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Apolonio, the Canoe Builder, and the Use of Mission Records

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Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) have provided a series of provocative footnotes regarding individual members of the Chumash Brotherhood of the Canoe. These are individuals mentioned by Fernando Librado

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Kitsepawit and recorded in J. P. Harrington's notes on Chumash watercraft. In editing and annotating Harrington's notes, Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) provide an excellent monograph on Chumash watercraft, and the criticisms that follow are not meant to detract from that aspect of their work. It is their discussion of Apolonio and Aniceto, canoe builders, however, that we find objectionable. The editors of this volume have "tentatively" identified these individuals on the basis of a cursory examination of the Santa Barbara Mission records. Because tentative identifications of this sort too often become historical fact, we wish to correct their errors before they become incorporated in other works. In at least one instance, Hudson and his colleagues made incorrect use of the baptismal records and they have incorrectly identified both Apolonio and Aniceto. However, the primary purpose of this paper is not to criticize Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe, but to illustrate the use of the mission records. Only through an understanding of their basic organization combined with thorough examination of the mission records can genealogical data be accurately developed.

Fernando Librado named two individuals involved in canoe and dugout construction as Aniceto and Apolonio:

Aniceto was an old Santa Barbara Indian man who worked as a blacksmith and carpenter and was noted for his iron harpoon points. With his friend José Sudón, Apolonio, and José Venadero, he made a dugout canoe at Goleta Slough. He also helped his brother-in-law Pedro Ortega, José Manuel, and Silverio *Konoyo* construct another dugout canoe in 1855 at Arroyo Hondo [Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:169-170].

Apolonio . . . was born in Santa Barbara. He aided Aniceto, José Sudón, and José Venadero in building a dugout at Goleta Slough [Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1979:170].

According to Fernando Librado, Daniel Hill had a boat built,

. . . by an Indian carpenter at Santa Barbara named Apolonio. Apolonio made very nice canoes. Apolonio was making Hill's boat on the east side of Goleta Slough . . . There were still Indians living on Santa Cruz Island when Apolonio was building the boat for Hill.

Hill . . . was living at the old La Patera House . . . [Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:146].

Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe noted:

Mission records are often difficult to use in finding additional biographical information on specific individuals for a variety of reasons. The most common problem with these records is that several entries can often be found under a given Christian name, even from the same village. Thus our notation of a particular individual in such records must be considered tentative [Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978: 169-170, fn. 367].

Unfortunately, they cited only one baptism for each name. Aniceto is identified as Aniceto *Sulumauquiet*, baptized May 10, 1803. This man was about 36 years old at the time and *Capitán* of the village of *Miquiqui* (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:169-170).

The editors provided more detail regarding Apolonio and his genealogical relationships. These entries are quoted in full (Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978:170-171, fn. 369):

Mariano J. *Siliquonoiset* (Entry No. 1695), baptized May 23, 1801, at the age of 19; from *Stuca* (=Stuk) rancheria, son of Meteo *Aquyahuit*; brother of Apolonio, husband of Todea.

Domitila *Pichiquich* (Entry No. 1100), baptized in August 1797, at the age of 34; from *Miquiqui* (=Mikiw) rancheria; sister of Apolonio, husband of Todea.

Antonia (Entry No. 1630), baptized April 28, 1801, at about age 64; from *Stuca* rancheria; aunt of Apolonio, husband of Todea.

Todea (Entry No. 3528), baptized April 5, 1812, at about the age of 50; from *Snihaus* rancheria. Her death record (Entry No. 3972) lists her as a widow of Apolonio when she died on April 22, 1841: therefore Apolonio must have died before 1841.

Apolonio (Entry No. 2209) was baptized May 10, 1803; from *Miquiqui* (=Mikiw). While his age is listed as 12 years, if it is the same Apolonio noted above in the records, then this must be an error, since by 1803 Apolonio was married and had children. In that year his brother would be 21, his sister 40, and his wife 41; therefore it is possible that this man was baptized when he was 42 rather than 12 years old.

Children of Apolonio baptized at Mission Santa Barbara are: Juan Evangelista (Entry No. 1539) on December 27, 1800, the day after his birth. In the latter entry, Apolonio's Indian name is given as *Guaguaita* from *Stuca* (=Stuk) rancheria.

Although Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) pointed out a number of internal inconsistencies in these entries, they assumed that all entries referred to the same Apolonio. More experience would have led them to expect greater accuracy of the mission records. Consequently, they have confused two individuals named Apolonio.

The application of a simple rule eliminates one source of error and the confusion from the genealogical data they present. This rule can be stated as follows: an individual's Christian name appears in the mission records no earlier than the day of that individual's baptism.

There are few exceptions to this rule, the most common being when the Christian name is used prior to baptism to refer to one who is "studying" to be a Catholic. In this case, it is clarified by reference to that person as a "cate-

cumeno(a).” Christian names are also sometimes given to important men prior to their baptism. Zeferino *Sulumauquiet*, Capitán of *Miquiqui*, is referred to as Zeferido two months before he was baptized (Entry Nos. 1613 and 1727).

If this rule is applied to the genealogical data provided by Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) it is clear that “Todea” (Entry No. 3528) baptized on April 5, 1812 and “Apolonio” (Entry No. 2209) baptized May 10, 1803 cannot be the relatives of Domitila *Pichiquich* who was baptized August 13, 1797. By applying the rule cited above, we know that “Todea” and “Apolonio” were baptized on or before August 13, 1797, the day Domitila was baptized. Therefore, the “Apolonio” and “Todea” identified by Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe must be incorrect since they were baptized after August 13, 1797.

In seeking to establish the identity of the canoe builders, we have evaluated three sets of Santa Barbara Mission records (1972a, 1972b, and 1972c). In the baptismal records dating prior to August, 1797, the following entries occur:

Baptism No. 399, June 10, 1789
 Apolonio Joseph, 20 years of age, called *Guagugayta*, son of gentile parents of the *Rancheria Estucu*.

Baptism No. 534, March 10, 1791
 Thadea, 25 years of age, called *Sunaicumu*, daughter of gentile parents of *Rancheria Miasap*.

In the marriage records we also find:

Marriage 141, April 27, 1791
 Apolonio Jose, native of the *Rancheria Estucu*, married to Thadea Maria, native of the *Rancheria Miasap*.

By replacing Apolonio (Baptism No. 2209) with Apolonio Joseph *Guagugayta* (Baptism No. 399) and Todea (Baptism No. 3528) with Thadea (Baptism No. 534) the genealogical data become internally consistent. The following baptisms may also be added to the Apolonio Joseph *Guagugayta* genealogy (Fig. 1).

Baptism No. 1691, May 23, 1801
 Matheo, 61 years of age, called *Ayuyaut*, native of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*.

Baptism No. 681, February 17, 1792
 Hilario Joseph, baptized in *casu necessitatis*, at mission pueblo, legitimate son of Apolonio Joseph and of Thadea Maria.

Baptism No. 996, August 29, 1796
 Ruperta Maria, baptized in the *Rancheria Miasap* in *articulo mortis*, 60 years of age, native of *Miasap*, mother of Tadea married to Apolonio Jose.

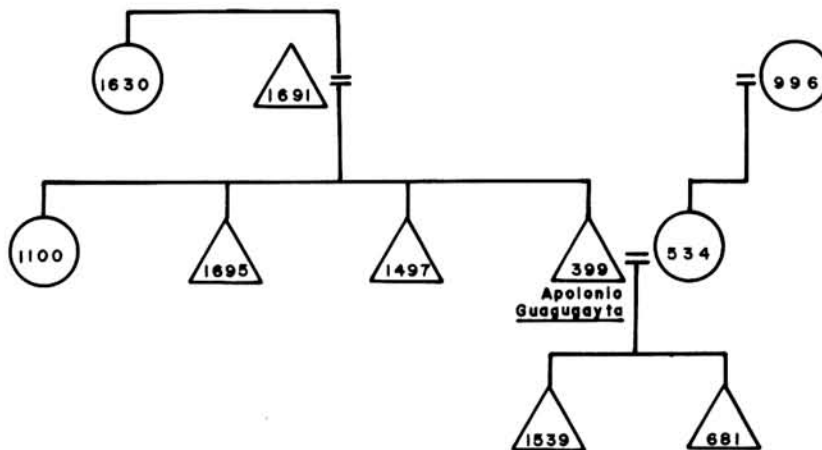


Fig. 1. Partial genealogy of Apolonio *Guagugayta* (Baptism No. 399).

Baptism No. 1497, August 20, 1800
 Modesto, 14 years of age, called *Lahuihui-siti*, native of the *Rancheria Estucu*, brother of Apolonio married to Tadea.

Apolonio *Guagugayta* (Baptism No. 399) cannot, however, be identified as the canoe builder on the basis of this genealogy. Further analysis of the mission records, however, demonstrates that Apolonio *Guagugayta* (Baptism No. 399) could not have been the Apolonio referred to by Fernando Librado.

Daniel Hill, for whom Apolonio built the canoe, did not arrive in Santa Barbara until 1823, and did not obtain La Goleta Rancho until 1846 (Bancroft 1885:785). The earliest possible date that Apolonio could have built the canoe, therefore, was 1823, and it is probable that the canoe was not constructed until after Hill built the La Patera House sometime after 1846. The burial record of Santa Barbara Mission shows that Apolonio Joseph *Guagugayta* was buried May 19, 1812 (Burial No. 2052), eleven years before Hill arrived on the San Diego Coast.

The genealogical data for Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* (Baptism No. 2209) do provide some interesting, indirect evidence that he and Aniceto *Sulumaquiet* have certain criteria thought to be prerequisites for membership in

the Brotherhood of the Canoe. Apolonio *Tuliyahuit's* (Baptism No. 2209) genealogy, which also includes Aniceto *Sulumaquiet*, is reconstructed (Fig. 2). The following Baptismal entries have been used:

Baptism No. 2209, May 10, 1803
 Apolonio, 12 years of age, called *Tuliyahuit* from *Miquiqui*. First cousin of Jose Miguel *Cabanaset*.

Baptism No. 751, June 7, 1793
 Jose Miguel, 11 or 12 years of age, called *Cabanaset*, son of gentile parents of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*.

Baptism No. 1792, July 22, 1801
 Fabian, 1 day old, son of Joseph Miguel *Cabanaset*, of the *Rancheria Miquiqui* and Jacoba of *Misopsno*.

Baptism No. 538, March 14, 1791
 Jacoba, 8 years old, daughter of gentile parents of the *Rancheria Misopsno*.

Baptism No. 1580, March 14, 1801
 Casilda, 19 years of age, called *Chanimugui*, native of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*, sister of Josef Miguel married to Jacoba.

Baptism No. 2132, May 7, 1803
 Perseverancia, 20 years old, native of *Miquiqui*, sister of Jose Miguel *Cabanaset* and of Casilda, married to Jose Manuel.

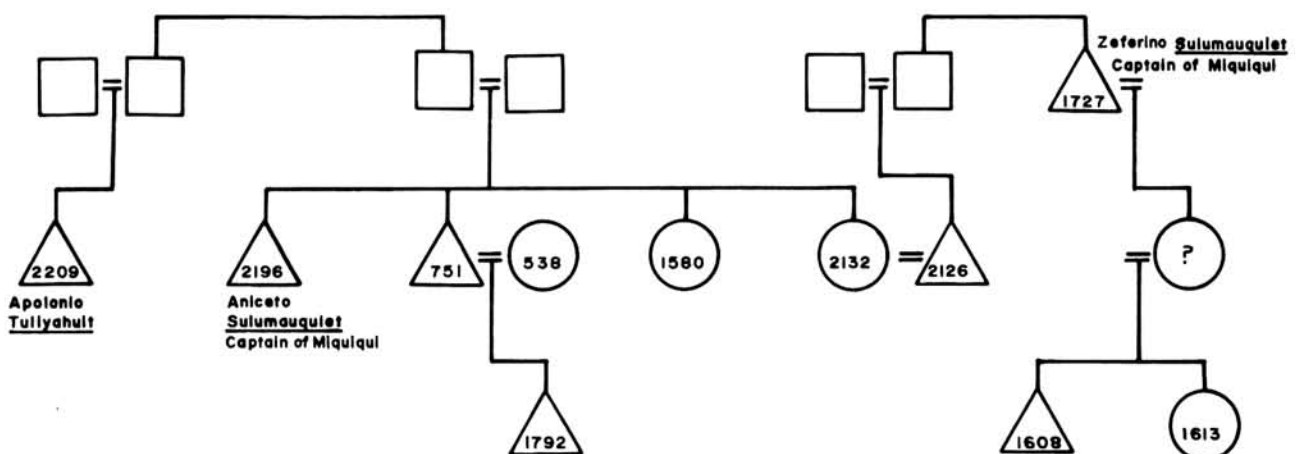


Fig. 2. Partial genealogy of Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* (Baptism No. 2209) and Aniceto *Sulumaquiet* (Baptism No. 2196).

Baptism No. 2126, May 7, 1803

Jose Manuel, 20 years old, called *Aguiyamehuit* of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*, nephew of Zeferino *Yuhamait*.

Baptism No. 1727, June 21, 1801

Zeferino, 54 years old, called *Sulumauquiet*, Captain of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*, grandfather of Franco Jose and Regina.

Marriage No. 410, January 26, 1802

Zeferino *Yuhamait*, captain of the *Rancheria Miquiqui*, to Maria de los Ramos of the *Rancheria Eliman*. (This marriage entry demonstrates that Zeferino *Yahamait* and Zeferino *Sulumauquiet* are the same person. It was not uncommon for a Chumash individual to have two names [Hudson 1977]).

Baptism No. 1608, April 24, 1801

Francisco Joseph, 4 years old. His mother is daughter of chief of *Miquiqui*.

Baptism No. 1613, April 24, 1801

Regina, 6 years old, sister of Francisco Jose and granddaughter of Zeferido chief of *Miquiqui*.

Baptism No. 2196, May 10, 1803

Aniceto, 36 years old, called *Sulumauquiet*, captain of *Miquiqui*, brother of Jose Miguel *Cabanaset*.

Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe 1978: 155, fn. 334) noted that the Brotherhood of the Canoe is thought to be a kinship-based organization that formed "part of the 'elites' in California Indian society, often being members of the chief's extended family." Aniceto *Sulumauquiet* (Baptism No. 2196) was a Capitán of *Miquiqui*. His sister Perseverancia (Baptism No. 2132) was married to Jose Manuel (Baptism No. 2126) nephew of Zeferino *Yuhamait* alias *Sulumauquiet* (Baptism 1727, Marriage 410) another "Capitán" of *Miquiqui*. Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* was a cousin of Aniceto *Sulumauquiet*. This appears to be an "elite" kin group of the kind that may have formed the

base for the organization of the Brotherhood of the Canoe.

However attractive these data might appear as supporting the existing model of the organization of the Brotherhood of the Canoe, further analysis does eliminate both Aniceto *Sulumauquiet* (Baptism No. 2196) and Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* (Baptism No. 2209) as the canoe makers known to Fernando Librado. Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* (Baptism No. 2209) was buried February 14, 1816. Burial No. 2391 identifies Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* of *Miquiqui* married to Maria Geronima of *Snihaux*, whose certificates (of baptism) are 2209 and 3049.

Aniceto *Sulumauquiet's* (Baptism No. 2196) death is recorded with Burial No. 1448, April 8, 1806. This record lists Aniceto *Sulumauquiet* as having been Capitán of *Miquiqui*. From this analysis of the mission records it is clear that both the Apolonio and the Aniceto tentatively identified by Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978) as the canoe builders were dead by 1816. Apolonio *Tuliyahuit* (Baptism No. 2209) and Aniceto *Sulumauquiet* (Baptism No. 2196) could not have participated in the construction of the Arroyo Hondo dugout in 1855.

In a further attempt to identify the Aniceto and Apolonio known to Fernando Librado, we located all individuals baptized at Santa Barbara as "Aniceto" and "Apolonio" before 1858, with their marriage and burial entries. They are listed below (including those discussed above).

1. Aniceto Joseph *Yamilauta*
Baptism No. 642, Nov. 7, 1791
Marriage No. 159, Nov. 21, 1791
Marriage No. 753, July 15, 1805
Burial No. 2050, May 13, 1812
2. Aniceto Jose
Baptism No. 1205, Oct. 30, 1797
Burial No. 2453, March 2, 1817
3. Aniceto *Sulumauquiet*
Baptism No. 2196, May 10, 1803

- Marriage No. 468, May 13, 1803
Burial No. 1448, April 8, 1806
4. Aniceto *Chumahuesh*
Baptism No. 2937, Feb. 8, 1804
Marriage No. 695, July 27, 1804
Burial No. 159, June 12, 1807
 5. Aniceto
Baptism No. 4105, April 16, 1819
(recently born)
No marriage prior to 1856
No burial recorded prior to 1841
 1. Apolonio Joseph *Guagugayta*
Baptism No. 399, June 10, 1789
Marriage No. 141, April 27, 1791
Burial No. 2052, May 19, 1812
 2. Apolonio *Muluyu*
Baptism No. 2011, Feb. 9, 1803
Marriage No. 454, April 19, 1803
Burial No. 1780, May 31, 1809
 3. Apolonio *Tuliyahuit*
Baptism No. 2209, May 10, 1803
Marriage No. 919, Aug. 6, 1811
Burial No. 2351, Feb. 14, 1816
 4. Apolonio *Amascululuyat*
Baptism No. 2664, July 27, 1803
Marriage No. 609, July 27, 1803
Burial No. 1065, March 31, 1804
 5. Apolonio
Baptism No. 3384, Feb. 10, 1809
Burial No. 1885, May 20, 1810
 6. Apolonio
Baptism No. 4026, Feb. 9, 1818
Burial No. 2568, July 10, 1818
 7. Apolonio
Baptism No. 4155, Feb. 9, 1820
Marriage No. 1550, April 4, 1839
No Burial recorded prior to 1841

We have no additional data for Aniceto after his baptism but presumably he lived until after 1841 since we do not find his burial record prior to that date. The identification of Aniceto, the canoe builder, is further complicated by the appearance of Aniceto *Pahililaitset* in *Breath of the Sun* (Hudson

1979: 138). Hudson described Aniceto *Pahililaitset* as follows:

A Santa Rosa Island Indian, Aniceto was brought to the mainland during the earthquake of 1812. He was baptized at Mission Santa Barbara by Fr. Ripoll, and later worked for the de la Guerra family as a servant for 72 years. In October of 1884, while residing at Los Alamos, he served as an informant for anthropologist Henry Henshaw. Henshaw described him as an old man, blind, but with good hearing. His head shook constantly. (1852 Census: "Aniseto, 43" 1870 Census: 'Anisto de la Guerra, 56, day laborer, in household of Jose de la Guerra.' 1880 Census: 'Anisetto Quinto, 70, servant, in household of C. de la Guerra') [Hudson 1979:138].

Aniceto *Pahililaitset* cannot be identified as any of the Anicetos listed above and we can find no record of him in the Santa Barbara Mission Baptismal records for that period. All Anicetos except (Baptism No. 4105) died prior to 1818. Aniceto (Baptism No. 4105) was born in 1819, his father, Felix Jose (Baptism No. 3112) was from *Aquitsuma* and his mother Aqueda Maria (Baptism No. 3118) was from *Tequeps*. He was "recently born" at the time of his baptism and his parents were baptized 14 years earlier. Therefore, he almost certainly is not from Santa Cruz Island. Finally, Aniceto (Baptism No. 4105) was baptized by Fr. Francisco Suner and not Fr. Ripoll. Fr. Ripoll baptized no Aniceto at Santa Barbara Mission.

The data strongly suggest that Aniceto *Pahililaitset* was not baptized at Santa Barbara. However, Fr. Ripoll also served at La Purisima Mission (Geiger 1969:207) and it may be that Hudson's data are in error as to place of baptism. Baptismal Records of the La Purisima Mission are not available to the authors at this time.

This analysis suggests that of these individuals baptized at Santa Barbara only one Apolonio (Baptism No. 4155) and one Aniceto (Baptism No. 4105) baptized before 1858 can

possibly be the canoe builders. Apolonio (Baptism No. 4155) married in 1839, was clearly contemporaneous with Daniel Hill and may have built the canoe for Hill. If Daniel Hill did not build the La Patera house until after 1846 then Apolonio would have been over 26 years old when he built the canoe. Aniceto (Baptism No. 4105) would have been approximately 36 years old in 1855 when he helped construct a dugout at Arroyo Hondo. It is our contention that these two individuals are more likely to have been the Apolonio and Aniceto known to Fernando Librado than are those identified by Hudson, Timbrook, and Rempe (1978).

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