house floors). Only one burial yielded "unusual" grave goods (bone whistles), and these did not clearly suggest lineal or ascribed hierarchies.[3] The meaning of isolated burials among the Chumash is still somewhat unclear (see the interchange in Arnold and Green 2002 and Gamble et al. 2002), and it is possible that these few isolated burials may make some small contribution toward clarifying the distinction in burial context. In any case, the ICRP made no effort to address the issue of cemetery versus non-cemetery burial.

This does not necessarily mean that there are no more cemeteries in the region, however, and the failure to find cemetery locations may have been "made luck" rather than "bad luck." Developers were required to leave a percentage of land undeveloped, as "open spaces" designed to preserve the illusion of a rural atmosphere for future home owners. Not surprisingly, many developers chose as "open space" those parcels which suggested substantial habitation sites, thus releasing them from the cost of large-scale mitigative excavation. Chumash cemeteries were usually placed adjacent to village sites, and may simply lie in undisturbed open spaces.

SUMMARY

The ICRP was singled out by Van Horn (1987:68) as an "explicitly problem-oriented" program that placed more emphasis on defining the "problems rather than resolving them," a view seconded by Dillon and Boxt (1989:140). This is an unwarranted criticism. Few projects actually live up to every detail of a pre-stated research design. And if critics wished (for reasons of their own) to take potshots at what was then still being called the "New Archaeology," they picked the wrong target anyway. In the end, explicit problem-orientation does not appear to have played a central role in the actual conduct of the investigations, nor in the almost purely descriptive content of most of the individual papers that make up the various publications. But the fact is that the site descriptions provided by the ICRP were by and large very *good*, albeit with an occasional use of out-dated time frames and typological schemes (particularly for beads). Some of these, curiously, were outdated at the time (Glassow 1980), and have only become more outdated as a natural consequence of advances in Chumash studies as a whole. This will necessitate some effort at translation for future scholars who may wish to reassess the ICRP data. But the data are *there*, published and curated and ripe for interpretation and reinterpretation. This is far more than we can say for many CRM-driven projects, particularly from that era (Tartaglia 1980:323), and it is especially important for the Conejo Corridor region, because current development restrictions among the component municipalities mean that few new data are apt to be forthcoming. A project of the size and scope of the ICRP within the Conejo Corridor is simply no longer possible. In short, the ICRP data may well represent just about all the data we have, or will ever have, for this significant inland province.

There are several critical questions remaining to be answered regarding the inland Chumash as a whole, and some would benefit greatly through comparative references to ICRP data. Among these questions are those concerning the issue of coastal-inland interactions and how these varied from one inland region to the next. In particular, in the ethnohistoric period at least, the Ynezeño were dialectically distinct from the nearby coastal (Barbareño) Chumash, while the Conejo Corridor populations appear to have shared a dialect (Ventureño) with the coast (see Horne 1981:64, Fig. 7). Are these linguistic differences manifest in the nature or structure of the inland-coastal relationships? Next, the issue of interregional interaction *between* inland Chumash groups is one which, to my knowledge, has not been explicitly investigated. Our image of the inland populations has them looking mainly southward, toward the coast,

and not east and west toward one another. Finally, the Conejo Corridor region abuts the ethnohistoric territory of the Tongva, a people that exhibited a social, political, and economic organization that was loosely analogous to that of the Chumash (Gamble and Russell 2002). The complex interactions among the Chumash and the Tongva may have imparted a singular significance to the Conejo Corridor. Did the Corridor provide a buffer or a conduit for these polities? I am confident that these worthwhile questions (and more) will be answered someday, but not without reference to data collected along the Conejo Corridor. The inclusive term "inland Chumash" masks an enormous amount of variability that is best approached through a comparative, multi-regional approach.

In the spirit of this issue, I have come to praise Caesar, not to bury him. It is with genuine and unrepentant affection that I have tried to find the best possible light to shine on Billy Clewlow and therefore the ICRP, and I am sure it shows. But casting a positive light on the project turned out (I must confess) to be easier than I thought it would be. Despite a few cobwebs, it appears that the ICRP still has a future. This remarkable observation emerges from the shovel work, laboratory processing, and analyses of Clewlow and the principal participants, many (but by no means all) of whom were cited in this paper. And it must be emphasized that the operative word here is "cited." It is ultimately a genuine tribute to Clewlow and the members of the ICRP that their efforts resulted in a series of published monographs and journal articles rather than lie moldering in the gray maw that is the CRM literature.

NOTES

[1]Materials are curated at two different locations. The lion's share of artifacts, notes, and associated materials are accessible through the Curator of Archaeology, Fowler Museum, UCLA. Owing to the desire of Thousand Oaks in particular to retain possession of their archaeological heritage (expressed toward the close of the ICRP), some materials are housed at the Stagecoach Inn Museum, Thousand Oaks.

[2]Clewlow readily credits this idea to a mid-1970s interview he had with Roger Desautels, a largely unsung pioneer of CRM in California. Desautels was particularly skillful at selling developers on the idea that the public relations benefits of funding pre-development archaeological work could far outweigh the cost of excavation and analysis.

[3]In a personal communication, Clewlow noted the discovery of an isolated burial with at least three bear-bone whistles. Immediately upon discovery of the remains of a possible shaman, as suggested by the whistles, excavation was halted and back-filled at the direction of Native American monitors. The whistles were identified in the field by Clewlow as derived from bear, based on similar items he had observed elsewhere in California. The burial remains *in situ* within an undisclosed, undeveloped "open area."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Billy Clewlow for clarifying a few points, and Helen Wells and Russ Kaldenberg for asking me to contribute to this issue. Jeanne Arnold, Todd Braje, and an anonymous reviewer provided very helpful commentary, and Bill Hildebrandt suggested useful reference material. Tyshanna Belcher of ASM Affiliates kindly adapted Figure 1. I am responsible for the final presentation and interpretation.

REFERENCES

Armstrong, Matthew
2011 Exchange Links between the Coastal and Inland Chumash. *California Archaeology* 3:75–102.

Arnold, Jeanne E.
2011 Technological Decision Making: Fused Shale Tool Production in California. *North American Archaeologist* 32:15–48.

Arnold, Jeanne E., and Terisa M. Green
2002 Mortuary Ambiguity: The Ventureño Case. *American Antiquity* 67:760–771.

Arnold, Jeanne E., and Michael R. Walsh
2010 *California's Ancient Past: From the Pacific to the Range of Light*. Washington, D. C.: SAA Press.

Bernard, Julie
2008 *An Archaeological Study of Resistance, Persistence, and Culture Change in the San Emigdio Canyon, Kern County, California*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Blackburn, Thomas
1974 Ceremonial Integration and Social Interaction in Aboriginal California. In *'Antap, California Indian Political and Economic Organization*, Lowell J. Bean and Thomas F. King, eds., pp. 95–110. Ramona, California: Ballena Press.

Brown, Alan K.
1967 The Aboriginal Population of the Santa Barbara Channel. *University of California Archaeological Survey Reports* 69:1–99. Berkeley.

Clewlow, C. William, Jr.
1978 Archaeological Investigations at Oak Park: An Introduction. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume I*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 1–11. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Clewlow, C. William, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron (eds.)
1978a *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume I*. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Clewlow, C. William, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron (eds.)
1978b *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Clewlow, C. William, Jr., and David S. Whitley (eds.)
1979 *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume III*. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XI.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Clewlow, C. William, Jr., David S. Whitley, and Ellen L. McCann (eds.)
1979 *Archaeological Investigations at the Ring Brothers Site Complex, Thousand Oaks, California*. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XIII.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Dillon, Brian D.
1978 Millingstone Sites at Oak Park: VEN-123, VEN-44, and VEN-124. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 65–146. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Dillon, Brian D., and Matthew A. Boxt
1989 Comparisons and Conclusions. In *Archaeology of the Three Springs Valley, California: A Study in Functional Cultural History*, Brian D. Dillon and Matthew A. Boxt, eds., pp. 138–169. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* 30.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Drews, Michael P.
1979 Analysis of Shell Remains from the Ring Brothers Complex. In *Archaeological Investigations at the Ring Brothers Site Complex, Thousand Oaks, California*, C.William Clewlow, Jr., David S. Whitley, and Ellen L. McCann, eds., pp. 127–138. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XIII.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Erlandson, Jon M., Todd J. Braje, and Torben C. Rick
2004 Tuqan Chert: A "Mainland" Monterey Chert Source on San Miguel Island, California. *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 40:23–34. [Printed 2008.]

Erlandson, Jon M., Torben Rick, and René L. Vallanoweth
2008 *A Canyon Through Time: Archaeology, History, and Ecology of the Tecolote Canyon Area, Santa Barbara County, California*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah.

Gamble, Lynn H.
2008 *The Chumash World at European Contact: Power, Trade, and Feasting Among Complex Hunter-Gatherers*. Berkeley: University of California.

Gamble, Lynn H., and Glenn S. Russell
2002 A View from the Mainland: Late Holocene Cultural Developments Among the Ventureño Chumash and the Tongva. In *Catalysts to Complexity: Late Holocene Societies of the California Coast*, Jon M. Ericson and Terry L. Jones, eds., pp. 101–126. *Perspectives in California Archaeology* 6. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Gamble, Lynn H., Philip L. Walker, and Glenn S. Russell
2002 Further Considerations on the Emergence of Chumash Chiefdoms. *American Antiquity* 67:772–777.

Glassow, Michael A.
1979 An Evaluation of Models of Ynezeño Chumash Subsistence and Economics. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 1:155–161.
1980 Review of *The Running Springs Ranch Site: Archaeological Investigations at Ven-65 and Ven-261* by Jack Prichett and Allen McIntyre, and *Archaeological Investigations at the Ring Brothers Site Complex, Thousand Oaks, California*, C. William Clewlow, David S. Whitley, and Ellen L. McCann, eds. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 2:308–312.

Glassow, Michael A., Lynn H. Gamble, Jennifer E. Perry, and Glenn S. Russell
2007 Prehistory of the Northern California Bight and the Adjacent Transverse Ranges. In *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*, Terry L. Jones and Kathryn A. Klar, eds., pp. 71–82. Lanham, Maryland: Altamira Press.

Glassow, Michael A., Joan Brandoff-Kerr, Lisa C. Hosdale, and Dan Reeves
2011 Early Settlement Systems in the Middle Santa Ynez Valley, Santa Barbara County, California. *California Archaeology* 3:53–74.

Green, Terisa M.
1999 *Spanish Missions and Native Religion: Contact, Conflict, and Convergence*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hector, Susan M.
1978 Appendix II: Analysis of Shell Remains from VEN-294. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*, C. William, Clewlow Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 135–161. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Hildebrandt, William R.
2004 *Xonxon'ata*, in the Tall Oaks: Archaeology and Ethnohistory of a Chumash Village in the Santa Ynez Valley. *Contributions in Anthropology* 2. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Holmes, Marie S., and John R. Johnson
1998 The Chumash and Their Predecessors: An Annotated Bibliography. *Contributions in Anthropology* 1. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Horne, Stephen P.
1981 *The Inland Chumash: Ethnography, Ethnohistory, and Archaeology*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Hughes, Richard E., and Polly A. Peterson
2009 Trace Element Analysis of Fused Shale: Implications for Revised Understanding of Obsidian Source Use Shifts in Southern Coastal Alta California. *California Archaeology* 1:29–54.

Johnson, John R.
1988 *Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnohistoric Perspective*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.
1990 Chumash Social Geography: A Quantitative Analysis. *Proceedings of the Society of California Archaeology* 3:149–173.
2000 Social Responses to Climate Change Among the Chumash Indians of South-Central California. In *The Way the Wind Blows: Climate, History, and Human Action*, R. J. McIntosh, J. A. Tainter, and S. K. McIntosh, eds., pp. 301–327. New York: Columbia University.

Johnson, John R., and Dinah Houghtaling
2004 Mission Records and the Descendants of *Xonxon'ata*. *Xonxon'ata, in the Tall Oaks*, by William R. Hildebrandt, pp. 13–26. *Contributions in Anthropology* 2. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

King, Linda
1969 The Medea Creek Cemetery (LAN-243): An Investigation of Social Organization from Mortuary Practices. *University of California Archaeological Survey Annual Report* 11. Los Angeles.
1982 *Medea Creek Cemetery: Late Inland Chumash Patterns of Social Organization, Exchange, and Warfare*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Langenwalter, Paul E., III
1978 The Zooarchaeology of Two Prehistoric Chumash Sites in Ventura County, California (VEN-294 and VEN-295). In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*, C. William, Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 163–201. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Larson, Daniel O., John R. Johnson, and John C. Michaelson
1995 Missionization Among the Coastal Chumash of Central California: A Study in Risk Minimization Strategies. *American Anthropologist* 96:263–299.

Martz, Patricia
1984 *Social Dimensions of Chumash Mortuary Populations in the Santa Monica Mountains Region*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside.
1992 Status Distinctions Reflected in Chumash Mortuary Populations in the Santa Monica Mountains Region. In *Essays of the Prehistory of Maritime California*, Terry L. Jones, ed., pp. 145–156. *Center for Archaeological Research at Davis Publication* 10. Davis: University of California, Davis.

Prichett, Jack, and Allen McIntyre
1980 *The Running Springs Ranch Site: Archaeological Investigations at VEN-65 and VEN-261*. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XII.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Robinson, David W.
2007 Taking the Bight Out of Complexity: Elaborating South-Central California Interior Landscapes. In *Socialising Complexity: Structure, Integration, and Power*, S. Kohrning and S. Wynne-Jones, eds., pp. 183–204. Oxford: Oxbow.

Roeder, Mark
1978 Appendix I: Fish Remains from VEN-294. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 115–133. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Rosen, Martin D.
1978 Archaeological Investigations at VEN-294, an Inland Chumash Village Site. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume II*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 7–113. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.
1979 Resource Acquisition at CA-VEN-294. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 3(2):11–31.

Spanne, Laurence W.
1975 Seasonal Variability in the Population of Barbareño Chumash Villages: An Explanatory Model. In *Papers on the Chumash*, pp. 61–87. *San Luis Obispo County Archaeological Society Occasional Paper* 9.

Tartaglia, Louis J.
1980 Reviews of *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California*, Volumes I and II, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen F. Wells, and Alan G. Pastron, eds. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles, and *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume III*, C. William Clewlow and David S. Whitley, eds. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XI.] University of California, Los Angeles. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 2:322–323.

Van Horne, David
1987 Trade and Subsistence in Humaliwu: A Focused Review of Two Decades of Archaeology in the Conejo Corridor. *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly* 23(1).

Walsh, Michael R., and A. Natasha Tabares
2011 The Inland Chumash Research Project: Not a Chief in Site. Paper read at the 76th annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Sacramento.

Wells, Helen Fairman
1978 Archaeological Investigations at VEN-125, A Late Prehistoric Hunting Camp. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume I*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., Helen Fairman Wells, and Allen G. Pastron, eds., pp. 147–197. [*Institute of ArchaeologyMonograph* V.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Wells, Helen F., C. W. Clewlow, Jr., and Martin D. Rosen
1979 Inland Chumash: An Annotated Bibliography. *Institute of Archaeology Occasional Paper* 4. University of California, Los Angeles.

Whitley, David S.
1979 A Historical Perspective on the Research at Oak Park. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume III*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., and David S. Whitley, eds., pp. 6–29. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XI.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Whitley, David S., and C. William Clewlow, Jr.
1979a Perspectives on the Ring Brothers Site Complex and the Archaeology of the Arroyo Conejo. In *Archaeological Investigations at the Ring Brothers Site Complex, Thousand Oaks, California*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., David S. Whitley, and Ellen L. McCann, eds., pp. 111–125. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XIII.] University of California, Los Angeles.

1979b The Organizational Structure of the *Lulapin* and Humaliwo and Conclusions for Oak Park. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume III*, C. William Clewlow, Jr. and David S. Whitley, eds., pp. 149-174. [*Institute of Archaeology, Monograph* XI.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Whitley, David S., Molly Schneider, and Michael P. Drews
1979 Surface Archaeology at Oak Park. In *The Archaeology of Oak Park, Ventura County, California, Volume III*, C. William Clewlow, Jr., and David S. Whitley, eds., pp. 30–83. [*Institute of Archaeology, Monograph* XI.] University of California, Los Angeles.

Whitley, Davis S., Helen F. Wells, and C. William Clewlow, Jr.
1980 Brief Notes on the History of Inland Chumash Archaeology. In *Inland Chumash Archaeological Investigations*, David S. Whitley, Ellen L. McCann, and C. William Clewlow, Jr., eds., pp. 3–9. [*Institute of Archaeology Monograph* XV.] University of California, Los Angeles.