Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today

By: Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz

Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today

By:
Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz

Prepared by:
Archaeological and Historical Consultants
Oakland, California

Prepared for:
National Park Service
Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California

In response to:
Solicitation No. Q8158020405

June 2009

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **XIII**

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION **1**

PAST AND PRESENT OHLONE/COSTANOANS 1

NESTED AND CROSS-CUTTING STUDY AREAS 4

Local Tribe Territories with Present SF Peninsula GGNRA Parcels 4

Peninsula Social Interaction Spheres 5

Mission Dolores Outreach Zone 5

San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language Area 6

Overall Costanoan Language Family Area 6

Central California Comparative Culture Study Area 6

MISSION REGISTERS AND ORAL INTERVIEWS: KEY PRIMARY SOURCES 9

Mission Registers for Ethnogeography and Family History 9

Mission Studies Using Computer Databases 10

Enhanced Mission Register Databases for this GGNRA Study 11

Project Oral Interviews 12

REPORT AUTHORSHIP, ORGANIZATION, AND RESEARCH APPROACHES 13

Chapters 2-3: Native Languages and Cultures 13

Chapters 4-7: Transforming Effects of the Mission System 14

Chapters 8-10: Ohlone/Costanoans from the 1830s to Today 15

Chapter 11: Ohlone/Costanoan Historic Cultural Affinity 16

CHAPTER 2. NATIVE LANGUAGES OF WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA **17**

EARLY LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION 17

Father Palou on Monterey and San Francisco Languages 17

Linguistic Notes from Early Monterey 18

The 1812 *Interrogatorio* Responses 19

Arroyo de la Cuesta's Linguistic Studies 20

PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES 22

The Mission Dolores Romonan Vocabulary of 1850 23

Costano and Mut-sun, 1860-1877 24

Powell and Kroeber Classify Costanoan 24

Field Research of J. P. Harrington 28
Beeler Reclassifies Saclan out of Costanoan 29
MODERN CLASSIFICATION OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES 30
Madison Beeler's View of the Costanoan Languages 30
Levy Renames and Reclassifies the Costanoan Languages 31
A Single San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language 33
Utian Family and Possible Yok-Utian Family 36
Utian within the Penutian Phylum 37
NON-COSTANOAN LANGUAGES OF WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA 40
The Miwokan Languages of the Utian Family 40
Other Penutian Families in Central California: Wintuan and Yokutsan 41
Esselen of the Inferred Hokan Phylum 41
Wappo of the Yukian Language Family 42
ALTERNATE TERMS TO COSTANOAN: OLHONEAN AND OHLONE 42
Origin of the Term Ohlone 42
Olhonean and Ohlonean as Language Family Labels 44
Ohlone First Equated with Costanoan in 1978 45
Conclusion: Ohlone/Costanoan as a Practical Alternative 46

CHAPTER 3. WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA CULTURAL AND GENETIC GROUPS 47

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE 47
Culture is Related to Language 47
The Language-Culture Relationship is Inexact 48
Kroeber's "Linguistic Group Package" Approach to Cultural Identity 49
CULTURE AREA STUDIES IN WESTERN NORTH AMERICA 50
Intuitive Culture Areas of Wissler and Kroeber 50
Klimek's Statistical Approach to California Culture and Prehistory 51
The "Culture Element Distribution" Research Program, 1935-1945 53
Statistical Classification in Western North America Since 1945 57
ETHNOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA 60
Subsistance and Material Culture 61
Local Tribe Organization 62
Population Density and Distribution 63
Social Interaction Spheres 66
Boundary Maintenance and Conflict 67
Kinship Terminology 68
Ritual and Mythic Narrative 69

ARCHAEOLOGY, PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, AND LINGUISTIC PREHISTORY 70
Archaeological Sequences in Ohlone/Costanoan Territories 70
Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Population Movements 74
mtDNA and Prehistoric Population Movements 76
Inferential Linguistic Prehistory 78
SUMMARY: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AND MONTEREY BAY CULTURES 82

CHAPTER 4. SPANISH ENTRY AND MISSION DOLORES, 1769-1800 87

FIRST CONTACT FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE PENINSULA 87
Local Tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula 87
The Portolá Expedition, 1769 89
Monterey Settlement and San Francisco Peninsula Exploration, 1770-1774 91
First European Vessel on San Francisco Bay, 1775 92
The Anza Expedition, Early 1776 94
YELAMU RESISTANCE AND MISSIONIZATION, 1776-1787 95
Spanish Settlers at the Presidio and Mission Dolores, June 1776 95
Yelamu Defeat by Ssalsons and Skirmishes with Spaniards 96
Yelamu People Join Mission Dolores, 1777-1787 97
PENINSULA GROUPS JOIN MISSION DOLORES, 1779-1793 98
Yelamu-Ssalson Reconciliation and Bay Shore Peninsula Conversions, 1777-1793 99
Coastal Peninsula Conversions and Resistance, 1779-1793 100
MIGRATIONS FROM ACROSS THE BAY, 1779-1800 101
Initial Tribal Converts from the East and North, 1778-1793 102
Mass Migration of East Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks, 1794-1795 103
Saclan and Huchiun Resistance, 1795-1796 103
Mission San Jose Founded and Resistance Defeated, 1797-1800 104
FINAL BAPTISMS OF PENINSULA TRIBAL PEOPLE 104

CHAPTER 5. SHIFT TO COAST MIWOK PREDOMINANCE AT MISSION DOLORES, 1800-1817 107

NEW COSTANOAN MIGRATIONS FROM THE EAST BAY, 1801-1811 109
Final Huchiun Migrations, 1800-1806 109
Bilingual Jalquin Migration, 1801-1803 109
Huchiun-Aguasto Migrants, 1803-1810 109
Carquins, the only Karkin Costanoans, 1804-1810 110
NEW BAY MIWOK MIGRATIONS TO MISSION DOLORES, 1801-1811 110
Tatcan Bay Miwoks Migrate to Mission Dolores, 1804-1806 110
Volvon Bay Miwok Migration to Two Missions, 1804-1806 111
Chupcan Bay Miwoks, Allies of the Suisun Patwins, 1804-1811 111

MAIN COAST MIWOK MIGRATION TO MISSION DOLORES, 1800-1817 112
Southern Marin Peninsula Coast Miwok Converts, 1800-1803 112
Mid-Peninsula Tamals and Other Coast Miwoks, 1804-1809 113
Novato Creek and South Tomales Bay Groups, 1810-1814 113
North Bay Coast Miwok Migrations, 1815-1817 114
FIRST PATWIN MIGRANTS TO MISSION DOLORES, 1809-1817 114
Suisun Patwin Migration, 1810-1815 115
Napas, Tolenas, and Malacas at Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose, 1814-1817 116
MIXED-LANGUAGE MISSION DOLORES IN 1817 116
Yelamu Population Decline through 1817 116
Mission Decline of Bay Shore Peninsula and San Mateo Coast People 117
Migration and Decline of the Last East Bay Costanoans 118
Bay Miwok Population Decline to 1817 118
Decline of the Bi-lingual Jalquins of San Leandro 118
Rise of the Coast Miwoks and Patwins 119
Summary View of Costanoans at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817 119

CHAPTER 6. THE MULTI-ETHNIC DOLOREÑOS OF MISSION DOLORES, 1817-1834 121

COAST MIWOK TRANSFERS TO SAN RAFAEL, 1817-1822 121
NEW PATWIN AND WAPPO MIGRATIONS, 1819-1822 124
SWITCH TO MEXICAN RULE, 1821-1822 124
TRANSFERS TO MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO, 1823-1824 125
Altimira's Attempt to Close Mission Dolores 125
Mission Dolores Land Losses prior to 1824 125
Transfers to Mission San Francisco Solano in 1823 126
Language Mix at Mission Dolores after the 1823 Transfers 127
BACKWATER MISSON DOLORES, 1824-1833 128
Mission Dolores Outstations in the 1820s 128
Beechey's British View of Mission Dolores in the 1820s 129
Duhaut-Cilly's French View of Mission Dolores in the 1820s 130
DOLOREÑOS AND HISPANICS, 1824-1833 130
Indian Families at Mission Dolores, 1824-1833 130
Mission Dolores Costanoans and Bay Miwoks at other Missions, 1824-1833 132
Demographic Shift to Hispanic Predominance, 1824-1833 133

CHAPTER 7. OHLONE/COSTANOAN MISSIONS SOUTH OF MISSION DOLORES, 1770-1834 135

FIRST CONTACTS IN COSTANOAN LANDS 135

MISSION CARMEL, FOUNDED IN 1770 137
Baptisms of Villagers of the Rumsen Local Tribe, 1770-1780 138
Rumsen-speaking and Esselen-speaking Local Tribes, 1782-1808 139
Carmel Mission as Administrative Center, 1809-1834 139
MISSION SANTA CLARA, FOUNDED IN 1777 140
Initial Santa Clara Valley Baptisms 140
Mass Migration and Change at Santa Clara, 1794-1798 140
Eastern Hill Country Costanoan Baptisms, 1799-1810 141
Yokuts Migration to Santa Clara 141
MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD, FOUNDED IN 1791 142
Early Era of Esselen Predominance at Soledad 142
Short Period of Costanoan Predominance 142
Era of Yokuts Migration to Soledad 143
MISSION SANTA CRUZ, FOUNDED IN 1791 143
Awaswas Costanoan Baptisms at Santa Cruz 143
East Coast Range Costanoans at Santa Cruz 144
Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley at Santa Cruz 145
MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, FOUNDED IN 1797 145
Years of Ohlone/Costanoan Proselytization 145
Measles Epidemic and Period of Falling Population 146
Era of Yokuts Population Predominance at San Juan Bautista 146
MISSION SAN JOSE, FOUNDED IN 1797 147
Coast Range Baptisms and Anti-Mission Sentiment, 1797-1809 147
Shift to Yokuts, Patwin, and Coast Miwok Baptisms, 1810-1822 148
Plains Miwok Predominance and Estanislao Revolt, 1823-1829 149
Plains and Sierra Miwok Baptisms at Mission San Jose, 1830-1834 150
SUMMARY: SEVEN PART-COSTANOAN COMMUNITIES IN 1834 150

CHAPTER 8. SECULARIZATION AND THE RANCHO ERA, 1834-1846 153

SECULARIZATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE 153
Prelude to Secularization 153
Secularization Law of 1833 and Regulations of 1834 154
Systematic Hispanic Privitization of Mission Lands 155
Hispanic Rancheros and Mission Indian Peons 157
Final Secularization Act of 1845 158
SHORT-LIVED INDIAN LAND GRANTS 159
North Bay Grants to ex-Mission Dolores Indians 160
Santa Clara Valley Indian Grants 161
A Mission San Jose Parcel License 161

Monterey Bay Area Indian Land Grants 161
MISCELLANEOUS THEMES OF THE RANCHO ERA 162
Three Experiential Classes of Indians 162
Hispanic Intermarriage with Central California Indians 163
Indian Boatmen on San Francisco Bay 164
Indian Horse Raiders on the Frontier 165
Slave Trade for Indian Labor 166
PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1830S 167
Mission Dolores Secularized and Presidio Deactivated, 1834-1835 167
First Post-Secularization Land Losses at Mission Dolores 168
Sanchez as Commissioner and Extensive Land Losses, 1837-1840 169
The Hartnell Investigations, 1839-1840 170
Indian Families in Mission Dolores Records, 1834-1840 171
PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1840S 172
Mission Dolores Indian Families in the 1840s 172
Obliterated Social Safety Net 173
Final Mission Dolores and Rancho San Mateo Sale, 1845-1846 173

CHAPTER 9. OHLONE/COSTANOANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1847-1927 ... 175

CONTEXT: MARGINALIZATION AND CONTINUING DECLINE, 1846-1900 175
U.S. Military Rule and the Gold Rush 175
Statehood, Racialization, and Institutionalized Racism 176
Early Treaties and Reservations 178
Continuing Indian Population Decline 179
Crossing the Ethnic Boundary from Indian to White 180
INDIANS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1846-1900 181
Glimpses of Indians in San Francisco, 1847-1850 182
Indians in the Mission Dolores Records, 1846-1855 183
Indians Forced off Rancho San Mateo, 1851 or 1852 184
Peninsula Indians in the 1852 Census 185
San Mateo County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s 187
San Francisco County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s 188
LAST KNOWN NATIVE FAMILIES ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA 190
The Evencio Family of San Mateo 190
The Alcantara Family of San Francisco 195
COSTANOANS BEYOND THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1847-1928 197
East Bay Indians and the Alisal/Verona Band 197
The Problem of the Mission Santa Clara Descendents 200
Indians of the San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz Areas 201

Carmeleños of the Monterey Area 203
LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE 1900-1927 PERIOD 205
Migrant Indian Community of the San Francisco Peninsula 205
Doloreños in 1928 207
New California Reservations Exclude West-Central California 207
Legal Moves for Citizenship and Land Reparations 208

CHAPTER 10. TODAY'S OHLONE/COSTANOANS, 1928-2008 211

RESPONSE TO DISCRIMINATION, 1900S-1950S 211
Maintaining Ethnic Pride 211
Keeping a Low Profile 212
Passing as Non-Indian 213
Support Networks and Gatherings 214
MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEMES 216
The Great Depression, 1929-1941 216
Indian Boarding Schools, 1930s 217
World War II and the Korean War 217
National Cemetery Burials 218
LAND REPARATIONS AND RESERVATION POLICY, 1930S-1970S 218
The California Indian Jurisdictional Act and Case K-344 219
Ohlone/Costanoans and the Indian Land Claims Commission 220
Termination of Federal Reservations, 1948-1970s 222
Federal Relocation Policy, 1950s-1968 223
ASSERTION OF SOCIETAL RECOGNITION, 1964-1980 224
Protection of the Mission San Jose Ohlone Cemetery 224
Alcatraz Island Occupation, 1969-1971 225
Lee Road Cemetery Protection 227
Working with the National Environmental Policy Act and California Environmental Quality Act 228
Ohlone/Costanoans and the Native American Heritage Commission 228
PERTINENT THEMES FROM 1980 FORWARD 229
Ohlone/Costanoan Efforts for Federal Recognition or Re-recognition 229
Heritage Resources Protection Since the 1970s 231
The Gaming Issue in Ohlone/Costanoan Territory 232
Ohlone/Costanoan Cultural Expression 233
Language Restoration Programs 235
Internal Group Dynamics and Inter-Group Tensions 236
Interaction and Non-Interaction with the GGNRA 237

CHAPTER 11. CONCLUSION: OHLONE/COSTANOAN CULTURAL AFFINITIES 239

TODAY'S OHLONE/COSTANOANS ARE UNIFIED AND DIVIDED 239

SEPARATE TRADITIONS ON MONTEREY AND SAN FRANCISCO BAY 240

THE MULTIPLE LEVELS OF CULTURAL AFFINITY 241

BIBLIOGRAPHY 245

GENERAL REFERENCES 245

ORAL INTERVIEW REFERENCES 281

APPENDIX A. J. P. HARRINGTON CHOCHENYO INTERVIEW EXCERPTS WITH COMMENTARY (BY RANDALL MILLIKEN) 285

Names Applied to People from Various Areas 285

Language and People of the East Bay 286

People and Languages at Missions South of Mission San Jose 289

Other People and Languages (Not Exhaustive) 289

APPENDIX B. SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA LOCAL TRIBES (BY RANDALL MILLIKEN) 291

Peninsula Groups along San Francisco Bay 291

Peninsula Groups along the Coast 292

Groups of the Mission Dolores-Mission Santa Clara Overlap Region 293

APPENDIX C. THE UNIQUE SOCIAL FORMATION OF THE MISSION SYSTEM (BY LAURENCE H. SHOUP) 295

Colonial Strategy for Territorial Control 295

Life and Death at the Missions 296

Mission Social Formation: A Special Form of Peonage 298

APPENDIX D. RACE, CLASS, AND VIOLENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD (BY LAURENCE H. SHOUP) 299

Race and Racialization 299

New Class System under the United States 300

Genocide and Enslavement 301

Somewhat Improved Conditions after 1870 304

APPENDIX E. OHLONE/COSTANOAN GROUPS AND FEDERAL RECOGNITION PROCESS (BY BEVERLY R. ORTIZ) 305

Costanoan Band of Carmel Mission Indians, Petition 110 305

Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe, Petition 111 305

Indian Canyon Band of Costanoan/Mutsun Indians, Petition 112 306

Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone/Costanoan Indians, Petition 120 306
Esselen/Costanoan Tribe of Monterey County, Petition 131 307
Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation, Petition 132 307
Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe, Petition 143 307
Costanoan Ohlone Rumsen-Mutsen Tribe, Petition 147 307

APPENDIX F: MULTI-PAGE TABLES DOCUMENTING THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE AT THE OHLONE/COSTANOAN MISSIONS AND ADJACENT MISSIONS TO THE NORTH (BY RANDALL MILLIKEN) 309

List of Tables

Table 1. Citation Codes for Mission Register References. 12
Table 2. Heuristic Concordence between Utian Languages and Selected Indo-European Languages. 35
Table 3. California Linguistic Group Names as Provided by Kroeber, Powers, Powell, and Merriam. 44
Table 4. Community Distribution Model Population Density Results for South Coast Range Regions (from Milliken 2006). 64
Table 5. Language Representation of the Indian Population at Mission Dolores for Selected Years between 1790 and 1834. 108
Table 6. Counts of Mission Dolores Neophytes Living at Various Missions at the End of 1823, by Language and Local Tribe. 122
Table 7. Yearly Baptismal Counts for Tribally-born Indians, Mission-born Indian Infants, and Hispanic Infants at Five Bay Area Missions between 1818 and 1848. 134
Table 8. Language Representation of Tribal Converts at the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-speaking Populations. 136
Table 9. Indians from all Locations Living in West-Central California Counties, as Reported in the U.S. Census, 1860-1930. 179
Table 10. List of the Top 15 San Mateo County Landowners in 1860 (U.S. Census Office 1860B). 188
Table 11. Age and Sex Structure of 68 California Indians at the Bernal Rancho near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1870 Census (U.S. Census Office 1870B).. 198
Table 12. Age and Sex Structure of 34 California Indians at the Hearst Property near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1900 Census (U.S. Census Office 1900A). 199
Table 13. Age and Sex Structure of 180 California Indians in Monterey City and Monterey Township, as Listed in the 1880 Census (U.S. Census Office 1880B)..... 203
Table 14. Count by Tribe of California Indians Enrolled under the 1928 Jurisdictional Act Census While Living in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties (United States 1928). 206

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of the San Francisco Peninsula Study Area showing County Boundaries, Early Local Tribe Areas, and Key Golden Gate National Recreation Area Properties. 3
Figure 2. Map of the Outreach Areas of the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-Speaking Populations. 7
Figure 3. Map of the Present-Day Counties, Cities, and Landscape Features of the Maximal Study Area..... 8
Figure 4. A Portion of John Wesley Powell's 1891 Map of Linguistic Stocks of North America... 25
Figure 5. Kroeber's 1925 Map of Costanoan Language Areas and Villages. 27
Figure 6. Map Showing Levy's 1978 Interpretation of the Costanoan Language Boundaries..... 32
Figure 7. Kroeber's 1925 Map of the Native Linguistic Groups of California..... 38
Figure 8. Map of the Native Language Phyla and Isolates of Western North America. 39
Figure 9. Kroeber's 1939 [1931] Map of Culture Areas of Western North America. 52
Figure 10. Klimek's 1935 Map of Cultural Provinces in California..... 54
Figure 11. Jorgensen's 1981 Scattergram Showing Cultural Relationships among 172 Western North American Language Groups. 59
Figure 12. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas Around San Francisco Bay at the Time of Spanish Entry..... 88
Figure 13. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas of the Monterey Bay Area at the Time of Spanish Entry. 138
Figure 14. Spanish and Mexican Period Ranchos of San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.... 156
Figure 15. San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/Costanoan Pedro Evencio in 1894 (Age Unknown). 193

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the efforts of many people who helped bring this study to completion over the five years since 2002. First, we thank the following descendants of several early Ohlone/Costanoan village communities for taking time to share their perspectives about Ohlone/Costanoan identity, history, and cultural and political involvements with us: Hank Alvarez, Theodore M. Bonillas, Theodore W. Bonillas, Lisa Carrier, Tony Cerda, Andrew Galvan, Philip Galvan, Sabrina Garibay, Dorothy Lameira, Charlie Higuera, Edward Ketchum, Jakki Kehl, Valentin Lopez, Richard Miranda, Joseph Mondragon, Paul Mondragon, Ruth Orta, Patrick Orozco, Marie Bonillas Ronquillo, Ann Marie Sayers, Kanyon Sayers-Roods, Linda Yamane, and Irene Zwierlein. Their ancestors, as the first people of this land, are the foundation of humankind's history in the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay areas. We could not be more grateful that that they have shared their knowledge with us.

For assistance in our information-gathering efforts at their institutions, we thank the staffs at the Bancroft Library, California State Archives, California State Library, National Archives San Bruno Office, Northern Regional Library Facility in Richmond, San Francisco Archdiocese Archives, San Mateo County Recorder's Office, and San Mateo Historical Association Office in Redwood City. Catherine Callaghan, professor emeritus at Ohio State University, and Victor Golla, professor at Humboldt State University, provided input for the linguistic conclusions herein. Dr. Callaghan, especially, shared with us the results of her latest research on the Costanoan languages through extensive email correspondence. Larry Myers and Debbie Treadway of the Native American Heritage Commission in the California Governor's Office elaborated for us the Commission's role working with Ohlone/Costanoan people within the context of modern environmental laws. Alan Leventhal, historian of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, provided copies of archival documents pertaining to the tribe's emergence from the Mission San Jose experience and its modern history from the 1980s forward. The chapter concerning post-1928 history greatly benefited from access to newspaper clippings about contemporary Ohlone/Costanoan cultural involvements that were saved over many years and shared by the late Marion Steinbach, a Lafayette resident interested in California Indian history, and by Ned McKay, a former local park district public information officer.

We are also grateful to those who edited and produced this document. Dorine Waidtlow, wife of author Randall Milliken, and Suzanne Baker, wife of author Laurence H. Shoup, edited extensive sections of text to strengthen presentation and prose. The report was produced by Heather Baron and Tammara Norton of the Production Department at Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., in Davis, California. Tammara prepared original report maps from sketches by Randall Milliken. Heather did the final copy editing of the manuscript, then designed and set up the layout for the final document. Peter Mundwiller of Far Western designed the striking cover, with subtle additions by Tammara and Heather.

Finally, we thank Paul Scolari of the National Park Service, who envisioned this project, obtained the funds necessary to implement it, and guided it to completion. We appreciate Paul's patience over the years since 2002 as we researched and compiled the information necessary to address the complex and nuanced question of Ohlone/Costanoan cultural associations with Golden Gate National Recreation Area lands in San Francisco and San Mateo counties.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This study responds to a complex historical and anthropological question posed by the staff of the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA):

> Analyze and synthesize sources identifying the Ohlone/Costanoan tribal groups that inhabited [federal] parklands in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties prior to Spanish colonization, and… document the cultural ties among these earlier native people and members of the present-day community of Ohlone/Costanoans (Scolari 2002:4).

Today's Ohlone/Costanoan people are the descendants of speakers of six related Costanoan languages that were spoken in west central California, from San Francisco Bay to Monterey Bay, when Spanish missionaries and settlers arrived in the 1770s. The San Francisco Peninsula lands of the Golden Gate Recreation Area (GGNRA) are within the territory of one of those six languages, San Francisco Bay Costanoan. In this study we describe the prehistoric and contact-period culture of the San Francisco Bay Costanoans and compare their culture to the cultures of surrounding language groups (other Costanoan language groups and non-Costanoan language groups of adjacent west-Central California areas). We then trace the Mission Period history and modern history of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan descendants, as well as of the descendants of the other Costanoan language speakers. Finally, we assess the degree of historic cultural affinity among today's separate descendant groups, people variously called Ohlone/Costanoans, Ohlones, or Costanoans.

In preparing our response to the GGNRA's research question, we found ourselves examining multiple study areas and utilizing the perspectives of numerous intellectual disciplines. This opening chapter provides an overview of those overlapping study areas and research approaches. The first section provides a capsule history of the people whose cultural relationships we are asked to consider. The next section describes six levels of study area that we have woven together in our response to the question. Then follows a section that describes our single most important data set for the historic period, the Franciscan mission registers. The last section of this opening chapter lays out our report organization and provides general information about its multiple research approaches.

PAST AND PRESENT OHLONE/COSTANOANS

The San Francisco Peninsula is a 35 mile long spur of land, bordered on the west by the Pacific Coast, on the east by San Francisco Bay, and on the north by the

Chapter 1. Introduction

This study responds to a complex historical and anthropological question posed by the staff of the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA):

> Analyze and synthesize sources identifying the Ohlone/Costanoan tribal groups that inhabited [federal] parklands in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties prior to Spanish colonization, and… document the cultural ties among these earlier native people and members of the present-day community of Ohlone/Costanoans (Scolari 2002:4).

Today's Ohlone/Costanoan people are the descendants of speakers of six related Costanoan languages that were spoken in west central California, from San Francisco Bay to Monterey Bay, when Spanish missionaries and settlers arrived in the 1770s. The San Francisco Peninsula lands of the Golden Gate Recreation Area (GGNRA) are within the territory of one of those six languages, San Francisco Bay Costanoan. In this study we describe the prehistoric and contact-period culture of the San Francisco Bay Costanoans and compare their culture to the cultures of surrounding language groups (other Costanoan language groups and non-Costanoan language groups of adjacent west-Central California areas). We then trace the Mission Period history and modern history of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan descendants, as well as of the descendants of the other Costanoan language speakers. Finally, we assess the degree of historic cultural affinity among today's separate descendant groups, people variously called Ohlone/Costanoans, Ohlones, or Costanoans.

In preparing our response to the GGNRA's research question, we found ourselves examining multiple study areas and utilizing the perspectives of numerous intellectual disciplines. This opening chapter provides an overview of those overlapping study areas and research approaches. The first section provides a capsule history of the people whose cultural relationships we are asked to consider. The next section describes six levels of study area that we have woven together in our response to the question. Then follows a section that describes our single most important data set for the historic period, the Franciscan mission registers. The last section of this opening chapter lays out our report organization and provides general information about its multiple research approaches.

PAST AND PRESENT OHLONE/COSTANOANS

The San Francisco Peninsula is a 35 mile long spur of land, bordered on the west by the Pacific Coast, on the east by San Francisco Bay, and on the north by the

mouth of the bay at the Golden Gate (Figure 1). At its northern tip today is the seven-mile by seven-mile City and County of San Francisco. The remainder of the Peninsula to the south now falls within San Mateo county, California. Perhaps half of the area still retains its pre-urban mosaic of open coastal terraces and douglas fir covered mountainous areas, but urban spread and bayshore fill have obliterated most of its lowland oak savannahs and bayshore tule marshes.

When Spanish explorers first entered the San Francisco Peninsula in late 1769, they encountered territorial groups that spoke the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. San Francisco Bay Costanoan was also spoken along the southern and eastern shores of San Francisco Bay. Other languages were spoken to the south of the San Francisco Bay Area and around San Pablo Bay, the northern arm of the San Francisco Bay estuary system. Some of those languages were closely related to San Francisco Bay Costanoan, while others were not. Irrespective of language differences, the local groups of west-central California shared similar hunting and gathering material cultures, similar political organizations, and similar world views.

The post-contact history of the specific native people of the San Francisco Peninsula begins as a robust one, then squeezes down to a single family. Spanish Franciscans founded Mission San Francisco de Asis (hereafter referred to by its colloquial name, Mission Dolores) on the north end of the Peninsula in 1776. By 1801 all of the native San Francisco Peninsula people had joined Mission Dolores. Over the next few years, speakers of other languages—Bay Miwoks from east of San Francisco Bay and Coast Miwoks, Patwins and Wappos from north of the bay—joined Mission Dolores, swelling its population to over 1,200 people. They intermarried with its San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and with one another. Although most of the northerners returned home when missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano were opened in the northern part of the San Francisco Bay Area, some remained at Mission Dolores. When the process of closing the missions began in 1834, the 190 members of the Mission Dolores Indian community included only 37 descendants of the original San Francisco Peninsula local groups.

Until recently, it was believed that the last known descendent of a native Peninsula group died in the 1920s. We have now learned that Jonathon Cordero, sociology professor at California Lutheran University, traces his family's roots back to Francisca Xavier, a San Francisco Bay Costanoan from the Aramai village of Timigtac, on the Pacific Coast just south of San Francisco.[1] From a wider perspective, hundreds of people are alive today who descend from local groups that spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language, but lived elsewhere around San Francisco Bay. Additionally, thousands of people trace their ancestry back to tribal speakers of Mutsun and Rumsen, two Monterey Bay Area languages of the same language family as San Francisco Bay Costanoan. The single-language family to which their ancestors all belonged has been labeled Costanoan since 1891, Olhonean (by a few) since the 1930s, Ohlone (by some) since 1978, and Ohlone/Costanoans (mainly by government agencies) since the early 1990s.

Today's Ohlone/Costanoans are not a single community in either the social sense or the political sense. They do not gather as a united body for holidays or traditional ceremonies. They do not recognize a single Ohlone/Costanoan leadership or corporate organization. And they do not all agree that all Costanoan language family descendants form a single ethnic group that should be called the Ohlone/Costanoan ethnic community. Instead, today's Ohlone/Costanoans are aggregated into a

[1] Francisca Xaviera, Jonathon Cordero's ancestor, was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1779 (SFR-B 95). There she married Jose Ramos, a blacksmith from Mexico, in 1783 (SFR-M 65). Her line passes down to the Corderos through their son, Pablo Antonio, born in 1785 (SFR-B 410).

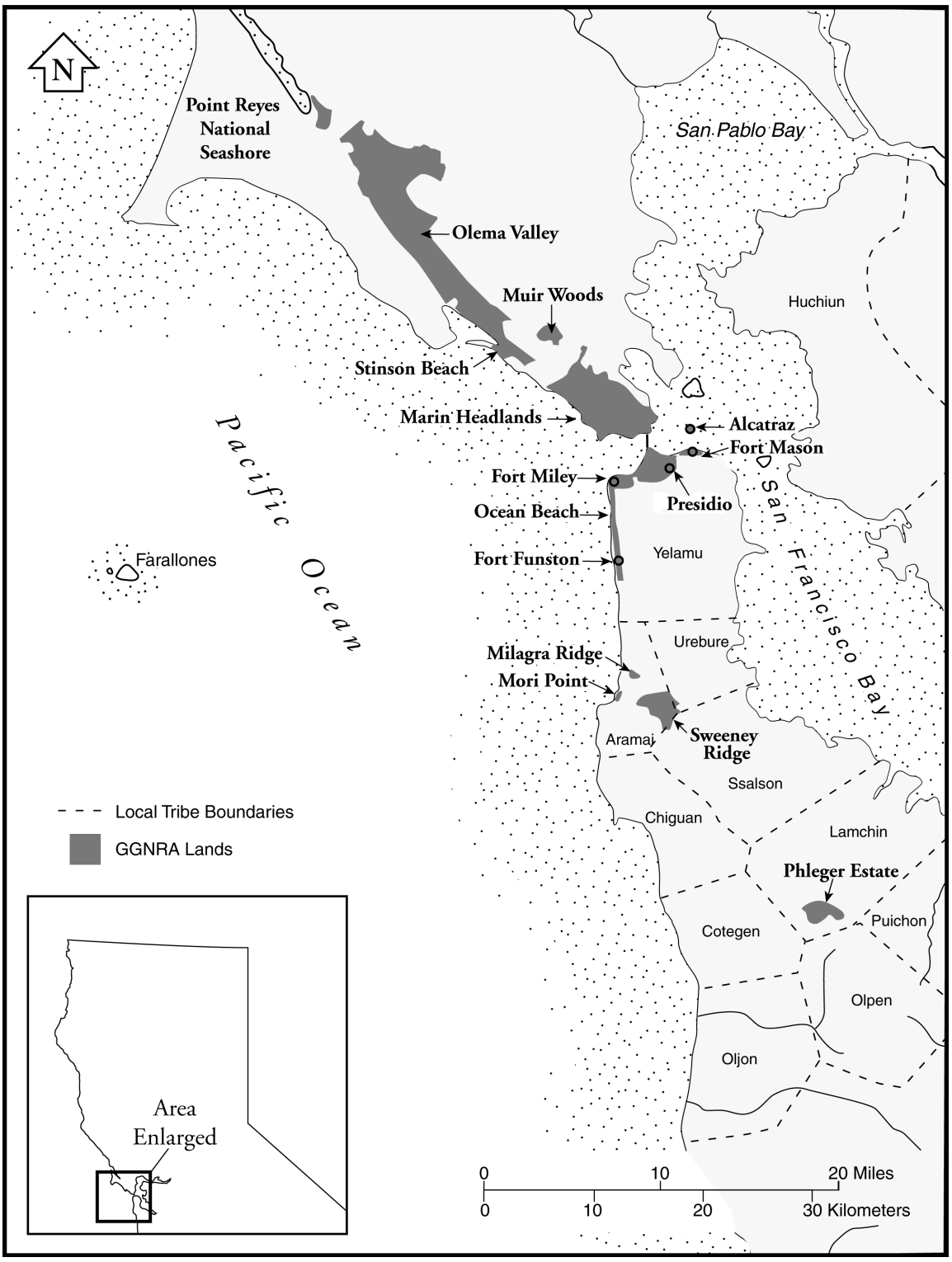

Figure 1. Map of the San Francisco Peninsula Study Area showing County Boundaries, Early Local Tribe Areas, and Key Golden Gate National Recreation Area Properties.

number of social, political, and family groups, each with a sense of community that their ancestors developed in the forges of experience at missions San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Carmel.

At Spanish contact there was a strong cultural separation between the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language communities and the Monterey Bay Costanoan language communities. Furthermore, a strong experiential separation between their descendent communities has continued from that time until today. In the following chapters we will present linguistic, ethnographic, archaeological, and historic evidence that leads us to these conclusions.

NESTED AND CROSS-CUTTING STUDY AREAS

In order to clarify the connection between the specific local groups that held GGNRA lands on the Peninsula and the scores of groups who supplied the ancestors of today's Ohlone/Costanoan people, our research approach makes use of six nested and cross-cutting study areas, as follows:

- The territories of local tribes that controlled GGNRA lands on the Peninsula
- The larger zones of social interaction within which the Peninsula local tribes participated.
- The combined home areas of all groups that moved to Mission Dolores to form a new social entity called the Doloreños.
- The full area where San Francisco Bay Costanoan, the language of the Peninsula local tribes, was spoken.
- The entire Costanoan language family area, from San Francisco Bay south to Monterey Bay and beyond.
- The combined homeland areas of all groups that moved to any of the seven Franciscan missions within the Costanoan language family area.

Because these six study area levels are key to this report, we discuss them separately in more detail below.

Local Tribe Territories with Present SF Peninsula GGNRA Parcels

This study documents the local groups that utilized GGNRA lands on the San Francisco Peninsula. Peninsula GGNRA lands are scattered in a number of separate parcels in present San Francisco and San Mateo counties. The largest parcel is the San Francisco Presidio, a former Spanish, Mexican, and United States military base that now lies within the City and County of San Francisco. Small holdings are found along the western shore of the city at Fort Miley, Ocean Beach, and Fort Funston. Further south, small GGNRA parcels exist in San Mateo County, including Milagra Ridge and Mori Point on the Pacific Coast, as well as Sweeney ridge and the Phleger Estate in the interior (see Figure 1). As of the year 2007, other small San Mateo County parcels are in the process of being added to the GGNRA land base, among them Cattle Hill in Pacifica, nearby Pedro Point, and Rancho Corral de Tierra a little further down the Pacific Coast.

At the Spanish arrival, the scattered GGNRA parcels were controlled by three separate independent local groups—the Yelamu, Aramai, and Lamchin local tribes. The nature of central California local tribes and the evidence for their territorial distribution will be described in Chapter 3. Suffice to say that each had its own headman and each controlled its own fixed territory (see Figure 1). The territories of the three local tribes are briefly described here:

Yelamu – The Yelamus, about 200 people, held the north end of the Peninsula, the current City of San Francisco. They spent much of the year divided among four village clusters (Chutchui-Sitlintac, Tubsinte-Amuctac, Petlenuc, and Yelamu), each cluster moving between winter and summer

villages in its own sub-territory. Yelamu lands included the San Francisco Presidio, Fort Mason, Fort Miley, Ocean Beach, and Fort Funston portions of the GGNRA, and perhaps Alcatraz Island as well.

Aramai – The Aramai people were an exceptionally small San Francisco Bay Costanoan group, probably no more than 50 people. They had two villages along the Pacific coast in the present areas of Rockaway Beach (Timigtac) and Pacifica (Pruristac). The Milagra Ridge, Mori Point, and Sweeney Ridge GGNRA parcels were within their territory.

Lamchin – The Lamchins were the largest of the three groups, probably about 350 people. Their lands in the south-central part of the Peninsula included the present cities of Redwood City and Woodside, as well as the Phleger Estate portion of the GGNRA. Their known villages, Cachanigtac, Guloisnistac, Oromstac, and Supichom, cannot be precisely located.

The Yelamu, Aramai, and Lamchin people were independent groups. They were called "tribelets" by anthropologist A. L. Kroeber (1932). We refer to them as "local tribes" throughout this report.[2] The implications of local tribe organization for community and culture will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Peninsula Social Interaction Spheres

Each San Francisco Peninsula local tribe was intermarried with its immediate neighbors, due to the fact that group populations were so low that they had to reach out to neighboring groups to find marriage partners for their young adults. The smaller the group, the greater the amount of outmarriage. We estimate that at least half of the married adults of the Yelamu people had been born and raised in neighboring group territories. The fraction born elsewhere was even higher for the tiny Aramai group of the Pacific Coast, while it was somewhat lower for the larger Lamchin group of the Woodside-Redwood City area. Intermarriage ties meant that each local tribe really had a strong degree of face-to-face "community" with its immediate neighbors.

We infer that the sphere of intermarriage of a group is equivalent to its "social interaction sphere." The social interaction spheres of any region overlapped, since they existed from the points of view of each of the small adjacent groups. The Yelamu social interaction sphere reached across San Francisco Bay to the present Oakland-Richmond area. The Aramai social interaction sphere included all their central and northern Peninsula neighbors, including the Yelamus. The social interaction sphere of the more southerly Lamchins included the central Peninsula and areas south to present Mountain View and San Gregorio.

Mission Dolores Outreach Zone

The histories of the San Francisco Peninsula people after Spanish contact became inter-twined with the histories of a much wider group of neighbors than just the people of their orignial social interaction spheres. During the 1790-1822 period native people moved to Mission Dolores from as far north as Point Reyes and the Petaluma River on the Marin Peninsula, from the Sonoma and Napa valleys, and from the Vacaville vicinity of the western Sacramento Valley. Others went to Mission Dolores from the shores of the East Bay and the interior Diablo Valley further east. The migrants came from local tribes that spoke the Coast Miwok, Wappo, Patwin, Bay Miwok, and

[2] The term "tribe" has many different meanings to historians, sociologists, lawyers, European social anthropologists, and American cultural anthropologists, and thus has lost its value for technical studies (Colson 1986; Fried 1975). Kroeber's (1932) term "tribelets" is considered a pejorative by many California Indian people, because its deminutive structure suggests weakness or unimportance to some. Thus we call the independent polities "local tribes" in this report.

Karkin Costanoan languages, as well as a few who spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as the San Francisco Peninsula people (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

At Mission Dolores the native people formed a new kind of community. Local tribes of diverse dialects and completely separate languages intermarried in patterns that would never have occurred prior to mission times. Members of the new mixed-language Mission Dolores community came to be known as the Doloreños, in contrast to the Clareños of Mission Santa Clara, the Chocheños of Mission San Jose, and the other mission-based groups farther south in California. For purposes of understanding the history of the Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula as they became part of the Doloreños, we devote attention in chapters 4 and 5 to the outreach area of Mission Dolores to the north and east of the San Francisco Peninsula (Figure 2).

San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language Area

San Francisco Bay Costanoan is a language represented by three dialects—Ramaytush, Chochenyo, and Tamyen—that were considered to have been separate languages until recently. The precise pre-mission distribution of the dialects can only be guessed, because existing language samples were gathered after the native people moved to the missions. The Ramaytush dialect may have reached down the Peninsula from the Golden Gate to Point Año Nuevo. The Chochenyo dialect was spoken along the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay, on the east shore of San Francisco Bay, and in the interior Livermore Valley of the East Bay. The Tamyen dialect was spoken in the Santa Clara Valley and in the surrounding hills.

Overall Costanoan Language Family Area

When we think of the Ohlone/Costanoans, we think of the people who once controlled all the lands from San Francisco Bay south to Monterey Bay, the Big Sur coast and the San Benito River drainage. In point of fact, those were the lands where six different Costanoan languages were spoken, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. In this report we will examine the cultures and histories of all of the Ohlone/Costanoans of that larger study area, although our primary focus will be upon the San Francisco Bay Costanoans.

Our eastern boundary for this Costanoan language family area is significantly different from the boundary portrayed in the standard references. Kroeber (1925) and Levy (1978a) placed the eastern boundary of the Chochenyo, Tamyen, Mutsun, and Chalon dialects and languages along the central crest of the South Coast ranges, giving Yokuts-language groups the watersheds that drained east into the San Joaquin Valley. We follow the results of the senior author's personal name distribution study that showed that the eastern Coast Range groups were probably Costanoan speakers (Milliken 1994). The history of language territory mapping, which has always been based upon very small amounts of data, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

Central California Comparative Culture Study Area

Some San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking local tribes had overlapping social and marriage networks with neighboring Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, and Delta Yokuts-speaking groups, and thus shared genetic relationships with them, and probably some cultural relationships as well. Farther south, the easternmost Mutsun and Chalon-speaking groups had traditional marriage and cultural ties with Yokuts-speaking neighbors, while the westernmost Chalons and the southernmost Rumsen speakers were intermarried with speakers of the Esselen language.

Many of today's Ohlone/Costanoans are also descendants of people from Esselen, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, or Wappo language communities, through intensified inter-group marriage that would not have taken place prior to the Mission Period. The nature of the language mixes and outreach areas varied from north to south at the missions that took in Costanoan language family members.

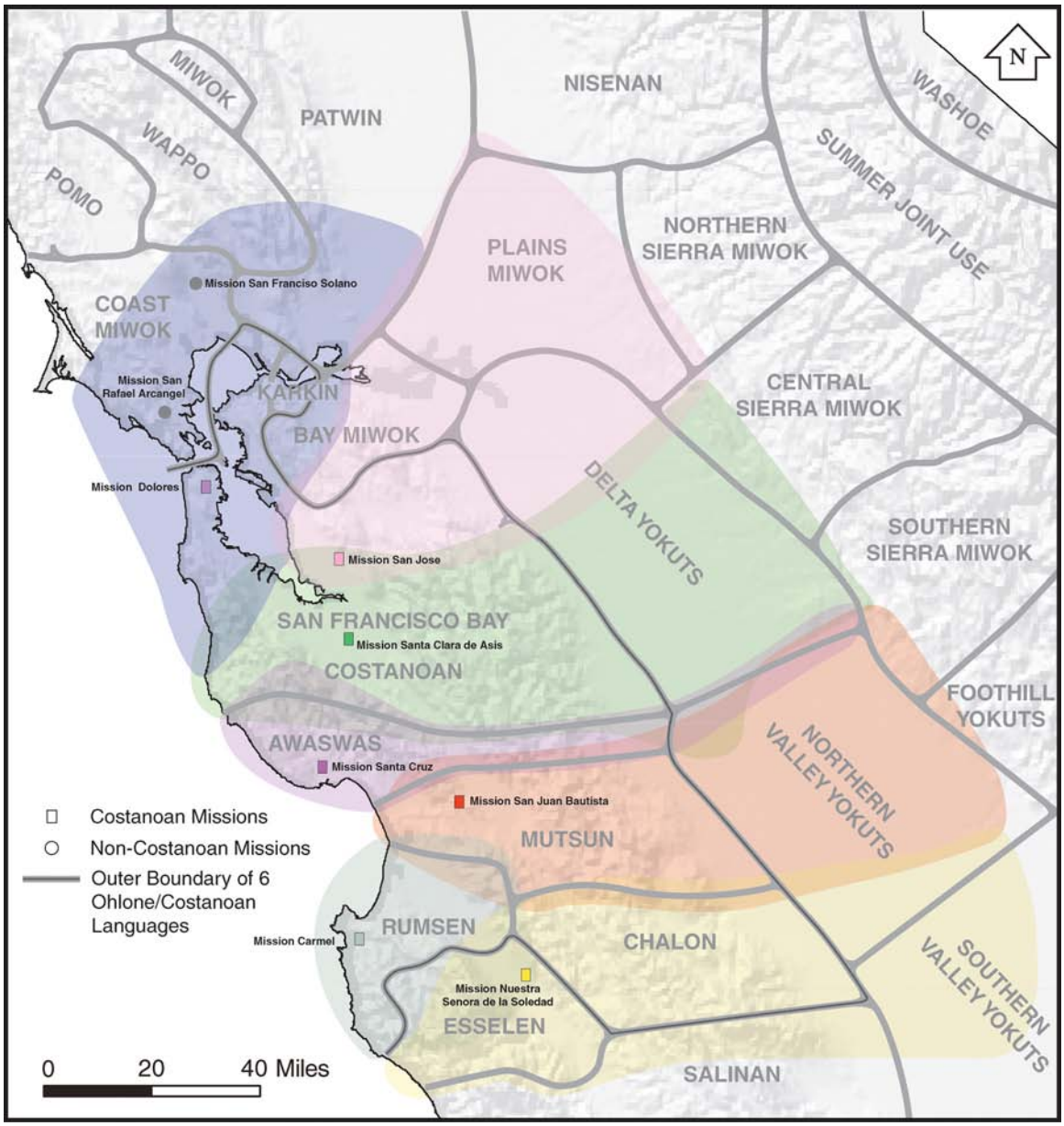

Figure 2. Map of the Outreach Areas of the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-Speaking Populations.

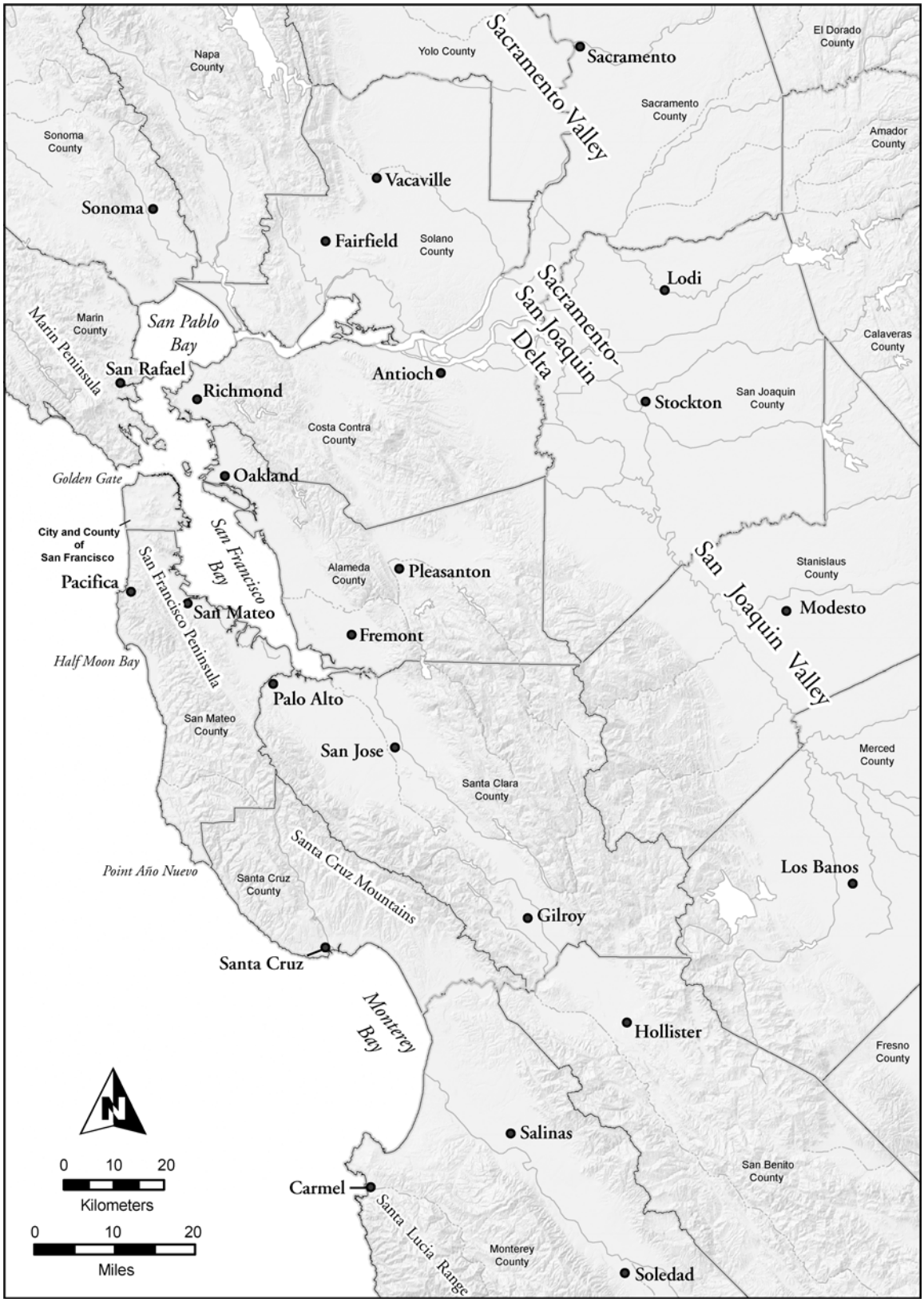

Figure 3. Map of the Present-Day Counties, Cities, and Landscape Features of the Maximal Study Area.

- At Mission Dolores, some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Wappos, Patwins, and Bay Miwoks mixed together to become a new social entity, the Doloreños, by the 1830s.
- At Mission San Jose some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Patwins, Plains Miwoks, and Delta Yokuts intermarried to become the Chocheños.
- At Mission Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista various Costanoan language groups mixed with Yokuts groups to become the Clareños, Cruzeños, and Juaneños, respectively.
- At Mission Carmel, Rumsen Costanoans and Esselens became the Carmeleños.
- At Mission Soledad other Esselens mixed with Chalon Costanoans and Yokuts to become the Soledeños.

Thus, for purposes of cultural, genetic, and historic analysis, our maximal study area includes the lands of all native people who moved to any mission in Ohlone/Costanoan lands (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

MISSION REGISTERS AND ORAL INTERVIEWS: KEY PRIMARY SOURCES

Wherever possible, the facts about Ohlone/Costanoan prehistory, ethnography and history presented in this report derive from primary sources.[3] The conclusions reached emerge from interpretation of those facts. The primary sources include traveler's diaries, ethnographer's field notes, newspaper articles, census documents, Franciscan mission registers, and oral interviews with living Ohlone/Costanoans. The latter two sources—mission registers and oral interviews—are especially important and deserving of special introductory discussion here.

Mission Registers for Ethnogeography and Family History

The Franciscan missionaries of early historic California tracked all of the Indian people they baptized, all the marriages they performed, and all the deaths of Christians attached to their communities in their register books. Those mission ecclesiastical register books are key historic archival sources for this report. The registers contain the only comprehensive evidence for:

- reconstructing the geographical distribution of native local tribes,
- tracking the mission history of tribal groups, and
- documenting the native genealogies of modern Ohlone/Costanoans.

The mission registers followed standard formats. Each entry was dated and given a unique sequential identification number. For baptisms, the missionaries entered the Spanish name and age of each baptized person, whether that person was a tribal Indian adult, a mission-born Indian child, or the child of a Spanish soldier. Beyond basic date, "serial number," name, and age, individual missionaries varied in what they wrote about baptized individuals. Luckily for the study of ethnogeography and family genealogy, most missionaries included the name of the *ranchería* (community) of any Indian person they baptized, and the names of the parents of infants and youths.

[3] Primary and secondary sources regarding the Ohlone/Costanoans published prior to 1997 are described in *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide* (Teixeira 1997). Many of those sources are cited in this report, as are numerous sources published since 1996.

Studies using mission registers fall into two classes, aggregative studies and family reconstitution studies. Aggregative studies build summary counts of population changes for identifiable groups of people over time, to track the general history of a mission and the tribes that surrounded it. Sherburne Cook was the first scholar to use "aggregative" statistics from the mission records in studies of central California Indian history. He introduced systematic study of demographic trends, derived from mission registers, together with analysis of Spanish and Mexican period military reports, to detail the decline in native populations and the negative aspects of communal life in the California missions (Cook 1940, 1943a). Cook carried out only one study focusing in detail on a portion of the San Francisco Bay Area; it was entitled "The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Counties, California" (Cook 1956). More recently Robert Jackson has carried out aggregative demographic studies of Indian populations at some missions in Ohlone/Costanoan territory (Jackson 1983, 1984, 1994, 2002; Jackson and Castillo 1995).

Recent family reconstitution studies yield more detailed information about early local tribes and individuals than can be garnered through aggregative statistics. The family reconstitution approach links together references about individuals, their parents, and their children scattered in numerous mission ecclesiastical registers, in order to document individuals' lengths of life, numbers of marriages, numbers of children, and ages at baptism, marriages, and death.[4] Demographic patterns are then constructed from the data about individuals. Family reconstitution was first applied to California mission data sets by Chester King in the early 1970s. Working with the Mission Santa Clara registers, he carefully catalogued and cross-referred information about all individuals from a number of local rancheria districts to reconstruct the geographical locations of the districts within the northern Santa Clara Valley (King 1974, 1977, 1978a). In 1981 the senior author of this report completed a study of inter-village relations for the Rumsen local group of the Carmel Valley, also utilizing kinship chart reconstruction (Milliken 1981). In 1983 Milliken documented the locations and intermarriage patterns of local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula using the family reconstitution method together with kinship charting (Milliken 1983).

Mission Studies Using Computer Databases

By the mid-1980s, computer databases were becoming key tools for family reconstitution studies that cross-refer thousands of bits of information scattered through separate mission registers. Milliken used computer punch card sets to process information about the first 800 baptisms at Mission Carmel for his Rumsen study (Milliken 1981). Milliken (1983) also made punch cards for the first 1,800 baptisms at Mission Dolores and used the data in *The Spatial Organization of Human Population on Central California's San Francisco Peninsula at the Spanish Arrival,* a master's thesis at Sonoma State University. Milliken moved his Mission Carmel and Mission Dolores data from punch cards to a dBASE database format on a desktop computer in the early 1980s as well. He continued to expand the Mission Dolores database in the late 1980s to include information on over 5,000 individuals. He also developed separate databases for Mission San Jose, Mission Santa Clara, Mission San Juan Bautista, and Mission Santa Cruz during the late 1980s.[5] The expanded Mission Carmel database was used to construct kinship charts for people from rancherias whose members went to

[4] The family reconstitution technique was developed in the 1960s by the French social historian Louis Henry (1980) and English historical demographer S. A. Wrigley (1966).

[5] Also during the 1980s, John Johnson (1982, 1988) moved Gary Coombs' punch card data from Chumash area mission registers onto an electronic database, then expanded it into a single database for the six Chumash missions. He used that database to apply quantitative techniques to the examination of inter-village social relationships among Chumash of the Santa Barbara Channel (Johnson 1988:248-280).

Mission Carmel from Esselen-speaking areas in the northern Santa Lucia Range and the Salinas River Valley (Milliken 1990).

For his 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, Milliken used the San Francisco Bay Area databases to document San Francisco Bay Area local tribe locations. The ethnogeographic reconstruction relied upon indirect methods, since very few groups were explicitly located in mission record entries. Groups were located using "domino" inferences about distance from missions and analysis of intermarriage patterns to identify contiguous groups, following principles of ethnogeography first elucidated by James Bennyhoff (1961). Milliken's 1991 dissertation also detailed the history of local group migration to missions Dolores, Santa Clara, and San Jose between 1777 and 1810 (Milliken 1991). It was subsequently published as *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Milliken 1995). During the same time period, Chester King (1994) applied family reconstitution methods to a computer database of Mission Santa Cruz register data to examine inter-group marriage patterns in the Santa Cruz mountains.

No study, prior to the current one, has used mission register information to follow the histories of any west-central California Indian people from Spanish-contact times to today. The only study to do so anywhere in California was recently completed for the Santa Barbara and Ventura County area by Sally McLendon and John Johnson. McLendon and Johnson (1999) worked with a six-mission database that included information on all baptized Indian people from Chumash territories between missions San Fernando and San Luis Obispo to document the genealogical relationships between the Spanish-contact Chumash and the Chumash people of the late twentieth century in a report to the National Park Service entitled *Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains*.

Enhanced Mission Register Databases for this GGNRA Study

The current study relies upon two consolidated computer databases, one for areas from Santa Cruz south to San Miguel on the central Coast, the other for areas from Santa Clara north to Sonoma, including all of the San Francisco Bay Area. Together, the two databases incorporate the mission register information from all missions that took in speakers of any Costanoan language (see Figure 2). They maximize access to aggregative and family reconstitution data about Indian people in their areas, from the time of Spanish contact through 1850. After 1850 it becomes very difficult to track most Indian families, because some started attending a variety of newly founded Catholic churches, some stopped attending church entirely, and some moved to other areas in California.

Among the many useful analyses rendered feasible by the consolidated computer databases, the following are most important for this study:

- Determination of home villages and local tribes for people whose villages were not listed in their baptismal records. Their home groups are discovered through the reconstruction of their family links, because the home village was almost always listed for the first baptized member of a family.
- Determination of survival rates of descendants of various local groups from one generation to the next, through linkage between baptismal records and death records.
- Documentation of the changing intermarriage rates of people from ever more distant local tribes at the missions, by matching marriage records that often lack home tribe information to baptismal records that usually do list that information.

Much of the data entry for the computer database used in this study had been carried out between 1978 and 1994. However, the following additional steps were undertaken as part of the current project:

- Upgrading existing Mission Dolores baptism/death database and marriage database for the period 1776-1852, through correction of mistaken and incomplete records.
- Additional data entry for two missions in Ohlone/Costanoan lands—Santa Cruz and San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel)—to bring them up to the year 1827, and initiation of a Soledad database with all baptisms and marriages entered up to 1830.
- Initiation of databases for two missions in lands just north of the Ohlone/Costanoan area—Missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)—in order to improve understanding of Mission Period movement of Indian people back and forth among all the missions around San Francisco Bay. Baptisms, marriages, and deaths for the two missions were entered up through 1840.
- Completing cross-links for Indian people who transferred from one mission San Francisco Bay Area mission to another, up through 1840. These cross-links include death-to-baptism links, marriage-to-baptism links, and parent-to-child links.

Computerized indices are now available for the 25,500 tribal individuals who were baptized at Franciscan missions established in Ohlone/Costanoan lands. Of those 25,500 individuals, approximately 12,000 spoke one or another Costanoan language. The other 13,500 individuals, speakers of non-Costanoan languages, migrated to the missions from more distant areas.

Specific entries from central California mission registers are cited in the text of this report in a three part format that includes letters standing for a specific mission, a letter standing for the type of register, and the unique sequential number supplied in the register in question for the specific entry. Letter codes for specific mission registers are listed in Table 1. An example of a citation that will occur in this report is SFR-B 365, the Mission San Francisco (Dolores) baptismal entry in 1784 for Romualdo Guimas, the headman of the Yelamu people of the northern San Francisco Peninsula. Another example is SFR-D 3516, the Mission Dolores death register entry in the year 1814 for Romualdo Guimas' wife, Viridiana Huitenac, a Huchiun from the east side of San Francisco Bay.

Table 1. Citation Codes for Mission Register References.

MISSION	BAPTISMS	MARRIAGES	DEATHS
San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel)	SCA-B ____	SCA-M ____	SCA-D ____
Santa Clara	SCL-B ____	SCL-M ____	SCL-D ____
Santa Cruz	SCR-B ____	SCR-M ____	SCR-D ____
San Francisco (Dolores)	SFR-B ____	SFR-M ____	SFR-D ____
San Francisco Solano	SFS-B ____	SFS-M ____	SFS-D ____
San Jose	SJO-B ____	SJO-M ____	SJO-D ____
San Juan Bautista	SJB-B ____	SJB-M ____	SJB-D ____
San Luis Obispo	SLO-B ____	SLO-M ____	SLO-D ____
San Rafael	SRA-B ____	SRA-B ____	SRA-D ____
Soledad	SOL-B ____	SOL-M ____	

Project Oral Interviews

We carried out a series of oral interviews during 2002 through 2004 with Ohlone/Costanoans who have worked with the GGNRA staff regarding planning and interpretive issues and with other publically active Ohlone/Costanoans. The interviews were designed to expand the voice of the Ohlone/Costanoan community in regard to the ideas that we grapple with in this report:

1. Whether and how Ohlone/Costanoans utilize, or would like to utilize, GGNRA park lands for traditional and contemporary cultural purposes;

2. What kind of responsibility Ohlone/Costanoans feel for the San Francisco Peninsula lands and how that sense of responsibility evolved in their life; and
3. Ohlone/Costanoan attitudes in the debate between a "coalesced pan-Ohlone" and a "locally-oriented regional groups" approach to contemporary Ohlone/Costanoan political and cultural life.

Where permission was granted by the participants, tapes and transcriptions of the interviews have been placed with the archives of the GGNRA. The interviews provide a link between today's interviewees and the people of the future. Also, illustrative statements from the interviews have been woven into our discussion of contemporary Ohlone/Costanoan experiences and attitudes in Chapter 10.

REPORT AUTHORSHIP, ORGANIZATION, AND RESEARCH APPROACHES

The three authors, Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, each contributed their specific expertice to the development and production of this report. Chapters 1-8, dealing with report organization and research themes prior to the year 1846, were researched and written by Randall Milliken. Chapter 9, addressing the 1847-1927 period, was researched and written by Shoup, then edited to the standard format by Milliken. Chapter 10, documenting the Ohlone/ Costanoans from 1928 until today, was researched and written by Beverly Ortiz, with text input from Shoup and editorial input from Milliken. Concluding Chapter 11 was written by Randall Milliken in consultation with Shoup and Ortiz.

The National Park Service asked us four related research questions that elaborate on the overarching question quoted at the outset of this chapter. The four questions deal with different time periods and call for different mixes of source materials and research approaches. Thus they are addressed in different parts of the report. In subsections below we repeat the four questions and point to the specific chapters and appendices that address them.

Chapters 2-3: Native Languages and Cultures

The National Park Service's first scoping question relates to the nature of pre-Western native culture. It reads:

> Evaluate relevant published, unpublished, and archival material (archeological, linguistic, anthropological, ethnographic, historical, archival, etc.) describing the presence of American Indian cultures in the San Francisco Bay Area, and the emergence of the Ohlone/Costanoan culture.

To characterize the native cultures at Spanish contact, and to evaluate the degree to which there ever was a single Ohlone/Costanoan culture, we bring together in chapters 2 and 3 research work in the disciplines of cultural anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology. We also bring in evidence gathered through the methods of ethnohistory and historical demography, hybrid disciplines that ask anthropological and demographic questions of archival data normally studied by historians.

Chapter 2 examines the native languages and language families of west-central California. It documents how linguistic evidence was gleaned by Spanish explorers and missionaries, by early world travelers, and by field linguists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (The work of one of the field linguists, J. P. Harrington, is especially important for the study of San Francisco Bay Area linguistics; Appendix A includes excerpts about those linguistic relationships from his field notes.) Chapter 2 illustrates how anthropologist A. L. Kroeber provisionally linked the areas of outreach of specific missions to the poorly documented boundaries between different Costanoan languages. The chapter then summarizes research by linguists since 1960 that has resulted in a differentiation of six Costanoan languages as different from one another as Spanish and Italian. Chapter 2 ends with a

detailed discussion of the history of language naming, with specific reference to the terms Costanoan, Olhonean, and Ohlone.

Chapter 3 reviews the cultural patterns that were in place at the time of Western intrusion into central California. The chapter relies upon the methods of ethnohistory, historical demography, archaeology, and historical linguistics. A section on material and social culture is based on passing comments by Spanish explorers and early missionaries, interpreted within the context of field ethnographic material from other parts of California. (Field ethnographic notes are not a key component of this study because there were no practicing field ethnographers in the period when the small-scale gatherer-based cultures were transformed into state-controlled agricultural cultures by the mission system.) We next address cultural geography, the distribution of local tribes, their population densities, and their intermarriage patterns, using data supplied from mission register analysis. With the Spanish-contact culture considered, we turn to evidence from archaeological and linguistic prehistory to study the prehistoric developments that led to the linguistic and cultural variation in place at Spanish contact. We end Chapter 3 with a summary section highlighting significant cultural differences between the Ohlone/Costanoans of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas.

Chapters 4-7: Transforming Effects of the Mission System

The National Park Service's second scoping question relates to history and culture during the Mission Period.

> Evaluate sources that document the presence of Ohlone tribal groups on GGNRA lands in San Francisco and San Mateo counties and the consequences of Spanish colonialism and the mission system on these tribes.

Chapters 4-6 document the Mission Period histories of the local tribes of San Francisco and San Mateo counties and the people with whom they mixed at Mission Dolores.

- Chapter 4 describes the first contacts of tribal people with the Spaniards (between 1769 and 1775), and the first years of Mission Dolores (1776-1800). It concludes with an overview of the rapid cultural changes already in place by the year 1800. (Data about each specific Peninsula local tribe, mainly from mission register sources, is set aside in Appendix B because the detailed material impedes the historic story line of the chapter.)
- Chapter 5 focuses on Mission Dolores between 1801 and 1817, as the San Francisco Bay Costanoan population shrank and large numbers of people from other language groups, predominately Coast Miwoks, moved to the mission.
- Chapter 6 covers the period from 1817 until secularization (the closing of the mission as a Franciscan-run Indian community) in 1834, a time during which the Mission Dolores population and language mix underwent rapid changes, caused by new migrations from north of San Francisco Bay and by transfers to two new missions in that northern area.
- Chapter 7 turns to a larger study area; it summarizes the histories of Indian people at the six other missions in the overall Ohlone/Costanoan territory through 1834.

History and ethnohistory are the main research approaches of chapters 4-6 and the Franciscan mission registers are the key sources. Both aggregative and family reconstitution-based mission register studies are used to track the histories of specific local tribes and the emergence of their descendants into the mixed-language mission-based social groups. The mission register information in the chapters is augmented by information from Spanish explorer and missionary diaries, missionary annual reports, and reports from world travelers during the Mission Period. By 1834, the data show, the pre-contact local tribes had been transformed into new social and cultural entities, the Doloreños of Mission Dolores, the Clareños of Mission Santa Clara, and the similarly named mixed-language groups at the more southerly Ohlone/Costanoan missions.

Chapters 8-10: Ohlone/Costanoans from the 1830s to Today

The third National Park Service scoping question asks us to track the history of Ohlone/Costanoan people from the close of the Mission Period to the present time

> Evaluate relevant published, unpublished, and archival material that documents the persistence of Ohlone populations in the San Francisco Bay Area after the demise of the missions, from about the 1830s-present, as well as the blending or assimilation of Ohlone populations with the ever-increasing non-native population of the San Francisco Bay Area during this period.

Our documentation of Ohlone/Costanoan history since the Mission Period is divided into three chapters that detail the sequential Mexican Rancho (Chapter 8), Early American (Chapter 9), and Recent American (Chapter 10) periods.

Chapter 8 examines the history of Indian people during the Mexican Rancho Period from 1834 to 1846. The methods of history and ethnohistory guide our research approach to this short period. Numerous memoirs and diaries of visitors to California during this period mention the local Indian population, but generally as part of the background, the ubiquitous labor force that supported Rancho life and commerce. The quality of the mission records deteriorated during this period, but mission records still supply our most accurate information about the few surviving descendants of the San Francisco Peninsula tribes and the other Indian families that continued to attend Catholic church after the missions were closed in the 1830s. Primary attention in Chapter 8 is given to the people of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language area, but overview material is included for Ohlone/Costanoan history in the Monterey Bay Area as well.

Chapter 9 describes the situation for Ohlone/Costanoans during the early American Period, from 1847 until 1928. (Appendix D provides contextual information about the treatment of Indians across California during the 1847-1880 period.) Late nineteenth-century documentation is poor. The American military took over central California in the summer of 1846. Catholic Church record-keeping and church attendance was disrupted for the remainder of the 1840s, obscuring patterns of baptism, marriage, and death for the local Indians. The Gold Rush brought hordes of new settlers, predominately Anglo-Americans, into central California in 1848 and succeeding years. They pushed the local Indian population to the margin of society. The few American civil records of the late nineteenth century were not careful in recording information about Indians. For example, many census takers in 1852 and 1860 counted Indians by the group, rather than listing them individually by name. Nevertheless, historian Laurence H. Shoup carefully examined all nineteenth-century census records for Bay Area counties for information about local Indian people. Shoup also examined early newspapers for accounts about San Francisco Bay Area Indians during the late nineteenth century, retrieving useful data.

The quality of historic information improves at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the parents of living Ohlone/Costanoans were alive. The history of the Indian people from 1900 to 1928 was reconstructed from family oral histories augmented by census records, more newspaper accounts, and notes of anthropologists who visited intact Indian communities in rural areas around the margins of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas. The interview material of J. P. Harrington not only provides information about the Indian people of the 1900-1928 period, but also about the middle and late nineteenth century, when most of Harrington's consultants had been young people.

Chapter 10 describes the recent history of Ohlone/Costanoans from 1928 until today. This is the period of the lifespan of elders who are alive today. For this time period we refer to published sources about Indian struggles for land reparations, to family and group histories published by Indian people themselves, and to information Indian people shared with Ortiz and Milliken during oral

interviews conducted for this report. We frame the beginning of the period with summary information on self-recognized Indian adults alive in 1928, as recorded in a 1928-1930 Bureau of Indian Affairs census of Indians who had ancestors from San Francisco, Contra Costa, Alameda, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Monterey counties. It concludes with descriptions of post-1982 Ohlone/Costanoan activities in the political and cultural arenas. (Appendix E details the current federal recognition petition status of eight Ohlone/Costanoan groups.)

Chapter 11: Ohlone/Costanoan Historic Cultural Affinity

The fourth and final specific National Park Service scoping question reiterates the general question quoted at the outset of this chapter.

> Document and describe the cultural ties (e.g., geographical, kinship, biological, archeological, linguistic, anthropological, folkloric, historical, oral tradition, or other relevant connections) among pre-European Ohlone populations who lived on present-day parklands in San Francisco and San Mateo counties and members of the present-day community of Ohlone.

Chapter 11 summarizes the evidence for cultural grouping and sub-grouping among all descendents of Costanoan speakers that emerged in the earlier chapters. It discusses the elements that come to play in the emergence of ethnic community and cultural identity within modern mass society. Further, it describes the conflicting and sometimes ambivalent points of view of modern Ohlone/Costanoan individuals regarding the complex question of Ohlone/Costanoan cultural history and identity.

* * *

In the pages to come, we point to archaeological, ethnographic, historical, and contemporary divisions between the Ohlone/Costanoan groups of the San Francisco Bay Area and those of the Monterey Bay Area. Be that as it may, there is no simple answer to the GGNRA question regarding the cultural affinity between today's various Ohlone/Costanoan groups and the early San Francisco Peninsula local tribes. We hope that the totality of this report presents the material in a way that allows National Park Service personnel to reach their own reasoned conclusions.

Chapter 2. Native Languages of West-Central California

This chapter discusses the native language spoken at Spanish contact by people who eventually moved to missions within Costanoan language family territories. No area in North America was more crowded with distinct languages and language families than central California at the time of Spanish contact. In the chapter we will examine the information that leads scholars to conclude the following key points:

- The local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan, the native language of the central and southern San Francisco Bay Area and adjacent coastal and mountain areas.
- San Francisco Bay Costanoan is one of six languages of the Costanoan language family, along with Karkin, Awaswas, Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon.
- The Costanoan language family is itself a branch of the Utian language family, of which Miwokan is the only other branch. The Miwokan languages are Coast Miwok, Lake Miwok, Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, Central Sierra Miwok, and Southern Sierra Miwok.
- Other languages spoken by native people who moved to Franciscan missions within Costanoan language family territories were Patwin (a Wintuan Family language), Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts (Yokutsan family languages), Esselen (a language isolate) and Wappo (a Yukian family language).

Below, we will first present a history of the study of the native languages within our maximal study area, with emphasis on the Costanoan languages. In succeeding sections, we will talk about the degree to which Costanoan language variation is clinal or abrupt, the amount of difference among dialects necessary to call them different languages, and the relationship of the Costanoan languages to the Miwokan languages within the Utian Family. In a final section of this chapter, we document the emergence of the alternative labels Olhonean and Ohlone for the Costanoan language family.

EARLY LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION

Father Palou on Monterey and San Francisco Languages

Franciscan missionary Francisco Palou penned the first commentaries about the native language of the San Francisco Peninsula at the time of Spanish contact. Palou arrived in California in the spring of 1773. He served for a year at Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Mission Carmel) before he accompanied the second Spanish

exploratory expedition to the San Francisco Peninsula, under Fernando Rivera y Moncada, in the fall of 1774. The expedition arrived in the Palo Alto area at the south end of the Peninsula on November 28,1774. There Palou heard words spoken by members of the local Puichon tribe that he recognized from Mission Carmel. He wrote:

> At two in the afternoon six heathen from the nearest village came to visit us, all unarmed.... I said to them in the language of Monterey a few things about God and heaven, but, although they were very attentive, I was not satisfied that they understood me, although when I spoke to them about other things they seemed to understand me, and when they spoke I understood many of their words, although I perceived that there was a great difference between the languages (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:265-266).

The Palo Alto area was not the only place where Palou wrote about vocabulary similarities between San Francisco and Monterey Bay local languages during the 1774 exploration. A few days later, among the Urebure people near the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula, he wrote:

> I again made them presents of beads and a little tobacco, and as soon as they saw it they called it by the same word as at Monterey, *savans*. They began to smoke, and I noticed in them the same ceremony of blowing the smoke upwards, repeating some words with each puff. I only understood one, *esmen*, which means sun.... We set out from the camp at half-past eight, and the heathen went to the beach of the bay, which they call *aguas*, in distinction from those of Monterey, who call it *calen* (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:278).

Then, on his way south along the Pacific Coast from the Golden Gate, on December 6, he wrote, "I observed that these people here did not understand the language of Monterey" (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:289). Palou clearly did not consider the Monterey Bay and San Francisco Peninsula languages to be the same.

Palou became the founding missionary at Mission Dolores in 1776. After spending nine years at the mission, he retired to Mexico in 1785 to write *The Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra*. In that work he equated the languages and cultures of the Indian peoples of Mission Santa Clara and Mission Dolores. "The natives are of the same language as those of the Port, with one or two very slight differences. They also have the same customs, as they are only fifteen leagues distant" (Palou [1786] in James 1913:214).

Linguistic Notes from Early Monterey

In the early 1770s, before any mission was constructed in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Franciscans came to realize that two completely distinct languages were spoken in the environs of Mission Carmel, at the south end of Monterey Bay. The earliest surviving written commentary about those two distinct languages, now called Rumsen Costanoan and Esselen, was penned by M. de Lamanon. Lamanon arrived at Monterey with the French La Perouse scientific expedition in 1786. He wrote:

> Monterey, and the mission which depends on it, includes the country of the Achastliens and the Ecclemachs…. The country of the Ecclemachs stretches out at more than twenty leagues to the east of Monterey; the language of its inhabitants differs absolutely from all those of their neighbors" (Lamanon [1786] in Broadbent 1972:53).

Lamanon's Achastliens are recognizable as the people of Achasta, one of five important villages of the Rumsen local tribe of the lower Carmel River vicinity. Lamanon's Ecclemachs were the local tribe of the mountainous upper Carmel River drainage. They were identified by that name in some early

Mission Carmel records, but were more commonly identified as "Excelens" in those records; their name has since been applied to the language that they spoke, Esselen.

In a 1789 Mission Carmel report, Franciscan missionaries Arenaza and Señán also contrasted the two major languages in the Monterey vicinity. They used different names for the two groups than had Lamonon in 1786.

> All the neophytes of this Mission lived (as the gentiles do now) in a large number of rancherias, usually containing a small number of people, with a captain who is arbitrarily chosen and removed… Nonetheless, to facilitate and make more expedient the government of the mission these days, they are considered as two Nations: the Rancherias of Eslanajan and of Rumsen. These two rancherias have different native languages, and both groups include various rancherias of their own language, with no substantial variation (Arenaza and Señán 1789).

In this quote we see the application of the names of specific local tribes to entire language groups. Arenaza and Señán elevated the term Rumsen, the name of the local tribe of the Monterey Peninsula and lower Carmel Valley (the people called Achastliens by Lamanon in 1786), to the name for the language spoken by the Rumsen local tribe and the neighboring Sargentaruc, Ensen, and Calendaruc local tribes. They elevated another local tribe name, that of the Eslenajan group of the later Mission Soledad area, to represent the second language spoken at Mission Carmel (which Lamonon had called Ecclemach). Rumsen continues to be the name linguists apply to the specific Costanoan language of the Mission Carmel vicinity, but Eslenajan has given way to Esselen as the name for the other language.

The priests at Mission Carmel developed a trilingual Rumsen-Esselen-Spanish manual of religious instruction. A copy of the *doctrina* was brought back to Spain by members of the Malaspina exploratory expedition, who visited Monterey in 1792. It has since been transcribed and published (Cutter 1990). One writer from the Malaspina expedition introduced the alternative spellings "Runsienes" and "Eslenes" for the Rumsen and Esselen languages (see Espinosa y Tello [1792] in Jane 1930:127-130), illustrating typical variation in representing foreign sounds with the written word.

The 1812 *Interrogatorio* Responses

The Spanish government sent an ethnographic questionnaire to civil and ecclesiastical authorities throughout its possessions in 1812. Question 3 in the questionaire reads, "Let them state what languages these people generally speak and if they understand any Spanish" (Geiger and Meighan 1976:19). By 1813, when the California missionaries received the questionaire, all seven of the missions built in Costanoan language family territory were in place. Responses were received from all of those missions.[6] Only two of the responses to the language question are particularly valuable for this study, those from Mission Dolores and Mission San Juan Bautista.

At Mission Dolores Fathers Ramon Abella and Juan Sainze de Lucio responded to Question 3 as follows:

> Excepting the native Indians all speak Spanish. Even many of the natives speak it. Five languages are spoken at this mission. The natives who have reached the age of thirty years and more never learn another language than their own (Abella and Sainz de Lucio [November 11, 1814], translated in Geiger and Meighan 1976:21).

[6] Due to historic circumstances, the California responses to the 1812 *Interrogatorio* never seem to have been sent back to Spain. Instead, they languished in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives until first published by A. L. Kroeber (1908), then republished with new commentary by Geiger and Meighan (1976).

Later evidence shows that the five languages at Mission Dolores were not merely local dialects of various San Francisco Peninsula local tribes. By 1814 Mission Dolores had a polyglot population consisting predominately of Coast Miwok speakers, with large numbers of Patwin speakers from the northeast, some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, some Bay Miwoks, and a few Karkin Costanoans.

The other important response, for purposes of linguistic studies, came from Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta at Mission San Juan Bautista. Father Arroyo, a native of northern Spain, had arrived in California to serve as a missionary at San Juan Bautista in 1808. He was to become an expert on local native languages and was to produce important linguistic documents on them. In his 1814 response to Question 3, Arroyo de la Cuesta pointed to gradual dialect change among neighboring groups of speakers of Costanoan languages.

> The Indians of this mission and of this region speak the language of the area where they were born. Though they appear to speak distinct languages this is only accidentally true; that is, some of the words are different only because of the manner of pronunciation, in some cases rough, in others agreeable, sweet and strong. Hence it is that the Indians living in a circumference of thirty or forty leagues [eighty to one hundred and ten miles] understand one another (Arroyo de la Cuesta [May 1, 1814], translated in Geiger and Meighan 1976:20-21).

In 1814, all of the local tribes at his mission, San Juan Bautista, were from Coast Range communities within 40 miles of that mission. Clearly, Arroyo de la Cuesta was emphasizing that they all spoke similar dialects, and that tribes at adjacent missions up to 110 miles away, i.e., as far north as Carquinez Strait, spoke dialects related to those at San Juan Bautista.

Arroyo de la Cuesta's Linguistic Studies

By the end of 1815, Father Arroyo de la Cuesta completed a grammar and a phrase book of the Mutsun language spoken by the Mutsun local tribe at Mission San Juan Bautista (1861, 1862). Notes in his phrase book indicate that all the Coast Range local tribes in the San Juan Bautista vicinity spoke dialects nearly equivalent to the Mutsuns.[7]

Arroyo de la Cuesta visited Mission Dolores on the San Francisco Peninsula in January of 1821, where he filled a portion of a notebook with vocabularies and notes about five distinct languages spoken there at the time—Karkin, Huchiun, Huimen, Saclan, and Suisun. Only the first two of the five languages have proven to represent the Costanoan language family.

The notes from Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1821 Mission Dolores visit include the first detailed proofs for similarities between Monterey and San Francisco Bay Costanoan languages. His initial entry during the visit contained a word list from Mariano Sagnegse from the Carquin local tribe of the northeast side of the San Francisco Bay estuary.[8] Regarding Mariano's language, Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote:

> I marveled to hear at this place numbers like those of the Mutsun of San Juan Bautista and I noted that the same fundamental language exists at San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista, San Carlos, and Soledad, as far as the

[7] Modern linguists have expanded the meaning of the word Mutsun from the name of the local tribe to a name for the language spoken in the San Juan Bautista region by such local tribes as the Ausaimas, Orestacs, and Pagsines, as well as the original Motssum local tribe.

[8] Mariano Antonio Sagnegse, listed by Arroyo de la Cuesta as his Karkin consultant, was baptized at Mission Dolores from the Carquin local tribe in 1810 at the age of 25 (SFR-B 3887).

> Chalones at this last. But it is so varied at each mission that it seems to be a distinct idiom at each. In reality this is not true, as anyone may see, and observe. This language is understood for 45 or 50 leagues from north to south. Now for the Karkin, which means 'to trade' (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

A list of 34 Karkin words and phrases follow this commentary.[9] From Arroyo de la Cuesta's word list and comments, Madison Beeler would be able to prove in 1961 that the Carquins were the northernmost speakers of any Costanoan language.

Following the Karkin word list, Arroyo de la Cuesta added additional commentary emphasizing the clinal nature of the language shifts from one Costanoan-speaking local tribe to another:

> The closer two rancherias are to one another, the closer the pronunciations seem in the one as the other, while the farther they are apart, the greater the discrepancies; but the mechanism, or syntax, seems to remain the same. So it is that in all the above-mentioned missions the language is post-positive. Regarding the above, enough (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Following that entry, Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote a preface to a word list obtained from Celso Tolecse, a man from the Huchiun local tribe. The Huchiuns were the immediate western neighbors of the Karkins on the east side of San Francisco Bay.[10]

> Juichun: the expressions given to me at the Mission of Our Father by Celso Tolecse, who is of the rancheria and language Juichun, on the 14th of January, 1821, with the permission of Fathers Jose and Blas (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Following the Huchiun word list, Arroyo added a surprising comment that initially seems to contradict his previous statements regarding gradual changes along the Costanoan language cline.

> Note: Now these words are more similar to those of the Mutsun of San Juan Bautista than they are to the Karkin, all [the words] being the same, in principal" (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's emphasis on the abrupt change between Karkin and Huchiun has been substantiated by later linguists, who consider Karkin to be an outlier among the Costanoan languages, a branch separate from all the others together.

Arroyo de la Cuesta added three more word lists in his notebook, following those for Karkin and Huchiun. Next in order was Saclan, which Arroyo knew to be a non-Costanoan language, but which was not recognized by linguists as a Miwok language until the middle of the twentieth century (Beeler 1955). Arroyo de la Cuesta wrote:

> Note well. This idiom [Saclan] has no connection with the Karkin, nor with the Juichun, nor with those of San Juan, Santa Cruz, San Carlos, etc., etc., but it is post-positive, as will be seen next .... [vocabulary list] .... Here is seen the Saclan, which I like very much, and it is post-positive. As I have said, at root Karkin and Juichun are one language, Saclan is another, entirely distinct (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-37:22-23).

---

[9] Arroyo de la Cuesta (1821-1837) used the letter "K" and coined the name "Karkin" for the language of Carquinez Strait. Few other Spanish priests of the early nineteenth century used the letter "K." Thus, the name always appeared as "Carquin" in mission register entries. One other priest did spell it "Karqin" throughout the Mission Dolores census of 1818-1822 (Merriam 1970:51).

[10] Celso Tolecse was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1794 at age seven (SFR-B 1434).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's next entry was a Suisun vocabulary supplied by Samuel Copitacse, a vocabulary that represents the Patwin language. At the end of that vocabulary, he mentioned the San Francisco Peninsula people in passing, calling them the Kakonda. He wrote:

> I conclude these [Suisun] phrases, which have no equivalents, neither in the graceful Saclan nor in the conspicuous Karkin, Juichun, nor in Kakonda (which is of the present mission), nor mayhaps [*ni acaso*] in the Huimen of the other side of the harbor, of which I am going to speak (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837:25-26).

Arroyo de la Cuesta applied the term "Kakonda" to the people of Mission Dolores itself, presumably the Yelamu group. Other evidence indicates that Kakonda means "Southerners" in San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Derivations of that word might be applied by any speaker to any local tribe to his or her south.[11] It is not surprising that Arroyo de la Cuesta did not take down a vocabulary from any Yelamu people. Only mission-born Yelamu descendents were still alive when Arroyo visited San Francisco in 1821.

The final vocabulary Arroyo de la Cuesta recorded at Mission Dolores in 1821 was taken from a member of the Huimen local group of the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula. The introduction to that word list developed out of the concluding quote on Suisun that is transcribed above. It reads:

> [The Suisun words have no equivalents in] … Huimen, of the other side of the port, of which I am going to speak, and is very common at this mission of Our Patron Saint Francis of Asisi and is completely distinct from the three idioms that I have just written down (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821-1837:25-26).

Arroyo de la Cuesta's Huimen word list represents the Coast Miwok language.

In conclusion, Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta gathered the evidence necessary to prove that five separate languages were spoken at Mission Dolores by January of 1821. They were San Francisco Bay Costanoan (Huchiun), Bay Miwok (Saclan), Patwin (Suisun), and Coast Miwok (Huimen), and the geographically limited Karkin Costanoan. His Mission Dolores evidence would not be used by linguists or ethnogeographers, however, for another 130 years.

PHILOLOGICAL STUDIES OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES

The first formal classification of the native languages of North America was proposed by Albert Gallatin in 1836. He did not have the various Spanish sources at hand and thus his system did not include any California languages (Goddard 1996:290-291). The first American philologist to collect any native California language word lists was Horatio Hale of the 1838-1842 United States Exploring Expedition into the Pacific. Among the word lists he collected was one from a member of the Costanoan language family, a short Chalon language vocabulary taken at Mission Soledad in 1842. It was published in 1846 in Hale's *Ethnography and Philology*, the sixth and last volume of a series of reports from the expedition.

---

[11] The term Kacunda appears in an 1832 Mission San Francisco Solano death record of Hipolito Gilac, to whit: "Hipolito … the interpreter of the three languages that predominate at the mission, I mean to say four, which are Kacunda, Petaluma, Suisun, and Huiluc" (SFS-D 443, entry by Buenaventura Fortuny). Petaluma, Suisun, and Huiluc refer to languages now called Coast Miwok, Patwin, and Wappo, respectively. Much later, J.P. Harrington (1921-1929:286) was told by a Chochenyo Costanoan speaker that "Kakontush" meant "southerners" in the East Bay Chochenyo Costanoan language (see Appendix A).

Hale was followed to California by a number of linguists and agents for linguists during the initial American Period. The information they gatherered, together with the information from the Spanish period, has led to the language classifications that are accepted today. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century efforts to collect and classify Costanoan language family material are described below in this section.

The Mission Dolores Romonan Vocabulary of 1850

The first and only recorded native San Francisco Peninsula vocabulary was obtained at Mission Dolores in 1850 by Adam Johnson. Johnson was the newly arrived Indian Agent for the United States government in 1850. He gathered a vocabulary of the native language of Mission Dolores from mission native Pedro Alcantara. Philologist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft published the vocabulary in 1853, along with the following contextual information provided by Johnson:

> The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the mission of Dolores, were five in number: the *Ah-wash-tes*, *Ol-hones*, (called, in Spanish, Costanos, or Indians of the Coast) *Al=-tah-mos*, *Ro-mo-nans*, and *Tu-lo-mos*. There were, in addition to these, a few small tribes, but all upon the land extending from the entrance to the head [southern end-ed.] of San Francisco Bay, spoke the same language.[12]
>
> At the time of the establishment of the mission these tribes were quite numerous.
>
> The information contained in this was obtained from an aged Indian at the mission of Dolores, named Pedro Alcantara. He is a native of the Romonan tribe, and was a boy when the mission was founded (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853:506).

Through sound correspondence, we argue that Pedro Alcantara's list includes three of the four northern San Francisco Peninsula tribes identifiable from the mission records—the Yelamus, alias Aguazios, of San Francisco (Ah-wash-tes), the Ssalsons of San Mateo, who had a key village called Altagmu (Al-tahmos), and the Aramai of Pacifica (Romonans). The small Urebure group of the northern Peninsula is missing from the list. Of Alcantara's other two groups, his Ol-hones are clearly recognizable as the Oljones of the San Mateo County coast at San Gregorio. Only his Tu-lo-mos, perhaps a reference to "Tulare" or Yokuts people of California's Central Valley, are not recognizable as a local San Francisco Peninsula group.

This cover note for Pedro Alcantara's "Romonan" vocabulary led to the formulation of two subsequent labels for the language family it represented, Costanoan and Olhonean. Schoolcraft extracted the term "Costano" from Johnson's note and used it as the name of Pedro Alcantara's language. It became the basis for Costanoan, the name later used by linguists for the family of languages that included that of Pedro Alcantara.[13] Another of the names on Schoolcraft's list from

---

[12] Schoolcraft (1853) published the Spanish word *Costaño* without the tilde over the letter "n." We did not attempt to find Adam Johnson's original 1850 letter, probably in the National Archives, in order to find out how he spelled the word.

[13] Pedro Alcantara was born in 1789 at Mission Dolores to newly baptized San Francisco Peninsula parents (SFR-B 553). Adam Johnson wrote that he was from the Romonan tribe, which we suggest represents the "Aramai" group of the present Pacifica, just down the Pacific coast from San Francisco. Pedro Alcantara's father was stated at his own baptism to have been from the Cotegen, a local tribe further down the Pacific Coast at Purisima Creek (SFR-B 534). Pedro's mother was baptized as a Yelamu from the immediate Mission Dolores vicinity (SFR-B 535). All three groups represent the original San Francisco Peninsula people.

Adam Johnson—Ol-hones—became the root for the labels Olhonean and Ohlone, two recent alternative names for the Costanoan language family.

Costano and Mut-sun, 1860-1877

Robert Gordon Latham, one of the great philologists of the mid-nineteenth century, produced the first overall classification of native west-central California languages in 1860. Latham (1860:347-350) utilized the few vocabularies from California available to him to propose three linguistic groups in west-central California. They were Moquelumne (including various Miwok word lists and a Mission Santa Clara Costanoan sample), Costano (represented only by Johnson's word list from Pedro Alcantara), and Salinas (including short southern Costanoan, Esselen, and Salinan word lists from missions Carmel, Soledad, San Antonio, and San Miguel). The Salinas cluster, grouping Esselen, Salinan, and Costanoan vocabularies into a single language family, was quite wrong. Latham would have avoided his mistaken grouping had he had access to Arroyo de la Cuesta's extensive Mutsun manuscripts, which were published in New York in 1861 and 1862 as volumes 4 and 8 of *Shea's Library of American Linguistics*.

Linguist Albert Gatschet (1877:157-158) straightened out some of Latham's classification problems. In an 1877 article he proposed two language families in west-central California, the Mutsun (representing all Costanoan vocabularies then known) and the Chocuyem (representing Miwokan vocabularies). Gatchet suggested that the two groups might really represent a single language family (a conclusion now accepted with recognition of the Utian family), but felt that the evidence was not strong (Goddard 1996:296).

John Wesley Powell went farther than Gatschet in 1877, lumping together Mutsum (Costanoan) and Chocuyem (Miwokan) vocabularies into a single Mut-sun language family in the appendix to Stephen Power's *Tribes of California*. He based his Mut-sun family upon eight Miwok vocabularies and four Costanoan vocabularies.[14] Soon after 1877, linguists moved away from consideration of Costanoan and Miwokan as a single language family, and did not return to the concept until the 1960s.

Powell and Kroeber Classify Costanoan

Powell did not support a unifed Costanoan-Miwokan language family for long. As head of the Bureau of American Ethnology, he sent H. H. Henshaw and Jeremiah Curtin to California in the 1880s to gather more information on this language problem, among others (Goddard 1996:296, 300). In the 1891 *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico*, he utilized the Curtin and Henshaw information to re-divide the Costanoan and Miwokan languages into two separate families (Powell 1891:7).

Powell's 1891 work was the first to apply the term Costanoan to the language group, rather than Costano. His 1891 map of North American language areas showed the Costanoan and Miwokan (his "Moquelumnan") language groups in the general locations accepted today (Figure 4). From 1891 until the 1970s, Costanoan was the accepted term used by all linguists and anthropologists in their discussions of the Costanoan language group (Dixon and Kroeber 1903; Kroeber 1904, 1910, 1925; Levy 1978a). The term Mut-sun was never again considered by the professional linguistics community as a cover term for the Costanoans and Miwoks together, as it had been by Powell (in Powers) in 1877.

[14] The four Costanoan vocabularies Powell used in his 1877 formulation of the Mut-sun language family included Pedro Alcantara's Costano word list from Mission Dolores, Arroyo de la Cuesta's Mutsun material from San Juan Bautista, a Mission Santa Clara vocabulary obtained by Father Gregory Mengarini, and a Mission Santa Cruz vocabulary that had been published by Alexander Taylor in 1856 (Powell in Powers 1877:535-559).

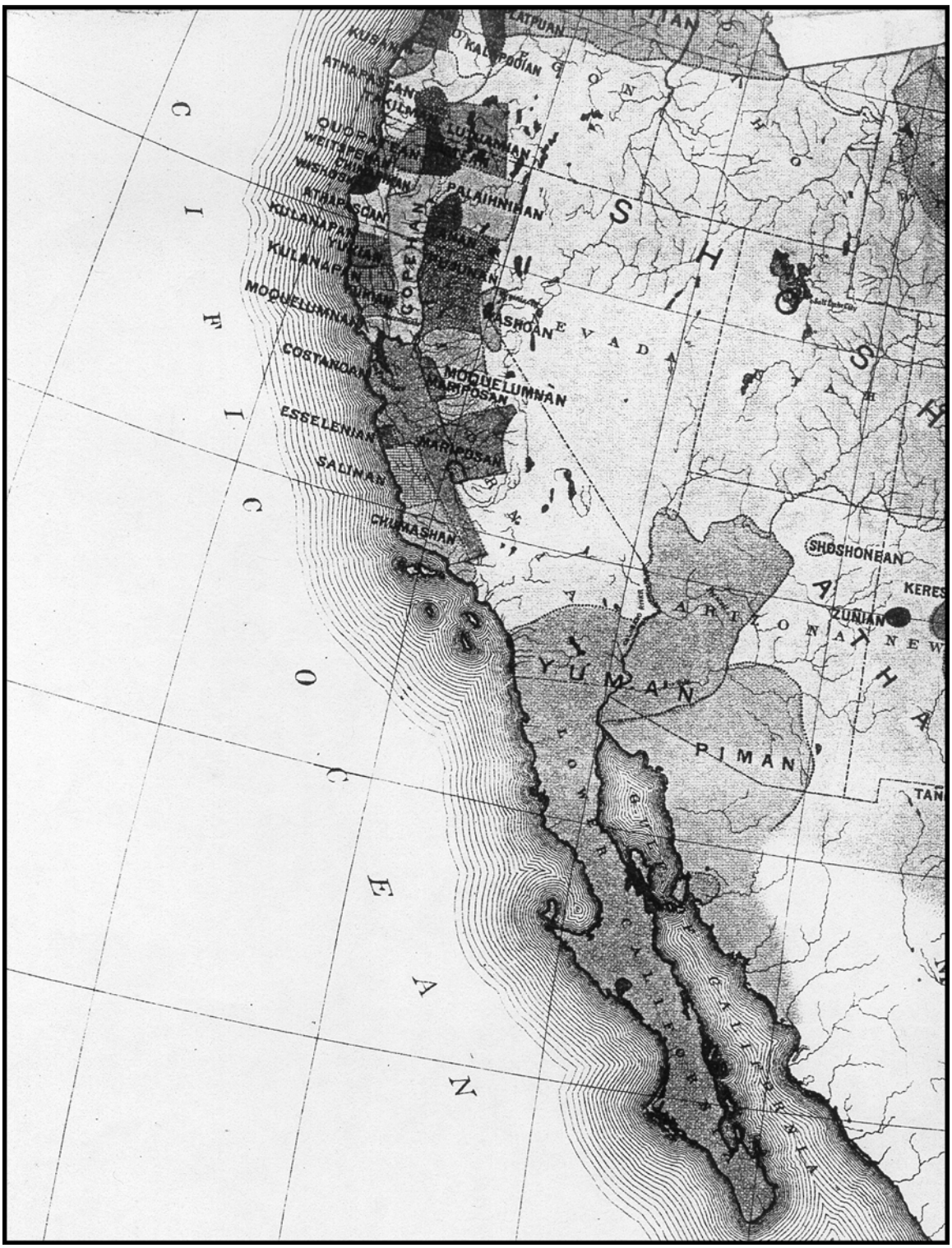

Figure 4. A Portion of John Wesley Powell's 1891 Map of Linguistic Stocks of North America.

A. L. Kroeber became the initial head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley in 1901. In his first publication on California linguistic families, co-authored with Roland Dixon, Kroeber mapped the Costanoans from the coast to the west bank of the San Joaquin River, as had Powell in 1891 (Dixon and Kroeber 1903). Subsequently, Kroeber produced the first detailed phonological and lexical discussion of Costanoan dialects in an article entitled "The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco" (Kroeber 1904).

Kroeber wrote a short article on the distribution of the Costanoan language family in Volume 1 of Frederick Hodge's encyclopedic *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* in 1907. The part of the entry relevant to the language family distribution is repeated here:

> **Costanoan Family.** A linguistic family on the coast of central California… The territory of the Costanoan family extended from the Pacific ocean to San Joaquin r[iver], and from the Golden Gate and Suisun Bay on the N[orth] to Pt Sur on the coast and a point a short distance s[outh] of Soledad in the Salinas valley on the s[outh]. Farther inland the s[outh] boundary is uncertain, though it was probably near Big Panoche cr[eek] … (Kroeber 1907:351).

In 1910, Kroeber first identified divergent Costanoan languages and provisionally described their distributions, in an article entitled "The Chumash and Costanoan Languages." He wrote:

> Seven Franciscan missions were founded in territory held by Indians of Costanoan speech: Soledad, San Carlos near Monterey, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara near the present city of San Jose in Santa Clara county, San Jose near Irvington in Alameda county, and Dolores in San Francisco. To these were brought, before the close of the Mission period, probably all the Costanoan Indians then living.
>
> Some record has been made of the prevailing language at each mission, which was normally the dialect of the immediate district. Seven forms of Costanoan speech are therefore known to have existed.
>
> Unfortunately it seems impossible to learn anything as to such other dialects as there may have been, as to transitional idioms connecting the "standard" languages of the missions, or of the territorial extent of each form of speech. It is almost certain that the seven published vocabularies do not comprise all the varieties of the Costanoan language (Kroeber 1910:239).

Kroeber was correct in emphasizing that his seven mission-based language areas were hypothetical, based upon limited data. He was clearly aware that unsampled transitional Costanoan dialects may once have existed.[15]

The earliest mapping of Kroeber's seven hypothetical Costanoan language areas appears in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*. He mapped the area boundaries on the basis of watersheds in proximity to the various missions (Figure 5). In his text he again emphasized the hypothetical nature of the seven language regions.

[15] Kroeber visited and collected small amounts of information from various Costanoan speakers between 1901 and 1914. His fieldnotes, now in The Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, are organized into notebooks dedicated to specific language groups, notebooks to which he added entries over time. Notebooks 24, 52, and 57 contain his Ohlone/Costanoan information (Kroeber 1904-1914).

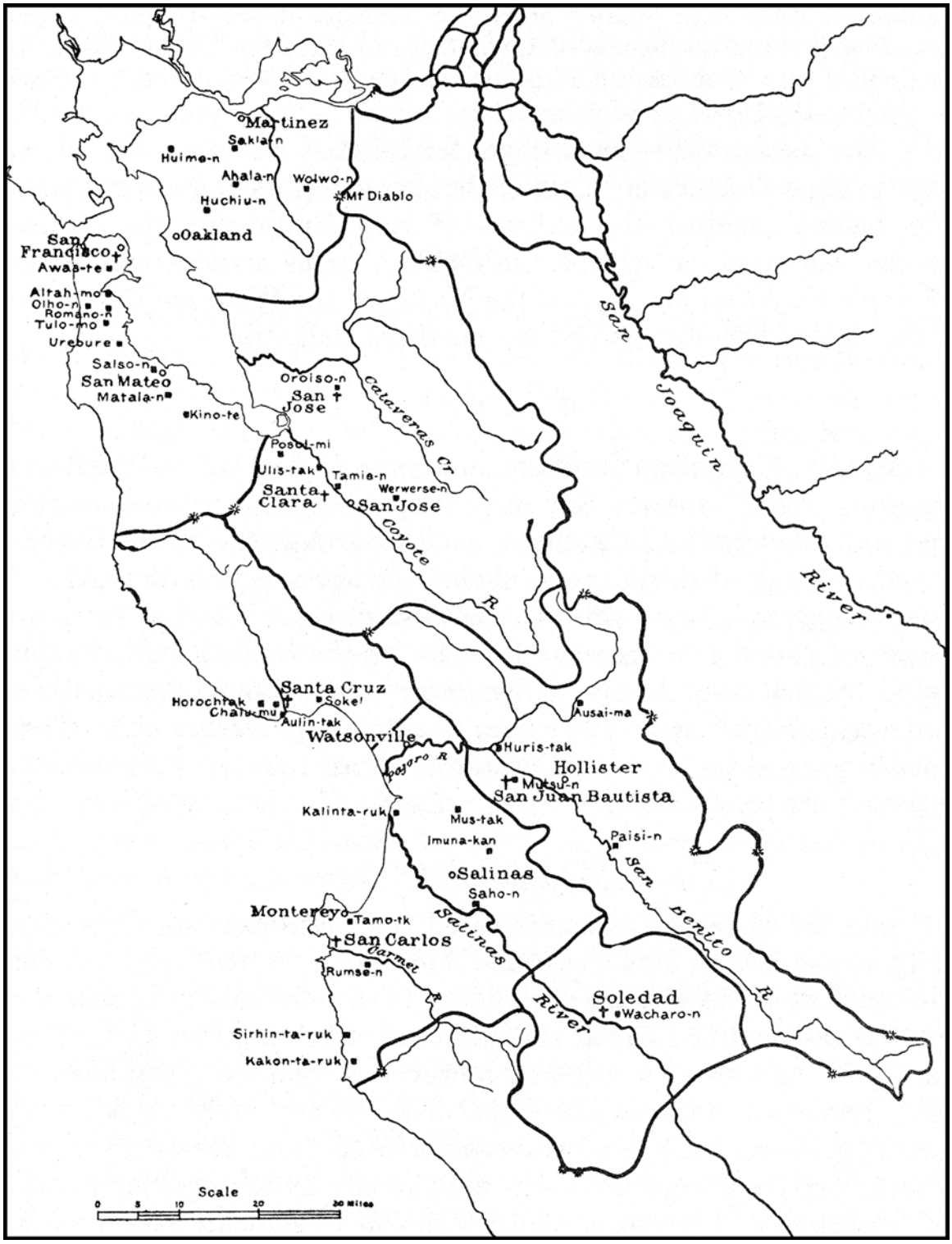

Figure 5. Kroeber's 1925 Map of Costanoan Language Areas and Villages.

> Indians not only of distinct villages, but of separate dialects, were brought together [at the missions], and found themselves mingled with utterly alien converts from the north, the south, and the interior. As along the entire coast of the State, there was no political cohesion worth mentioning between the little towns. Native appellations of wider applicability were therefore lacking; and the result was that the dialects that can be distinguished are known chiefly by the names of the missions at which each was the principal or original one. Where native terms have obtained a vogue in literature, they appear to be only village designations used in an extended sense. Of this kind are Mutsun, for the dialect of San Juan Bautista; Rumsen or Runsien for that of Monterey; and Tamien for Santa Clara….[16]
>
> Our information upon Costanoan speech is restricted to some records, often pitiful at that, of the idiom prevailing at such and such points that happened to be selected by the missionaries for their foundations. We can only start from these points as centers, and conjecture the limits of each dialect group by following the watersheds on the map (Kroeber 1925:463).

Kroeber did not intend his hypothetical Costanoan language areas to represent coherent pre-mission political or ethnic community territories. Nevertheless, his 1925 Costanoan chapter and its accompanying maps solidified the scholarly concept of the Costanoan Indians as a single linguistic and cultural unit with seven local areas as ethnic sub-units.

Field Research of J. P. Harrington

J. P. Harrington was the single most significant person in the history of documentation of the Costanoan languages. Three of the Costanoan languages—Rumsen, Mutsun, and the Chochenyo dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan—are being revived today on the basis of materials he collected between 1921 and 1939 (see the last section of Chapter 10). Harrington was not part of the group that worked under A. L. Kroeber at the University of California at Berkeley. Instead, he was employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C. His linguistic materials have been microfilmed and are available for viewing or special study at some central California locations, among them the library of San Jose State University and the Native American Studies Department at the University of California at Davis.

Harrington first worked with a person who spoke a Costanoan language in 1921, when he gathered data on an East Bay Costanoan dialect from María de los Angeles (Angela) Colos of Pleasanton, California. He called the language "Chocheño" and "Nepeño," from Maria Colo's names for the Mission San Jose Indian people who spoke it. Shortly thereafter, in January of 1922, Harrington met and worked briefly in Gilroy, Carmel, and Monterey with speakers of Costanoan languages formerly spoken at missions San Juan Bautista, Carmel, and Soledad. After leaving the area during the mid-1920s, Harrington returned to Monterey in 1928 to gather Carmeleño Costanoan material from local people there. From July of 1929 until late January of 1930, Harrington recorded a rich body of Mutson linguistic and ethnographic information from aged Asención Solorsano in Gilroy. Harrington returned briefly north to Pleasanton in March of 1930 to record Mission San Jose

[16] Kroeber in 1925 failed to recognize that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Tamien were originally the names of multi-village local tribes. He thought that each was an independent village. Mission records show that Mutsun was a local tribe, with specific villages such as Xisca and Juristac (Milliken 1993). Rumsen also was a local tribe, with the villages of Achasta, Echilat, Ixchenta, Soccoronda, and Tucutnut (Milliken 1987). The names of specific Tamien villages were not documented at Mission Santa Clara.

material with Jose Guzman, companian of the then-deceased Angela Colos. Harrington began intensive work on the Carmeleño (Rumsen) language with Isabelle Meadows of Monterey in March of 1932. He worked with Meadows in Monterey and in Washington, D.C. off and on until her death in 1939; thus Rumsen is the best-attested of any of the Costanoan languages.[17]

Harrington's information from Angela Colos and Jose Guzman is by far the largest body of San Francisco Bay Costanoan language material.[18] Harrington applied the term "Chocheño" to their dialect, a term which more recent authors have modified to "Chochenyo," perhaps in order to avoid searching for the "ñ" in character typesets. The origin of the term is obscure. It may have been the colloquial California Spanish name for "people of Mission San Jose," as the following excerpts from the Harrington notes suggest:

> The Chocheños called the Juaneños 'uhráimas
>
> The Ind. name of the Chocheños is lisiánish Impt.
>
> Nesc. Ind. name of Clareños or Doloreños or Rafeléños
>
> (Harrington 1921-29:57).
>
> The San José Indians were of many tribes – gathered at the mission. They are called Chocheños. Inf. knows the Carmeleños. There were some of them here at Pleasanton. … (Harrington 1921-29:110).

The term "Jose-eño," the logical term for the Indian people of Mission San Jose, does not appear in Harrington's notes. Nor is it known to have been used at all in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Angela Colos interacted with Indian people who lived on the San Francisco Peninsula at various times in her life. Among the bits of information she supplied to Harrington are references to the people of the San Francisco Peninsula as Ramay people.

> They call the lado de San Francisco rámai', All the side (lado) where the San Francisco is ([illeg.]) – San Mateo, etc., = rámai. Call the people rámáitush (Harrington 1921-29:368)

This quote and other similar ones led Richard Levy (1978a) to later apply the label "Ramaytush" to the Costanoan dialect spoken on the San Francisco Peninsula. The reference above and other references in Harrington's Chochenyo notes pertinent to language differences and ethnogeography around San Francisco Bay have been extracted and reproduced in Appendix A.

Beeler Reclassifies Saclan out of Costanoan

The first important step toward constructing the modern classification of the Costanoan languages occurred in 1955, when Madison Beeler of Berkeley discovered and corrected A. L. Kroeber's misclassification of the Spanish-contact linguistic relationships in lands on the east side of San Francisco Bay. Kroeber had identified the Saclan people of the area east of San Francisco Bay, as far inland as Mount Diablo, as speakers of a Costanoan language in an inset map in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*, although he had no vocabulary material to support that supposition.

---

[17] The dates of J.P. Harrington's various working periods in central California are found in *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957: A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture in Northern and Central California* by Elaine L. Mills (1985). More extensive discussions of Harrington's interaction with his Mutsun and Rumsen consultants is provided by Linda Agren (2002).

[18] Other San Francisco Bay Costanoan materials consisted, until recently, merely of short word lists and a Lord's Prayer collected by Eugène Duflot de Mofras (see Beeler 1961 for a list of sources). A recently re-discovered catechism, transcribed and published by Blevins and Golla (2005), has added a significant amount of new material.

In the early 1950s, Madison Beeler at the University of California at Berkeley discovered Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1821 Mission Dolores notes, which included the Miwokan vocabulary of the Saclan local group (Beeler 1955, 1959). Beeler initially classified Saclan as follows:

> Saclan belongs with Sierra Miwok and … constitutes a new or fifth member of that group, although showing especial affinities with the foothill dialects and particularly with Northern or Amador speech (Beeler 1955:203).

Not initially knowing where the Saclan people had lived before they moved to Mission Dolores, Beeler (1955:209) incorrectly speculated that the heartland of Saclan Miwok speech was in the San Joaquin Valley east of Mount Diablo.

Sherburne Cook (1957) provided evidence confirming Kroeber's 1925 geographic placement of the Saclan in central Contra Costa county. That placement was acknowledged by Beeler in a 1959 article. By 1961, James Bennyhoff had identified a number of other East Bay local tribes, besides the Saclan, that probably spoke the same Miwok language. Bennyhoff (1961, 1977) renamed the language Bay Miwok, a term that has come to be accepted by linguists.

All in all, by the early 1960s, linguists and anthropologists understood the distribution of languages among San Francisco Bay Area local tribes at Spanish contact, due primarily to Madison Beeler's work with Father Arroyo de la Cuesta's word list of the 1820s.

MODERN CLASSIFICATION OF COSTANOAN LANGUAGES

The modern understanding of the relationships among Costanoan languages has emerged out of linguistic studies undertaken at the University of California at Berkeley since 1950. Part of that modern understanding is a re-recognition of what John Wesley Powell believed in 1877, that the Costanoan languages form a single family with the Miwokan languages, also of central California. Below in this section we discuss the steps the Berkeley linguists took to clarify the internal relationships among the Costanoan languages and to prove the relationship of Costanoan and Miwokan within the Utian language family.

Madison Beeler's View of the Costanoan Languages

In 1961, Madison Beeler summarized a view of internal Costanoan linguistic affinities that was only slightly different than Kroeber's, but based upon a much better linguistic analysis.

> Since Kroeber wrote much new material has been made available, and parts of his scheme must now be revised. The major division into a northern and southern branch will still stand; and it is still true, as Kroeber noted, that Santa Cruz will occasionally agree with the southern group, and, less frequently, that San Juan Bautista will coincide with the northern. Within this southern group, now that we have much more copious material on Soledad speech than the mere 22 words available to Kroeber, it may be confidently stated that San Juan Bautista and Soledad appear to be more closely related to each other than either one of them is to Carmel….
>
> The position here taken will be that Karkin speech is sufficiently differentiated from all other forms of Costanoan that it must be regarded as constituting by itself a third major dialect group within the family, coordinate with the northern and southern branches now accepted. Although it agrees in some instances with other members of the northern group by contrast with the southern, the converse is true in other instances (Beeler 1961:194-195).

So Beeler argued for a three branch structure to the Costanoan languages—Karkin, a northern group, and a southern group. Within the northern group, he followed Kroeber in maintaining that the speech communities of the San Francisco Penisula, Santa Clara Valley, and East Bay were separate from each other.

> A second thesis here defended will be that we must recognize, within the northern group, a subdivision which may be called East Bay Costanoan, represented by the vocabularies from Juichun, San Lorenzo, Niles, and San Jose; the setting up of this subdivision, which does not include Santa Clara, involves the repudiation of an especially close relationship between San Jose and Santa Clara. The differences between the speech of these two places, which are not more than fifteen miles apart, are as great as those between Santa Clara and San Francisco on the one hand and Santa Cruz on the other (Beeler 1961:195).

The strong divergence between Karkin and the other Costanoan languages has been supported by subsequent research (Callaghan 1988a, Okrand 1989). The difference between the Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara dialects, however, has since been downplayed, as will be discussed in a subsequent subsection below.

Levy Renames and Reclassifies the Costanoan Languages

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley were reexamining the relationships among Costanoan languages (Levy 1976, Okrand 1977). Some were unhappy that not all of the languages had native Indian names at that time. Although Kroeber (1925:463) had suggested Indian names for some of the languages, writing, "Of this kind are Mutsun, for the dialect of San Juan Bautista; Rumsen or Runsien for that of Monterey; and Tamien for Santa Clara," he had retained the names Soledad, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco for other Costanoan languages, or dialects, as he understood them. Richard L. Levy coined native terms for those Costanoan languages for which Kroeber had merely provided mission names. He renamed the Soledad language "Chalon," the Santa Cruz language "Awaswas," and the San Francisco (Mission Dolores) language "Ramaytush," introducing the new terms in his Costanoan chapter of the 1978 California Volume (Volume 8) of the *Handbook of the Indians of North America* (Levy (1978a:485).

Figure 6 reproduces Levy's (1978a:485) hypothetical boundaries between the Costanoan language areas. Most of them mimic specific Franciscan mission outreach areas, following Kroeber. Levy labeled the weakly documented and roughly mapped Costanoan language groups "ethnic groups" (1978a:485), a problematic concept to which we will return in Chapter 3.

Levy (1976) re-evaluated the genetic relationships among the Costanoan languages on the basis of statistical relationships in shared lexical, phonological, and semantic innovations between the languages Beeler had defined. He found that he could reach different conclusions regarding the nature of the relationships among the languages, depending upon how he weighted different aspects of his analysis. He found:

> I would suggest that the Costanoan languages arose from a dialect chain. While there appear to be definable language boundaries there is little to suggest the presence of closed subgroups within the family. Languages are invariably most closely related to their geographic neighbors (Levy 1976:38).

Levy's emphasis on a clinal relationship among Costanoan languages calls to mind the insights of Arroyo de la Cuesta during his visit to Mission Dolores in 1821.

Levy concluded, despite the clinal relationship among all neighboring Costanoan languages, that there are two separate Costanoan family sub-groups (excluding the divergent Karkin), in which

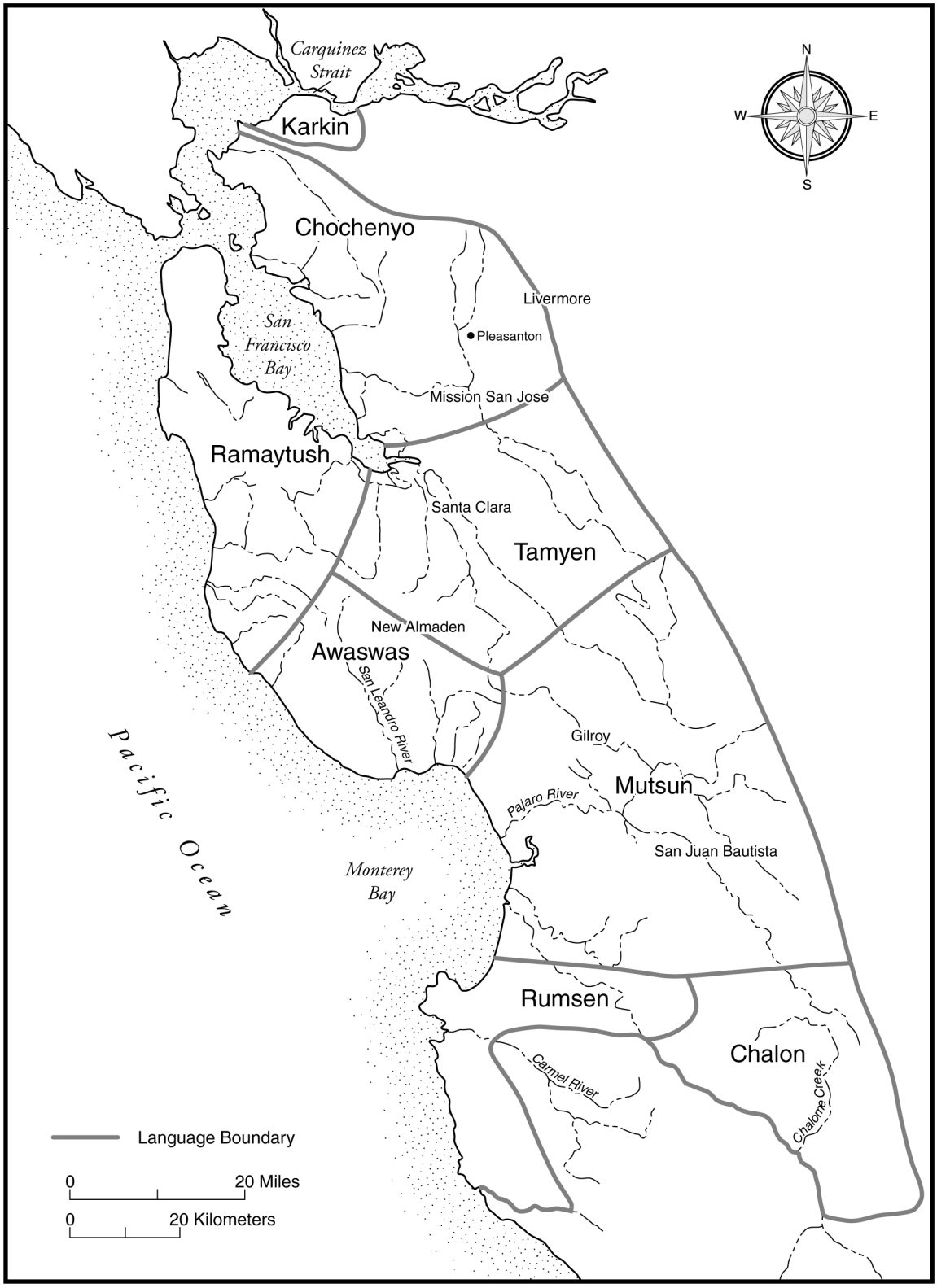

Figure 6. Map Showing Levy's 1978 Interpretation of the Costanoan Language Boundaries.

"languages are more closely related to other members of the subgroup than to any language outside" (Levy 1976:38). Like Beeler, he isolated a northern subgroup (Ramaytush or San Francisco; Chochenyo or East Bay; Tamyen or Santa Clara) from a southern subgroup (Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon or Soledad). He differed from Beeler by removing the Santa Cruz (Awaswas) language from the northern subgroup and placing it alone as an intermediate language between the north and the south.

A Single San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language

Recent publications and encyclopedic websites regarding California Indian ethnography follow the conclusions of Kroeber, Beeler, and Levy to the effect that three separate Costanoan languages—Ramaytush, Tamyen, and Chochenyo—were spoken in adjacent areas around San Francisco Bay at Spanish contact. Over the past few years, however, three linguists actively working on the problem—Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, and Juliette Blevins—have concluded that Ramaytush, Tamyen, and Chochenyo are dialects of a single San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. We consider acceptance of that conclusion to be a key tenet of the current report.

As of 1997, Callaghan was beginning to move away from the commonly accepted stance of three separate languages. She wrote:

> According to Maria de los Angeles Colos—Harrington's Chocheño consultant—Ramaytush, Chocheño, and Tamyen were similar dialects. While I think they formed a dialect chain, I am reasonably certain that Karkin, Chocheno, Mutsun, and Rumsen were not mutually intelligible, and I am uncertain of the status of Awaswas and Chalon. The Costanoan languages were probably as far apart as the Romance languages (Callaghan 1997a:44).

In 2005, Callaghan concluded that the Ramaytush, Chochenyo, and Tamyen idioms were mutually intelligible and should therefore be considered three dialects of a single language on the basis of a new comparative study of the various San Francisco Bay Costanoan vocabularies. She described her method and results in an email to Milliken, as follows:

> I decided to re-examine the Ramaytush and Tamyen vocabularies to determine their relationship to Chochenyo, and I have come to the conclusion that they are all dialects of the same language. To this end, I typed out the Ramaytush in Schoolcraft, and entered it in parallel columns with Chochenyo and Menngarini's Tamyen, along with additional Ramaytush and a little Tamyen from J. P. Harrington, and the Santa Maria [Huchiun-ed.] Ramaytush. … Harrington elicited several sentences in Ramaytush, which show a morphology nearly identical with Chochenyo, including the past and future (different from Mutsun), the medio-passive and the negative imperative (except for the word for "don't"). Esterenyo (Oakland Chochenyo) has *shotto* for "fire" and Harrington has Ramaytush *shottow*. One difference within Chochenyo itself is the word for nine. Arroyo has *tulau* for Juichun "nine," the same as the Santa Maria [Huchiun-ed.] word. Both are different from standard Chochenyo [which uses *telĕ'ktis*-ed.].
>
> Another problem enters. When the researchers asked Indians for the word for "father," they discovered that the answer often meant "my father," so they evidently changed tactics and asked for "my father," which resulted in "thy father." An analysis of Mengarini's Tamyen shows this to be the case—"-m" following vowels, and "-em" following consonants, as in Chochenyo. The rest of the [Mengarini] vocabulary is similar enough to Chochenyo that I think it is part of the dialect chain, with both Tamyen and Ramaytush being divergent Chochenyo dialects. Also, the Ramaytush,

> Chochenyo, and I think Tamyen could understand each other (Callaghan, email personal communication to Milliken, April 6, 2005).

How could Callaghan be so certain that Tamyen and Chochenyo texts were samples from a single language, given Richard Levy's statistical evidence for a separation of Tamyen and Chochenyo at the language level? The answer lies with two recent linguistic discoveries.

One piece of new evidence that changes the linguistic view of San Francisco Bay Costanoan was Callaghan's discovery that one of the two Mission Santa Clara word lists available to Beeler in the 1960s, and to Levy in the 1970s, includes numerous words that do not derive from any Costanoan language. The word list in question was collected by H. W. Henshaw from Felix Buelna in 1884 (Heizer 1955). "I suspect that when Buelna did not know a Santa Clara word, he substituted a word in some other language, but I'm not sure," states Callaghan (email personal communication to Milliken, April 25, 2005). Felix Buelna's background is important for understanding the problem with the vocabulary. Buelna was born at Mission Soledad in 1813 to a family from Sinaloa, Mexico (SOL-B 1489). He married a woman named María Bernarda Rosales, adopted and possibly Indian, at Mission Santa Clara in 1836 (SCL-M 2661). Historian Alan K. Brown found evidence in a Santa Clara Valley land case document from the 1860s indicating that Buelna was not really familiar with Santa Clara Valley Costanoan. Called upon by the court to interpret Indian words on a land case map, he was able to interpret one but had no idea about another, although it was in fact a common Costanoan word. This led Brown (1994:38) to conclude that Buelna merely "had pretensions to literary culture."[19] The evidence, in sum, indicates that the Buelna vocabulary, which was a key part of both Beeler's and Levy's analytical corpus, must be considered useless.

The other new discovery also pertains to the Tamyen dialect. A book of prayers and a catechism were discovered a few years ago in a trinket shop in Mexico City and sent to the Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas. There the texts came to the attention of California linguists Juliette Blevins and Victor Golla in 2002. Bevins and Golla recognized that eight pages of the text as represented a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Handwriting comparison by Randall Milliken indicated that it was written by Father Jose Viader, who spent his entire central California career, from 1796 to 1833, at Mission Santa Clara. The manuscript has now been transcribed, translated, and published by Blevins and Golla (2005), who are careful about its provenance:

> The dialect of the manuscript resembles Chochenyo, but there are some differences. If the association of the manuscript with Fr. Viader is correct, the dialect attested may instead by Tamyen or "Clareño," the dialect of Mission Santa Clara (Blevins and Golla 2005:37).

On the basis of the new Santa Clara texts and the discrediting of the Buelna material, Blevins and Golla concluded that all Costanoan languages except Karkin should be lumped into a single dialect chain divided into two major groups. They write:

> The Karkin language on the northern periphery is quite distinct from adjacent varieties, while the Chalon (Soledad) language, on the southern periphery, shows numerous distinctive features. Otherwise the Costanoan languages form a dialect continuum, with a major division between Northern and Southern groups. Because nearly all Costanoan language data is known from mission or post-mission times, dialect labels like "Chochenyo," "Mutsun," etc. should be understood as referring to a

[19] Victor Golla pointed out these critical pieces of information about Felix Buelna, including the Alan K. Brown reference, in his email to Catherine Callaghan (cc: Juliette Blevins, Randall Milliken) of May 30, 2005.

mix of regional varieties brought together at specific missions rather than the aboriginal dialect pattern (Blevins and Golla 2005:36).

Table 2 lists the Costanoan languages in relationship to one another as currently understood by Callaghan (email personal communication to Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005). It places Chalon in a northern branch with San Francisco Bay Costanoan, while it places Awaswas in a southern branch with Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon (cf. Okrand 1989). It must be noted that Blevins and Golla (2005) take the opposite approach, placing Chalon in the southern branch with Mutsun and Rumsen, while placing Awaswas (Santa Cruz Costanoan) in the northern branch as a language most closely related to the San Francisco Bay dialects. Furthermore, Blevins and Golla (2005) suggest that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon may have been mutually intelligible within the southern branch, while Callaghan (email personal communication with Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005) believes that Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon were not mutually intelligible.

Table 2. Heuristic Concordence between
Utian Languages and Selected Indo-European Languages.

UTIAN FAMILY (COSTANOAN AND MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILIES)	INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (ROMANCE AND GERMAN SUB-FAMILIES) [a]
COSTANOAN SUB-FAMILY	*ROMANCE SUB-FAMILY*
Karkin Branch	*French Branch*
Karkin Language	French Language
Northern Branch	*Italian Branch*
San Francisco Bay Language	Italian Language
Ramaytush Dialect	Venetian Dialect
Chochenyo Dialect	Tuscan Dialect
Tamyen Dialect	Lombard Dialect
Chalon Language	Sardinian Language
Southern Branch	*Iberian Branch*
Awaswas Language	Catalan Language
Mutsun Language	Spanish Language
Rumsen Language	Portuguese Language
MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILY	*GERMANIC SUB-FAMILY*
Western Branch	*Western Branch*
Coast Miwok Language	German Language
Lake Miwok Language	Dutch Language
Eastern Branch	*Northern Branch*
Bay Miwok (Saclan) Language	Swedish Language
Plains Miwok Language	Danish Language
Northern Sierra Miwok	Norwegian Language
Central Sierra Miwok	Faroese Language
Southern Sierra Miwok	Icelandic Language

Notes: This chart was finalized by Randall Milliken in 2006, following personal communication with linguists Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, and Norval Smith; [a] Romance and Germanic languages are not as closely related to one another within Indo-European as Costanoan and Miwokan are to one another within Utian.

Table 2 also models Costanoan language differences against those of the modern Romance languages of Europe. It represents the differences between the three dialects of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as being approximately equivalent to those between local dialects of the Italian

language. The table suggests that Rumsen, Mutsun, and Awaswas were as closely related as French, Spanish, and Portuguese, following Callaghan (and remembering that Blevins and Golla consider those southern languages to have been more closely related to one another.) Regarding the time depth of the Costanoan Subfamily, Callaghan writes:

> I would put Proto Costanoan at about the time of Latin (2000 years BP). A speaker of Chochenyo would have as much trouble understanding a speaker of Rumsen as a Romanian would have with French. Again, we must consider whole languages, not just shared lexical items which give the illusion of a dialect chain. And remember this: Romance speaking soldiers could understand each other pretty well until 1000 AD, and there were many borrowings between Romance languages, as there were between Costanoan languages (C. Callaghan, email personal communication with Randall Milliken, August 3, 2005).

Finally, no comparison between Costanoan languages and any group of European languages will be a perfect one, especially given the continuing doubt regarding the internal relationships in Costanoan. Nevertheless, all linguists currently working on the problem agree that the San Francisco Bay dialects of the Costanoan language family (Chochenyo, Ramaytush, and Tamyen) were similar to one another and that they were distinct from the Costanoan languages of the Monterey Bay Area. Be that as it may, all six Costanoan languages share a common history deep in time that is distinct from the history of the other west Central California languages, such as Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Esselen, Southern Pomo, or Wappo.

Utian Family and Possible Yok-Utian Family

Linguists now recognize that Costanoan and Miwokan are sub-families within a single Utian language family. Catherine Callaghan (1962) first published the modern evidence for the Utian language family in an article entitled "Comparative Miwok-Mutsun with Notes on Rumsen." In that article she laid out a large amount of data showing sets of related words between Proto-Miwok and the Mutsun Costanoan language that were inherited from a common word in a hypothetical ancestral language. In that article Callaghan did not state any explicit conclusion regarding the genetic relationship between her Mutsun word set and her Proto-Miwok word set.

The label Utian was first applied to the combined Costanoan-Miwok family by Shipley (1978:84). Aware of Callaghan's discoveries, he built the name Utian from *uṭxi*, a word that means "two" in Proto-Costanoan and which is close to the words for "two" in most Miwok languages. Callaghan first used the label Utian in her 1986 article "Proto Utian Independent Pronouns" which presented only a small portion of her Proto-Utian phonology (see also Callaghan 1988b).

Callaghan has recently reconstructed the proto-language that underlies all Costanoan and Miwok languages, using the Harrington notes and all other available vocabularies. She has suggested that the Miwokan languages are as closely related to one another as are such Germanic languages as English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2003). Table 2 illustrates those comparative examples. (While that comparison is internally valid, however, the Miwokan languages together are more closely related to the Costanoan languages, as a group, than the Germanic languages are to the Romance languages.)

A higher level linguistic family, Yok-Utian, has recently been accepted by some linguists (Golla 2007:76). Again, the analytic work, showing a number of proto-word forms and language structure rules shared by the Yokuts languages and the Utian Family (Costanoan and Miwokan), was carried out by Callaghan (1997a, 2001). Alternatively, Proto-Utian and Proto-Yokuts developed side by side many thousands of years ago, probably in the western Great Basin. That question will be taken up in more detail in the Chapter 3 section about archaeology and linguistic prehistory.

Utian within the Penutian Phylum

The Utian language family (Costanoan-Miwokan) is classified within the Penutian language stock or phylum. Roland Dixon and A. L. Kroeber proposed a consolidation of many western North American language families into a smaller number of higher order phyla on the basis of some interesting relationships among typological features (Dixon and Kroeber 1903). A few years later they argued for deep genetic relationships among some California languages, introducing the concepts of the Penutian and Hokan language phyla (Dixon and Kroeber 1912, 1913, 1919). They proposed that five contiguous central California language families—Costanoan, Miwokan, Maiduan, Wintuan, and Yokuts—belonged together in the Penutian phylum. Those five families were enshrined as Californian Penutian by Kroeber in 1925. Figure 7 shows the distribution of the language phyla of California as Kroeber understood them in 1925.

By the 1920s Edward Sapir was finding languages outside of California that he considered to be members of either the Hokan or Penutian phyla. He expanded the Penutian phylum to include a Plateau cluster (Klamath-Modoc, Sahaptian, and Molala-Cayuse), Takelman of Oregon, Chinook of Oregon and Washington, Tsimshian of British Columbia, and two languages in Mexico (Sapir 1929). In 1929 Sapir proposed that all the North American native languages could tentatively be subsumed into the following six stocks (phyla): Algonkin-Wakashan, Nadene, Penutian, Hokan-Siouan, Aztec-Tanoan, and Eskimo-Aleut. All of the groups except Eskimo-Aleut were represented in California.

Over the succeeding decades, linguists set out to prove or disprove the phyletic language relationships that first Dixon and Kroeber, and then Sapir, had inferred. In 1964 scholars met in Bloomington, Indiana to assess and revise his scheme. Their conclusions, called the Consensus Classification, supported most of Sapir's major groupings but split up some others (Goddard 1996:312-320). The Consensus Classification group recognized the Penutian, Hokan, and Aztec-Tanoan phyla, albeit with reduced memberships from those proposed by Sapir. Among the isolates they recognized was the Yuki language family (including Wappo) from areas just north of San Francisco Bay (Goddard 1996:319). They pared down Sapir's Penutian to sixteen language families. They retained Costanoan, Miwokan, Maiduan, Wintuan, and Yokuts within Penutian, but rejected Dixon and Kroeber's concept of a unified California Penutian subgroup (Goddard 1996:315, 319). In fact, new studies since the 1960s have argued that the California Penutian groups derive from three separate radiations, one from Oregon (Wintuan), one from the northern Great Basin (Maiduan), and one from the central Great Basin (Yokuts and Utian) (Golla 2007:76).

Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of the major phyla and language families of the western United States. The Penutian phylum, for those linguists who currently accept it at all, includes language families from Tsimshian in western Canada south to Yokutsan in California, then east to Zuni in New Mexico. Penutian is considered hypothetical by some linguists today because the relationships among its language families are so old that it is difficult to distinguish the results of borrowing from the results of proto-language radiation (Shipley 1978:82).

To an extent, the doubt surrounding the reality of Penutian as a group of genetically related languages is moot for purposes of this study. If the Costanoan languages are genetically related to other imputed Penutian language families, the time depth of their division is as deep as that of the Indo-European family, over 5,000 years, and carries no implications for the cultural relationships among California groups at the time of Spanish entry.

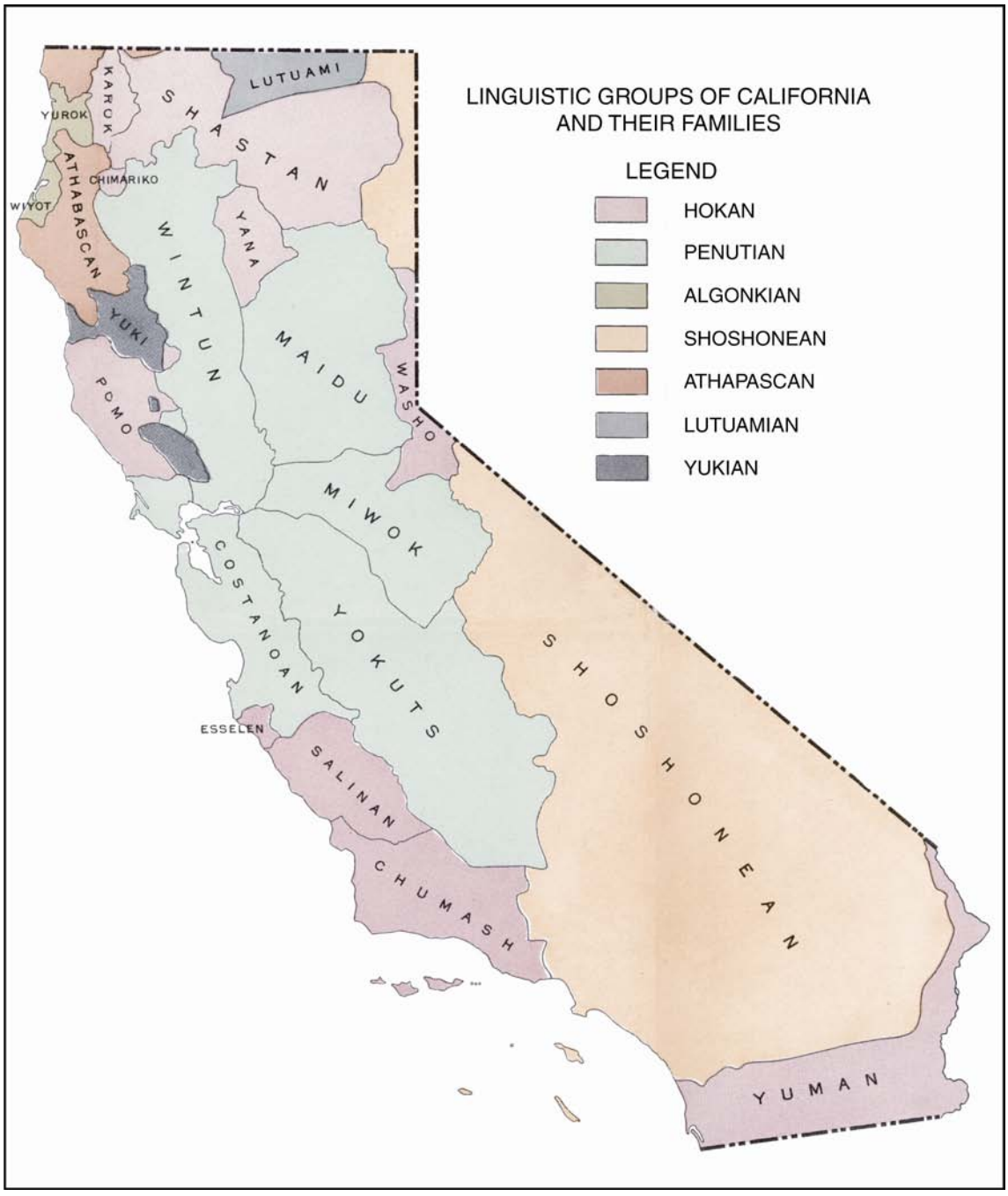

Figure 7. Kroeber's 1925 Map of the Native Linguistic Groups of California.

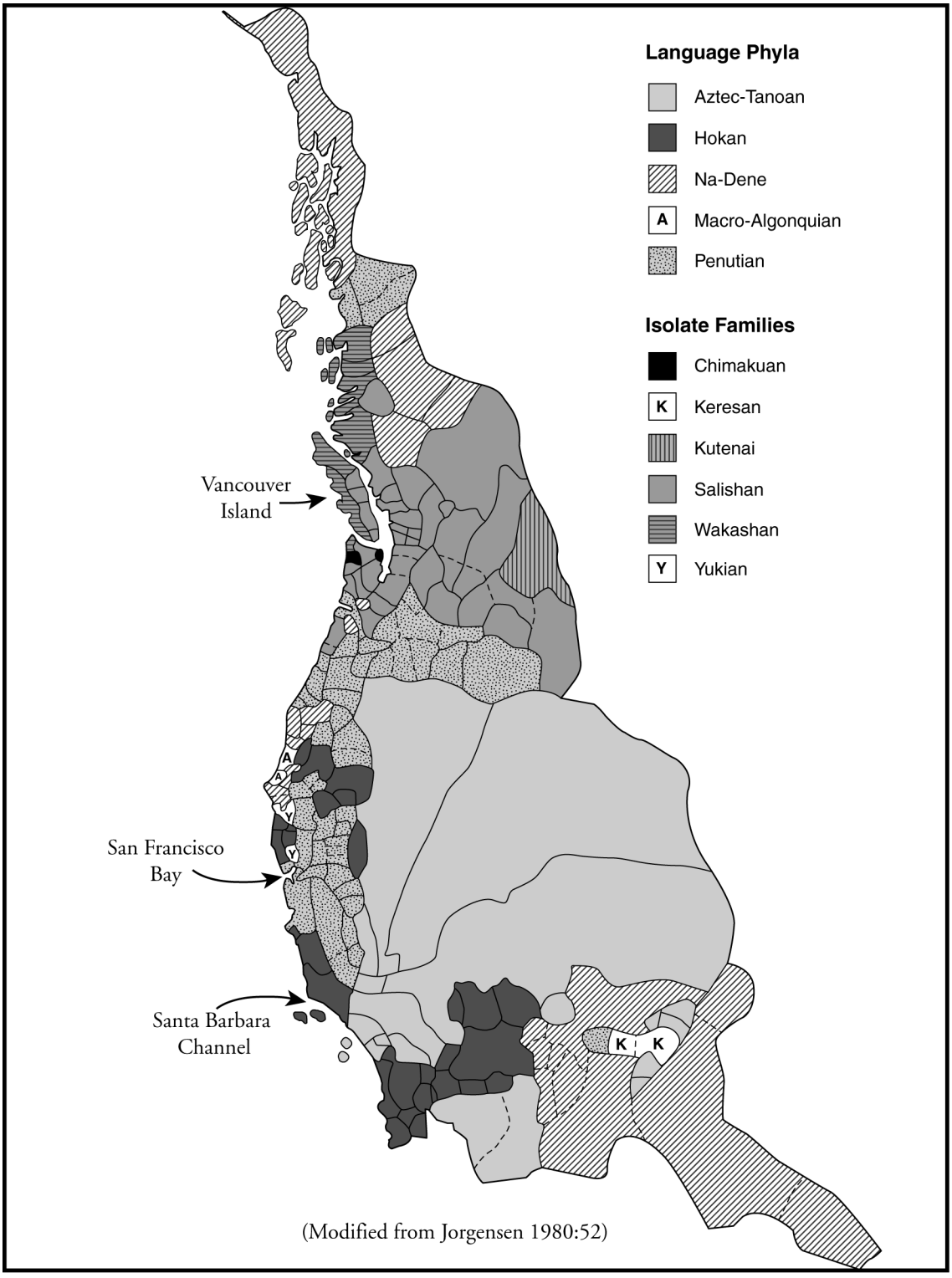

Figure 8. Map of the Native Language Phyla and Isolates of Western North America.

NON-COSTANOAN LANGUAGES OF WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

In this section we discuss the Miwokan languages as well as the five non-Utian languages of our west-central California maximal study area. The Miwokan languages were spoken in the North Bay, the East Bay, in the Mission San Jose outreach area of the Sacramento Valley, and in portions of the Sierra Nevada that were lightly touched by outreach from the Costanoan-area missions. The non-Utian language are Wappo and Patwin of the North Bay, Delta Yokuts and Northern Valley Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley, and Esselen of lands around Mission Soledad and south of Mission Carmel.

The Miwokan Languages of the Utian Family

Miwokan, the sister language group to Costanoan within Utian, was spoken in three areas of central California. Coast Miwok dialects were spoken on the Marin Peninsula and contiguous areas just north of the Golden Gate. Lake Miwok was spoken in a few small Coast Range valleys in the upper Putah Creek watershed, just south of Clear Lake. The eastern Miwok languages were spoken in an arc of lands across interior central California from the Walnut Creek watershed (just east of San Francisco Bay) through the northern portion of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, up into the Sierra Nevada east of Elk Grove and Lodi, thence south in the Sierra Nevada to the Yosemite vicinity and a few miles further south (Levy 1978b).

Catherine Callaghan determined the relationships among Miwokan languages on the basis of lexical items, structural similarities, and sound correspondences. She first established the relationship of Bay Miwok (Kroeber's Saclan) to the other Miwokan languages (Callaghan 1971). She then went on to reconstruct Proto Sierra Miwok, Proto Eastern Miwok, Proto Western Miwok, and Proto Miwok (Callaghan 1972, 1997b). She has suggested that the Miwokan languages are roughly as divergent as the Germanic languages:

> The Miwok sub-family consists of languages approximately 3,500 years apart, roughly analogous to the Germanic family, which includes English, German, Dutch, Icelandic, Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2005).

This comparison has already been cited in an earlier section and is illustrated in Table 2.

Only Bay Miwoks and Coast Miwoks, of all the Miwokan language speakers, intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans prior to the Mission Period. The Bay Miwok language was sampled by Arroyo de la Cuesta (see the first subsection of this chapter), but was mistakenly classified as Saclan Costanoan by Kroeber (1925). It was properly re-classified as Miwokan by Beeler (1955). The original Saclans were one of the two westernmost Bay Miwok local tribes. They were intermarried with their San Francisco Bay Costanoan neighbors of the Oakland-Richmond region, the Huchiuns, with whom they moved to Mission Dolores in the winter of 1794-95. Southwest of the Saclan homeland, in the San Leandro Creek area, was a group of seemingly bi-lingual Bay Miwok-San Francisco Bay Costanoan people who went to Mission Dolores under the name Jalquin and to Mission San Jose under the name Irgin (Milliken 1995:244-246). They and other Bay Miwoks of the current Contra Costa County area were intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans of the Livermore Valley prior to the Mission Period.

Two specific Coast Miwok local tribes were inter-married with San Francisco Bay Costanoans, the Huimens and Abastos of the southern Marin Peninsula. They were inter-married with their San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking neighbors across a narrow stretch of the northern San Francisco Bay estuary to the east, the Huchiuns of the Oakland-Richmond region. It was noted that the chaplain of the first Spanish ship into San Francisco Bay heard and recorded San Francisco Bay Costanoan words while visiting Huimen villagers on the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula in

1775 (Beeler 1972; Brown 1973a). Milliken has shown that the largest body of those words was actually spoken by Huchiuns who came to the ship from the East Bay; he explains the two Costanoan phrases clearly recorded by the chaplain at a Huimen village as evidence that the Spaniards had learned some Rumsen Costanoan, and that the Huimens knew enough San Francisco Bay Costanoan to try to respond in that closely related language (Milliken 1995:244).

Plains Miwok individuals from the lower Sacramento intermarried with San Francisco Bay Costanoans after they moved to Mission San Jose; such marriages would not have taken place prior to the Mission Period. Also, some Sierra Miwok speakers intermarried with speakers of various Costanoan languages during the late Mission Period at missions San Jose, Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista and Soledad.

Other Penutian Families in Central California: Wintuan and Yokutsan

Three other languages of the inferred Penutian Phylum were spoken by people who lived adjacent to one or more Costanoan language areas. They were Patwin of the Napa Valley (a Wintuan language), Delta Yokuts of the northern San Joaquin Valley and Northern Valley Yokuts of the middle San Joaquin Valley (both Yokutsan languages).

The Patwin language was spoken in the lower Napa Valley and on the Suisun Plain at the northeastern edge of the San Francisco Bay estuary system by people who moved to Mission Dolores. Patwin extended north from those areas up the west side of the Sacramento Valley and adjacent interior Coast Ranges to the present Colusa-Glenn county border. It was one of three languages of the Wintuan family, along with the Nomlaki language of the west-central Sacramento Valley and the Wintu language of the northern end of the Sacramento Valley (Shipley 1978:82-83). Whistler (1977) has shown that proto-Wintuan developed in Oregon, probably in proximity to Takelman, another hypothetical Penutian phylum member. Large numbers of southern Patwins moved to Mission Dolores, and smaller numbers moved to Mission San Jose.

Delta Yokuts was spoken in the northern San Joaquin Valley by local tribes that moved to Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara between 1810 and 1826. It was closely related to Northern Valley Yokuts, spoken by people from the central San Joaquin Valley. Shipley (1978:83) wrote, "Probably any Yokutsan dialect was intelligible to the speakers of immediately neighboring dialects with only some minor adjustments; on the other hand, speakers of two widely divergent dialects were almost certainly incapable of understanding each other." Ken Whistler and Victor Golla (1986) took a closer look at the Yokuts dialects and argued (a) that Far Northern Valley (Delta), Northern Valley, and Southern Valley Yokuts are separate, but closely related (and only recently differentiated), languages within a sub-family labeled Valley Yokuts; (b) that Valley Yokuts itself is part of a higher-level Northern Yokuts group that also includes the Gashowu and Kings River dialects; and (c) that Northern Yokuts languages are distinct from Yokuts languages of the Tule-Kaweah, Buenavista, and Poso Yokuts sub-groups.

Prior to mission times, the only Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts local tribes that intermarried with Costanoan-speaking local tribes were those along the long language boundary at the break of the Coast Ranges and San Joaquin Valley. After the missions were established, large numbers of Yokuts speakers moved to missions San Jose, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista in Costanoan-speaking territory, where they did intermarry with local Costanoan family members in patterns that did not occur in earlier times.

Esselen of the Inferred Hokan Phylum

The Esselen language was once spoken in the mountains south of Monterey Bay and in the Salinas Valley in the area where Mission Soledad was founded. Most Esselen speakers joined Rumsen Costanoans at Mission Carmel between 1778 and 1806. However, a large number of Esselen speakers joined Mission Soledad between 1792 and 1806. Also, a few moved to Mission San Antonio as early as 1776.

Dixon and Kroeber (1912, 1913, 1919) included Esselen in the Hokan Phylum, along with Pomoan, Karok, Achumawi-Atsugewi, Yana, Washoe, Yuman, and Chumashan. Sapir (1929) expanded Hokan into a Hokan-Siouan superfamily, including Hokan, Iroquoian, Caddoan, Siouan, and Muskogian. The formulators of the Consensus Classification of 1964 found no evidence for a Hokan-Siouan superfamily and broke off the non-Hokan languages into a completely separate Macro-Siouan phylum (Goddard 1996:316).

The 1964 Consensus Classification group supported Dixon and Kroeber's original association of Yuman, Pomoan, Achumawi-Atsugewi, Shastan, Yana, Washo, and Salinan as belonging together in Hokan. But no agreement was reached regarding the relationships of Chumashan and Esselen to other western North American languages (Goddard 1996:319). Esselen may be a complete isolate, unrelated to any putative Hokan language family member or to any other known language family.

Wappo of the Yukian Language Family

Wappo was spoken in the middle and upper Napa Valley and in valleys further north, almost to Clear Lake, at the time of Spanish entry into California. Some Wappo speakers moved to Mission San Rafael in the early 1820s and many more moved to Mission Dolores in 1821 and 1822. Most of them, from both missions San Rafael and Dolores, moved back north to help found Mission San Francisco Solano in Sonoma in 1823.

Wappo was recognized as having a single sister language, Yuki (another North Coast Range language), by Powers (1877:126, 197). Sapir placed the Yukian family within his since-repudiated Hokan-Siouan phylum (Goddard 1996:314). Sawyer (1964) argued that Wappo and Yuki were both isolates, related only by long term borrowing, but Elmendorf (1968) provided the evidence that convinced Sawyer (1978) and most other linguists that they are indeed genetically related. Goddard (1996:323) notes that the Yukian language family is now believed by most linguists to be completely unrelated to any other language family or phylum.

ALTERNATE TERMS TO COSTANOAN: OLHONEAN AND OHLONE

Over the past 150 or so years, while professional linguists and anthropologists have built a naming system for California Indian groups based upon a variety of Indian and Spanish names, some anthropologists and historians have sought labels for local groups from Indian words alone. Relevent to this report, the words Olhonean and Ohlone have been applied as alternative labels to Costanoan. We have already described how the label Costanoan was assigned by John Wesley Powell and enshrined by A. L. Kroeber. In this section we will describe the origins of the alternative labels Olhonean and Ohlone, as applied to the Costanoan language family and to smaller segments of that family.

Origin of the Term Ohlone

Most people who have looked into the question concur that the term Ohlone, as used in reference to the Costanoan language group, derives originally from Adam Johnson's reference to "Olhones, (called, in Spanish, Costanos or Indians of the Coast)" in his 1850 letter to H. H. Schoolcraft quoted above in the Philological Studies section of this chapter. Johnson was certainly referring to the local tribe from the San Mateo County coast whose name had been spelled "Oljon" by the Spanish missionaries. The Oljon local tribe was absorbed into the Mission Dolores population in the 1780s, as will be discussed in Chapter 4 below.

The switch in spelling from "Olh-" to "Ohl-" first appeared in the *California Farmer* newspaper of May 31, 1861, in an article about San Francisco Bay Area Indians by Alexander Taylor.

> The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the Mission of Dolores, were five in number;

> the Ahwashtees, Ohlones (called in Spanish Costanos, or Indians of the Coast), Altahmos, Romanons, and Tuolomos (Taylor 1861a).

Taylor was attempting to reproduce Adam Johnson's information as published by Schoolcraft. Either he or the newspaper typesetter reversed two of the letters to come up with "Ohlone." A few years later, Hubert Howe Bancroft (1883:453) reproduced Taylor's version of the Adam Johnson note, repeating the spelling "Ohlone," in the *Wild Tribes* volume of his *Native Races* series.

Meanwhile, Johnson's original spelling, "Ol-hones" found its way into a local history publication in the East Bay when Frederick Hall (1871:40) wrote in his *History of San Jose and Surroundings* that the "Olhones or (Costanos)" were the "tribe of Indians" who lived between San Francisco and San Juan Bautista. Years later, Kroeber documented the term in the following short note in Hodge's encyclopedic 1910 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

> **Olhon**. A division of the Costanoan family, formerly on San Francisco peninsula and connected with mission Dolores, San Francisco, Cal. The term Costanos, also made to include other groups or tribes, seems to have been applied originally to them.—A. L. Kroeber, inf'n, 1905.
>
> Alchones.—Beechey, Voy., I, 400, 1831. Ohlones.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, May 31, 1861. Olchone.—Beechey, op. cit., 402. Ol-hones.—Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, II, 506, 1852. Oljon.—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Oct. 18, 1851 (Kroeber [1905] in Hodge 1910:118-119).

We have already discussed the Schoolcraft (1853) citation and the Taylor (1861a) citation of May 31, 1861. In October of 1861, Taylor (1861b) published the local tribe name "Oljon" within a list of local tribe names extracted directly out of the Mission Dolores registers. The Beechey references derive from the journal of Frederick Beechey, captain of a British scientific expedition, who visited San Francisco Bay in 1826 and was told about "the Olchone, who inhabit the seacoast between Sán [sic] Francisco and Monterey" (Beechey 1831:78); the reference could have been to no other group than the Oljon local tribe from San Gregorio and Pescadero creeks on the San Mateo County coast.

In 1915 the spelling "Ohlone" appeared on a bronze plaque placed at the Indian cemetery at Mission San Jose in honor of the Indian people buried there. The plaque, which read "Here sleep four thousand of the Ohlone Tribe," was placed at the behest of a Mrs. C. L. Stevens (Barmby in Cummings 1937). The source of the spelling must have been either Taylor in 1861 or Bancroft in 1875. By the early 1930s, Mission San Jose Indian people were listing themselves as "Ohlone" and "Olonian" Indians in their documentary responses to questionaires sent out by the federal Office of Indian Affairs under the Jurisdictional Act of 1928 (see Chapter 10).

In 1964, when the previously named Ohlone Cemetery at Mission San Jose was in danger from highway construction, the American Indian Historical Society joined a group of local Mission San Jose Indian descendants to protect it (Galvan 1968). The highway was moved and the local Indians were granted an easement to the cemetery land. Soon thereafter, the local Mission San Jose Indian descendents formed a short-lived chapter of the American Indian Historical Society called the Ohlone Indian Historians (Costo 1965d).

Several eastern Miwok people from the Sierra foothills went to Mission San Jose to join the local Ohlone group in re-dedicating the Ohlone cemetery. Ione Miwok elder John Porter was quoted as suggesting at the event that word Ohlone was a variant of the Sierra Miwok word indicating the direction west—"O'lo'no wit" (Galvan 1968). While it is clear to us that the term Ohlone derives from the name of the Oljon local tribe of the San Mateo Coast, we now know that San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Sierra Miwok arose from a single Utian proto-language. It is possible that "Oljon" and "O'lo'no wit" did indeed arise from a single root term that signifyed a western area or a westerly direction.

Olhonean and Ohlonean as Language Family Labels

Olhonean was applied by C. Hart Merriam as an alternative to Costanoan during the early part of the twentieth century (Merriam 1967:371-403). Merriam visited Ohlone/Costanoan Indian people in Monterey, San Juan Bautista, and Pleasanton at various times between 1902 and 1931 (Heron 2002). His field linguistic material is neither voluminous nor of the best quality, but it does include important basketry and ethnobotany vocabulary and material culture information. His data also contribute to determinations of linguistic boundaries.

Merriam was opposed to the application of non-Indian words as names for native groups and languages. He coined the term "Olhonean" as an alternative to "Costanoan." Prior to his death, however, his alternative language names were found only in his own unpublished notes. Heizer (1969:7) catalogued Merriam's notes and published most of them, including his Ohlonean material (Merriam 1967:371-403). Merriam's names for language groups are listed in Table 3 (see also Heizer 1966:41).

Table 3. California Linguistic Group Names as Provided by Kroeber, Powers, Powell, and Merriam.

STOCKS OR PHYLA	LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE FAMILIES			
KROEBER (1925)	KROEBER (1925)	POWERS (1877)	POWELL (1891)	MERRIAM [a]
Athabascan	Athabascan	Tinneh	Athabascan	Athabascan
Algonkian	Yurok	Yurok	Wiestpekan	Polikla
	Wiyot	Wishosk	Wishoskan	Soolahteluk
Hokan	Achomawi	A-cho-ma-wi	. . . .	Achomawan
	Chumash	Santa Barbara	Chumashan	Chumash
	Chimariko	Chim-a-ri-ko	Chimarikan	Chimareko
	Esselen	. . . .	Esselenian	Esselen
	Karok	Ka-rok	Quoratean	Kahrok
	Pomo	Po-mo	Kulanapan	Pomoan
	Salinan	. . . .	Salinan	Ennesen
	Shastan	Shas-ta	Shastan	Shastan
	Washo	Washo	Washoan	Washoo
	Yana	. . . .	Yanan	Yahnah
Penutian	Costanoan	Mut-sun	Costanoan	Olhonean
	Maidu	Mai-du	Pujunan	Midoo
	Miwok	Miwok	Moquelumnan	Mewan
	Wintun	Win-tun	Copehan	Wintoon
	Yokuts	Yo-kuts	Mariposan	Yokut
Shoshonean	Gabrieleno	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Tongva
	Koso	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Shoshonean
	Tubatulablal	Sho-sho-ni	Shoshonean	Tubotelobela
Yukian	Yuki	Yu-ki	Yukian	Yukean
	Wappo	Ash-o-chi-mi	Yukian	Mi-yahk'-mah

Notes: These lists follow those published by Heizer (1966:25), although some additional Shoshonean and Yukian names have been added from the original sources; [a] Merriam never published the tribal names he used in his manuscripts. Heizer (1966) brought them together from those manuscripts. Heizer (1966) also published a composite map of Merriam's tribal boundaries as the latter had reconstructed them on working field maps.

Milliken (1981), following Merriam, used the term Olhonean as a substitute for Costanoan in his monograph on the Rumsen local tribe of Monterey and the Carmel Valley. Writing at the end of the 1970s, he was influenced by a rise in concern for Native American history following the Alcatraz occupation of 1969-1971 and subsequent nationwide movement for Indian self-determination. He utilized Merriam's native term for the language family to show respect for native cultures in California.

An alternative spelling form, "Ohlonean" was placed in the literature in 1969 by anthropologist and Yuma Indian Jack Forbes, who used "Ohlonean (Costanoan)" in lieu of Costanoan in *Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Like Merriam, Forbes found native terms preferable to non-native ones for native language group labels. But Forbes did not follow Merriam's "Olhonean" precisely. Instead he reversed the 'l" and "h" to syncronize "Ohlonean" with "Ohlone," the name that descendants of the Mission San Jose people called themselves. Forbes suggested the following linguistic relationships and terminology for the erstwhile Costanoan languages:

Ohlonean (Costanoan) branch

1. Muwekma division
   a. Ohlone/Costanoan (San Francisco, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Jose) dialects
   b. Huichun-Karkin (San Pablo) dialects
2. Mutsun-Rumsen division
   a. Mutsun (Humontwash, San Juan Bautista) dialects
   b. Rumsen (Monterey) dialects
   c. Chalón (Soledad) dialects (Forbes 1969:184)

Some of Forbes' language relationships are not accepted by linguists today (see Table 2). However, his work is important to us for its introduction of the precise terms "Ohlonean" and "Ohlone/Costanoan" into the ethnographic literature.

Ohlone First Equated with Costanoan in 1978

The term "Ohlone" was first applied to the Costanoan language family as a whole in Malcolm Margolin's (1978) popular book *The Ohlone Way*. Margolin developed his book as a description of the pre-contact Indian people of the San Francisco Bay Area only, not all pre-contact Costanoans. He was aware that the Mission San Jose Indian descendants called themselves Ohlones and therefore used that term in his book title. In the introduction to the book, Margolin (1978:1) wrote:

> The descendants of the Bay Area Indians dislike the name [Costanoan] quite intensely. They generally prefer to be called Ohlones, even though Ohlone is a word of disputed origin: it may have been the name of a prominent village along the San Mateo coast, or perhaps it was a Miwok word meaning "western people."

Margolin originally intended his book to be limited to the San Francisco Bay Area. He expanded the groups covered shortly before publication to include those of the Monterey Bay Area, on the basis of conversations with Randall Milliken. Milliken, who was researching his own study of the Rumsen Costanoan people of the Monterey Peninsula at the time, and who was using Merriam's label Olhonean in place of Costanoan, made a map used in *The Ohlone Way* that identified the entire Costanoan language area, from San Francisco Bay south to Big Sur, as the land of "Known Ohlone Tribelets." Thus Milliken influenced Margolin to reframe the term Ohlone into an equivalent term to Costanoan.

Since 1978 the label "Ohlone" has replaced "Costanoan" in works by some Indian authors (Costo and Costo 1995, Lydon and Yamane 2002), some anthropologists (for instance, Bean 1994, Shanks 2006), and most popular writers (Baker 1999, for example). Alan Brown may have captured

the reason for its rapid acceptance when he noted that Ohlone has a euphonious trisyllabic pronunciation "which obviously provides a sound-echo evoking the well known native California name Ahwahnee with its pleasant associations" (Brown 1994:38). However, the term Ohlone is not favored by all descendants of Costanoan language speakers.

Conclusion: Ohlone/Costanoan as a Practical Alternative

The standard names for native North American languages and tribes in scholarly literature derive from terms applied by French, English, or Spanish writers from a variety of sources. Some are the names specific local tribes called themselves, while others are the names applied to tribes by neighboring groups. Neither Costanoan, nor Olhonean, nor Ohlone are terms that California native peoples would have recognized at the time of Spanish settlement. The local tribes did not need language group names because they did not experience life at the language group scale.

No conclusion satisfactory to all of the Indian descendants has been reached regarding the proper label for the erstwhile Costanoan language family. That leaves anthropologists, historians and linguists in a difficult position. So far, linguists and most anthropologists have remained with Costanoan because that term is deeply embedded in their literature. Popular writers have moved entirely to the term Ohlone. Two descendant political groups incorporate Ohlone and Costanoan in their group names. They are the "Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians" (Ketchum 2002) and the "Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation" (O.C.E.N. Brochure extract, 2002). Many government agencies, including the National Park Service, currently use the label Ohlone/Costanoan for the entire language family.

In this report we have chosen to use the label "Costanoan" in reference to the language family, but to use the label "Ohlone/Costanoan" when talking about the descendants of speakers of the various Costanoan languages as a whole. Historian Alan K. Brown provided a useful summation of the problem of appropriate native language labels.

> A general conclusion ought to acknowledge that we live with many a misnomer, consciously or unconsciously, and when we become conscious of one, we handle it however we see fit—there is no general law, and "America" and "Indian" are two famous problems which we easily may wish to solve in opposite ways. A closer parallel might be the case of such well known peoples as the Greeks and the Germans, who get their English names from otherwise long-forgotten small tribes… As Juan Crespi wrote on another occasion, people as a whole are free to give names according to what pleases them. But the record of choices needs to be kept clear (Brown 1994:38).

Chapter 3. West-Central California Cultural and Genetic Groups

In this chapter we describe the cultures of west-central California at the time of Spanish entry, then look at the evidence from archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistic prehistory that might explain the culture patterns. The first section examines the concept of a cultural unit in California ethnography. The second section reviews attempts to quantify cultural similarities and differences among ethnographic groups in western North America. The third section summarizes evidence for specific cultural variation among Costanoan-speaking cultures at Spanish contact. Next follows a section on archaeology, osteology, DNA studies, and proto-language reconstuctions as they pertain to the emergence of contact-period Ohlone/Costanoan cultures. This chapter concludes with a summary of the strong evidence for a significant separation between the cultures of Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay Costanoan groups.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Anthropologists organize data about native Californians as though language groups, and sometimes native language families (as in the case of the Costanoans), were unified cultural units. In this section we examine that approach to data organization, its history, and its consequences.

Culture is Related to Language

"Culture" is both a simple concept and one nearly impossible to define with a few words. Anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published a list of 160 different definitions of culture in 1952. Having struggled through their list without finding a single definition to be completely satisfactory, we offer our own definition of culture here:

> Culture is the shared constellation of concepts (ideals, values, material templates, and rules for living) and patterned behaviors (at times contrary to the concepts) that enables a human group to survive and solve problems together.

The act of defining the degree of cultural similarity between any two groups involves some sort of comparison between the patterned behaviors and concepts of the one group and the other. However, no agreement has been reached about how to weight the relative importance of various aspects of culture to construct an acceptable taxonomic classification of the world's cultures.

Shared ideas and meanings are expressed by language. When a language spreads into a new area, either through population movement or through borrowing, a package of material practices, religious traditions, and attitudes spreads with it. Thus Arabic culture spread as the Arabs spread across North Africa after the death of Mohammed. Overseas Chinese brought a cultural package with them as they spread among the cities of southeast Asia. Hispanic culture spread across the Americas following the voyage of Columbus. The list of traits that often spread with a language is vast. Ceremonial events and mythic narratives, ways of tracking time, cuisines, attitudes toward particular body parts, political structures, and attitudes towards property are just a few examples. Language affinity, therefore, is often accepted as a proxy for cultural affinity.

The Language-Culture Relationship is Inexact

The relationship between language and culture is not straitforward. We know that speakers of different member languages of a language family may have different cultures. The Germans and the French speak two distinct languages of the Indo-European family, and many aspects of their cultures, including legal systems, cuisines, and artistic sensibilities, are also quite distinct. However, German and French cultures are nearly identical when compared with the culture of their fellow Indo-European speakers in Iran. In North America, the Hopi are speakers of a Shoshonean language, but their Pueblo culture has more in common with non-Shoshonean Zuni and Keres speakers than with speakers of other Shoshonean languages, such as the Paiute, Gabrieleño, and Tubatulabal. Likewise, the Hupa of Northern California are culturally closer to the neighboring Yurok and Karok, than to the linguistically affiliated Navajo of the Southwest.

Cultural differences within a language or language family tend to be strongest when the group is geographically widespread and disjunct. In such cases, a number of factors generate cultural separation. New groups that bring their technologies and language into an area may incorporate other aspects of the older cultures they absorb; such incorporation led to the present differences between Mexican and Spanish cuisines, for instance. Cultural differences among widespread members of a language group can also arise through independent development of newly emerging technologies. Driving on the left side of the road, for instance, is shared by Australians and British, but not by English-speaking Americans.

The spread of a language or language family does not always co-occur with the physical replacement of one population by another, a fact that accounts for language sharing by genetically dissimilar peoples in many times and places. Regarding the diffusion of languages, Dyen (1956:613) noted:

> The migration of a language is the migration of some number of its speakers. In actual fact a language can be spread by a number of speakers too small to constitute a noticeable population movement. Consequently, if a language is said to migrate, the question whether its speakers have migrated in significant numbers is left to be determined.

Populations have changed language in the past after being conquered by small numbers of invading elites. Through such conquest the language of Britain changed from Celtic, to Latin, to Germanic Old English, to Old Danish in some places, then to Normanized English, over little more than a thousand years. By the same token, Latin America became Hispanic and Greek Anatolia became Turkic through the invasion of elites.

Language shift without population replacement is best known among sedentary farming peoples conquered by invaders with distinct advantages in military technology. In less densely populated lands held by hunter-gatherers, relative prestige has been a factor in language shift, as in the case of the shift of the upland Wailakis to the Athabascan language in Northwest California, in emulation of their Hupa neighbors (Dyen 1956). In summary, people who share a language or

language family relationship do not always have a common background as a genetic population. This must be kept in mind as we proceed with the study of the cultural and possible genetic relationships among the various speakers of Costanoan languages at the time of Spanish entry into California

Kroeber's "Linguistic Group Package" Approach to Cultural Identity

A. L. Kroeber argued that California language groups shared a cultural identity, which, although abstract, might be likened to a national identity. He developed the argument thoroughly in various writings about the Pomoan language family; he applied the argument to the Costanoans by treating them as a single cultural group in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*. The Pomoans were his favorite example for his ideas about cultural nationalities because they had continued their pre-European lifeways alive in their North Coast Range homelands well into the late nineteenth century, thus providing a much more detailed body of ethnographic information to anthropologists than did the Costanoans.

The Pomoan people spoke seven languages that were as different from one another as the Romance languages (Kroeber 1925:226). All were contiguous to one another except the Northeast Pomo language, which was cut off from the others by only a few miles of Patwin territory northeast of Clear Lake. Despite the distinctness of the Pomoan languages, Kroeber considered the Pomoans to have a single culture.

> In some cases the dialects cut clear across the topography… Customs too, diverged surprisingly little according to habitat. Clothing, houses, boats, and a few other manufactured objects differed somewhat according to districts; but basketry was nearly uniform and religious and social life scarcely affected unless by more or less intimate contact with human neighbors. Pomo civilization was a substantially homogenous unit, on which natural environment exercized relatively superficial influence (Kroeber 1925:226).

Kroeber compared the Pomoans and Germans as ethnic nationalities in an article written in 1954 and published in 1962.

> To the question, if not a tribe, just what then do the Pomo constitute, the best answer seems to be, in comparable civilized European terms, a nationality. A hundred years ago the Germans were indubitably a nationality with common language, general customs, ideas, and a sense of being related, but were not yet a Nation in the sense of having a unified political government or supreme State. They were a nationality comprising many regional variants, such as Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Hessians, Westphalians, and others. It is these regional groups, and their particularistic governments, that might in some measure be said to correspond to the Masut, Elem, Yokaia, and other tribelets whose aggregate composed the Pomo nationality (Kroeber 1962:39).

However, Edward W. Gifford considered "Pomo culture" to be an imposed abstraction, in an article he wrote with Kroeber, in 1937.

> What we call Pomo—the Indian had no word for it—refers to no definable cultural entity, but only to a sort of nationality expressed in speech varying around a basic type. The Pomo would have said he was among "non-Pomo" only when the language of a locality changed from being partly intelligible to being nonintelligible. There was therefore no Pomo culture except as an abstraction made by ethnographers and other white men. There was a series of highly similar but never quite identical Pomo cultures, each carried by one of the independent communities or tribelets just described (Gifford and Kroeber 1937:118-119).

The question of whether or not a speaker of a given Pomo language would identify as the same kind of person as the speaker of another Pomo language is one of ethnic identity. It is a different question than whether or not all Pomos shared cultural traits with one another that distinguished them from speakers of neighboring Coast Miwok, Wappo, or Patwin languages. Both concepts are important for judging degrees of cultural affinity among groups.

Most ethnographers, ethnohistorians, and popular writers have followed Kroeber in treating the Costanoan language family area as a single cultural unit (Heizer 1974, 1978; Margolin 1978; Shanks 2006). Following the language/culture logic further, Levy (1978a:485) equated the speakers of the specific Costanoan languages with distinct ethnic groups. The linguistic group approach to culture is an important tool for organizing information about the hundreds of local groups that once inhabited central California, but it oversimplifies a more complex mosaic of cultural variation. Some cultural traits did covary with linguistic distributions, but others were shared in restricted local areas by neighbors who spoke distinct languages.

CULTURE AREA STUDIES IN WESTERN NORTH AMERICA

Studies of western North American Indian cultures have used language groups as the basic unit of comparison, because comparing the hundreds or thousands of local independent groups was seen as impractical. In this section we review the various attempts to lump the many language-based tribal cultures of California and western North America into larger cultural wholes. Part of this history has involved a reliance on quantitative methods that have not been completely successful. As the reader will see, Costanoan culture (or cultures) have remained a problem for the larger comparative studies, due to a paucity of detailed information on Costanoan practices prior to the Mission Period cultural disruption.

Intuitive Culture Areas of Wissler and Kroeber

The practice of dividing sections of the North American continent into separate culture areas was developed in the late nineteenth century as a means of organizing museum collections. An influential culture area classification was initiated by Clark Wissler in his 1917 book *The American Indian*. Wissler divided North America into nine distinct culture areas based on contrasts in environment and subsistence systems. For Wissler (1917), California was part of a large western area of generalized wild food gatherers, distinct from the intensive fishing people of the Northwest Coast or the Pueblo farmers of the Southwest.

Subsequently, Kroeber (1925:898-904) divided California into five areas "of distinctive civilization" in the Cultural Provinces chapter of his *Handbook*. The greater part of the state fell within his Central California area, while the other four areas were actually centered outside of California and only marginally reached into it. The Central California area included the lands of the Costanoan, Miwokan, Salinan, Pomoan, Yokutsan, Maiduan, Wintuan, Yana, and Achomawi-Atsugewi language families. Separate culture areas on the north included Northwestern California (Hupa, Karok, Yurok, Shasta, Tolowa and other groups up into Oregon) and the Lutuami area around Klamath Lake (including Modoc in California). To the east was his Great Basin culture area (Washoe, Paiute, Shoshone). His Southern California area reached from the Santa Barbara Coast (Chumash) and desert (Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi) through southern Califonia Shoshonean and Yuman areas into Baja California. Kroeber stated that his 1925 California cultural grouping paralleled his map of religious divisions within California.

> In part this coincidence may be due to a rather heavy weighting of religious factors in the estimation of culture wholes—a procedure that seems necessary, since a definitely organized set of cults is like the flower to the plant—unquestionably one of the highest products of civilization (Kroeber 1925:901).

Kroeber was not interested in cultural mapping for its own sake, so much as in trying to determine the historic sources of contact period cultures. The latter portion of his *Handbook's* Culture Provinces chapter examines Central California and Southern California culture areas in terms of processes outside of California. He argued that Colorado River and Gabrieleno subtypes of Southern California culture derived from complex reconfigurations of Southwest elements. Central California culture, on the other hand, had historic ties to the Great Basin.

> It is certain that central California and the Great Basin are regions of close cultural kinship…. The civilization of central California is less sharply characterized and less vigorous than that of the coast of British Columbia. Its influences could therefore hardly have been as penetrating. There must have been more give and take between Nevada and central California than between the interior and the coastal districts of British Columbia. But the kinship is clearly of the same kind, and the preponderance of cultural energy is as positively (though less strikingly) on the coast in one tract as in the other (Kroeber 1925:917).

We repeat these quotes not because we are certain that they are true, but because they illustrate that Kroeber was concerned in 1925 about culture areas as windows into pre-contact centers of innovation in time and space.

Kroeber's final work on comparative culture in western North America, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*, was completed in 1931and published in 1939. Kroeber's culture areas are little different from Wissler's. They are intuitively based on environment and subsistance practices. But Kroeber was responding to Wissler at a different level. Wissler had elaborated the age-areas concept, using culture trait distributions to surmise the areas of origin of agriculture, textile arts, and other aspects of ethnographic culture. In 1931 Kroeber (1939) criticized Wissler for failing to link considerations of culture history to limited centers of richness and complexity within each overall culture area. Kroeber (1939) examined cultural trait distributions for each culture area to identify more restricted centers of innovation, or cultural "climax"areas.

Kroeber's (1939:pocket Map 6) California Culture area of 1931 split off the northwestern, transmontane, and southern portions of the state to culture areas outside the state (Figure 9). This left essentially the same central California zone as his 1925 California Culture area. He described the California Culture area and proposed a climax center as follows:

> This [Central California] culture… evidently began as one similar to that of the adjoining Great Basin, and has never diverged very far from it. However, subsistence in California was so much easier that culture-surplus growths developed. These found a definite climax, though not a very high one, among the Pomo, Patwin, and Valley Maidu (Kuksu cult, Hesi ceremony, Pomo basketry) about the center of the northern half of the area. The rest of the area is not classifiable according to broadly significant distributions, except into better-off valley and poorer hill tracts (Kroeber 1939:54).

Note that three important groups that Kroeber failed to include in his list of "climax" cultures—Costanoan, Plains Miwok, or Delta Yokuts—were those that were never documented by trained anthropologists prior to their transformation by the mission experience.

Klimek's Statistical Approach to California Culture and Prehistory

A program of quantitative comparison of native California cultures began when Stanislaw Klimek came to Berkeley in the early 1930s. Working with cultural data on about 60 ethnographic California Indian tribes, he published "The Structure of California Culture" in 1935. In it he reported on findings based upon 411 elements of California cultures, including behaviors, techniques, and

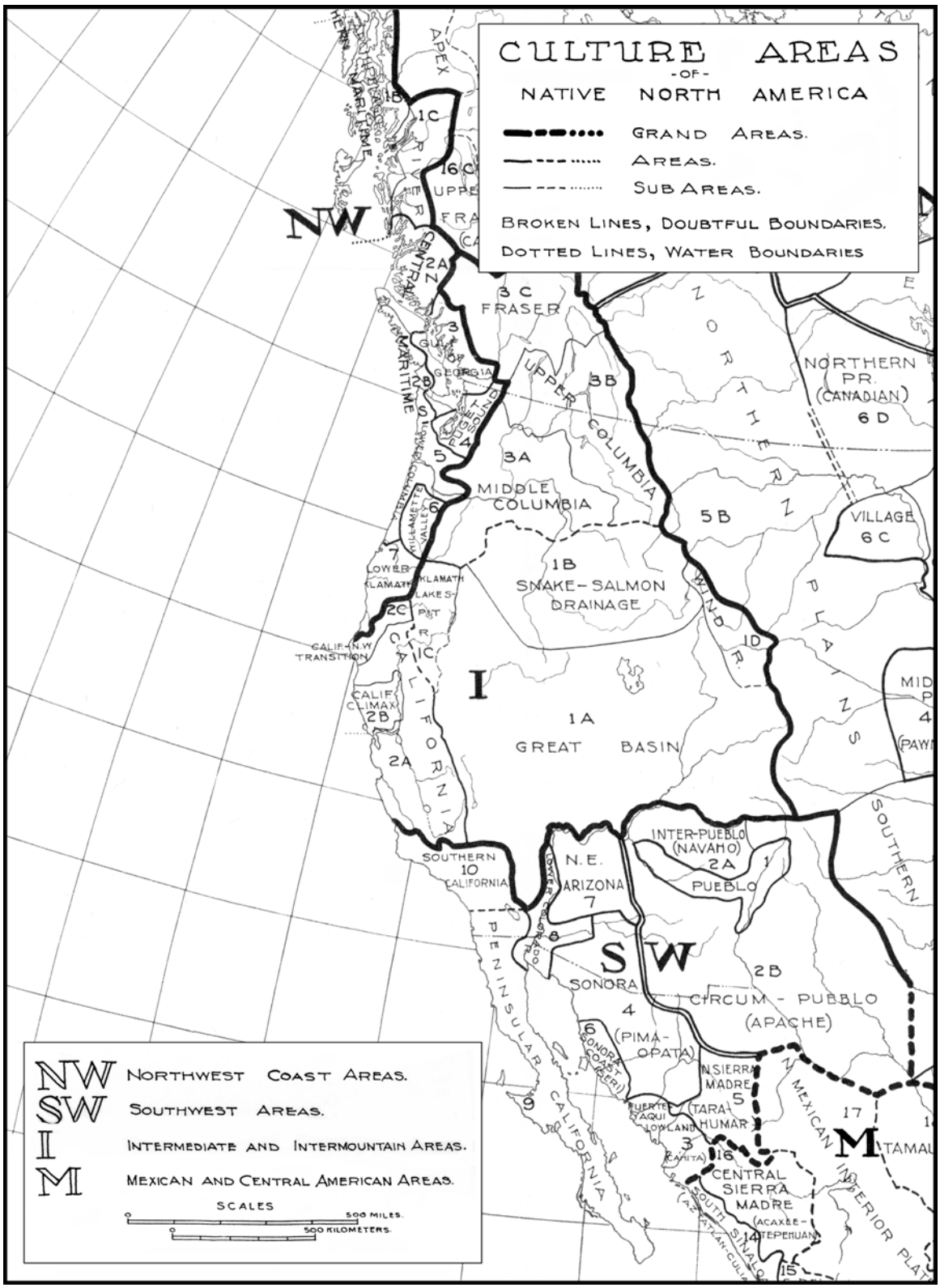

Figure 9. Kroeber's 1939 [1931] Map of Culture Areas of Western North America.

attitudes that had been documented by Kroeber and his associates. The 60 "tribes" he compared were the standard language groups that formed Kroeber's 1925 chapters, with the larger groups broken down into linguistically defined sub-areas. For instance, five Pomo linguistic sub-areas, four Wintuan sub-areas, four Eastern Miwok sub-areas, and two Costanoan sub-areas (Northern and Southern) were initially considered discrete groups for comparative purposes. The two Costanoan sub-areas were lumped together during the analysis, due to the paucity of useful information for each Costanoan sub-area alone (Klimek 1935:50).[20]

Klimek applied Pearson's coefficient of similarity to generate quantitative expressions of cultural relationships. He matched groups of traits to see which were most highly intercorrelated. Most important for our purposes, he compared the traits of each pair of territorial entities in order to distinguish groups of tribes that fell into distinct cultural areas. The sub-areas, or provinces were the Colorado River, Southern California (including Chumash), San Joaquin Valley, Central California (including all Maiduan, Miwokan, Pomoan, and Yukian groups, Patwin and Nomlaki within Wintuan, and Washoe), Northwestern (Achomawi-Atsugewi, Yana, Shasta, Wintu, Wiyot, and most Athabascans), and Northwest Coast (Hupa, Karok, Yurok, and Tolowa), and Northeastern (Modoc).

The Costanoan sample was left out of Klimek's (1935:35) two-by-two table graphically presenting the intertribal coefficients of similarity. He noted in text that the Costanoan data set was limited with regard to ritual culture and cosmology, and most valuable in the area of material culture (Klimek 1935). On his map of cultural provinces, Klimek (1935:52) marked the Costanoan area ambiguously, indicating that its affiliations were with both the San Joaquin Valley and Central California cultural provinces (Figure 10). In text, however, he argued that the Costanoans occupied an intermediate position between the Central California (west central sub-province) and a different area, the Southern California province (Klimek 1935:51).

Klimek attempted to reconstruct the source areas of innovation and change in California prehistory by first generating sets of traits that he deemed to represent "older" and "younger" cultural strata, then proceeding with a series of correlations between those trait sets and the languages and physical types of the 60 tribes. Relying upon intuitive, rather than quantitative, procedures, he argued that the root culture, or "oldest historical phenomenon" in California was represented historically by the Yuki and the Hokans, the latter including Chumash and Salinan (Klimek 1935:61). He visualized a later new cultural infusion, brought a Penutian migration into California from north or east; "The original territory of Penutian expansion must have been where coiling, bullroarer, and parent-in-law avoidance occurred together" (Klimek 1935:65). Kroeber (in Klimek 1935:4) expressed doubt about Klimek's prehistoric cultural strata in his separate preface to "The Structure of California Culture." Kroeber (in Klimek 1935:4) was pleased, however, with Klimek's quantitative determination of seven cultural sub-areas in California.

The "Culture Element Distribution" Research Program, 1935-1945

Kroeber considered Klimek's attempt to reconstruct California prehistory through cultural trait comparison akin to his own work, which he published with Plains Culture examples in "Area and Climax" (Kroeber 1936). But Kroeber was also finding that the data he and his associates had been collecting for years from California groups had been gathered in a spotty and inconsistent

[20] Prior to Klimek's arrival in Berkeley, Harold Driver, a student of A. L. Kroeber, advocated the use of two-by-two tables to measure quantitative relationships between cultures. In 1932, Kroeber partnered with Driver to reconstruct the origin of the Plains Sun Dance through quantitative trait list comparison (Driver and Kroeber 1932). See Jorgensen (1980:8) for a review of that study and other early quantitative studies.

fashion, rendering many trait comparisons impossible. This prompted him to initiate the Culture Element Distribution survey (CED) to collect comparable ethnographic data from the oldest and best-informed people in all of the native societies of California, the Northwest Coast, Plateau, Great Basin, and Southwest.

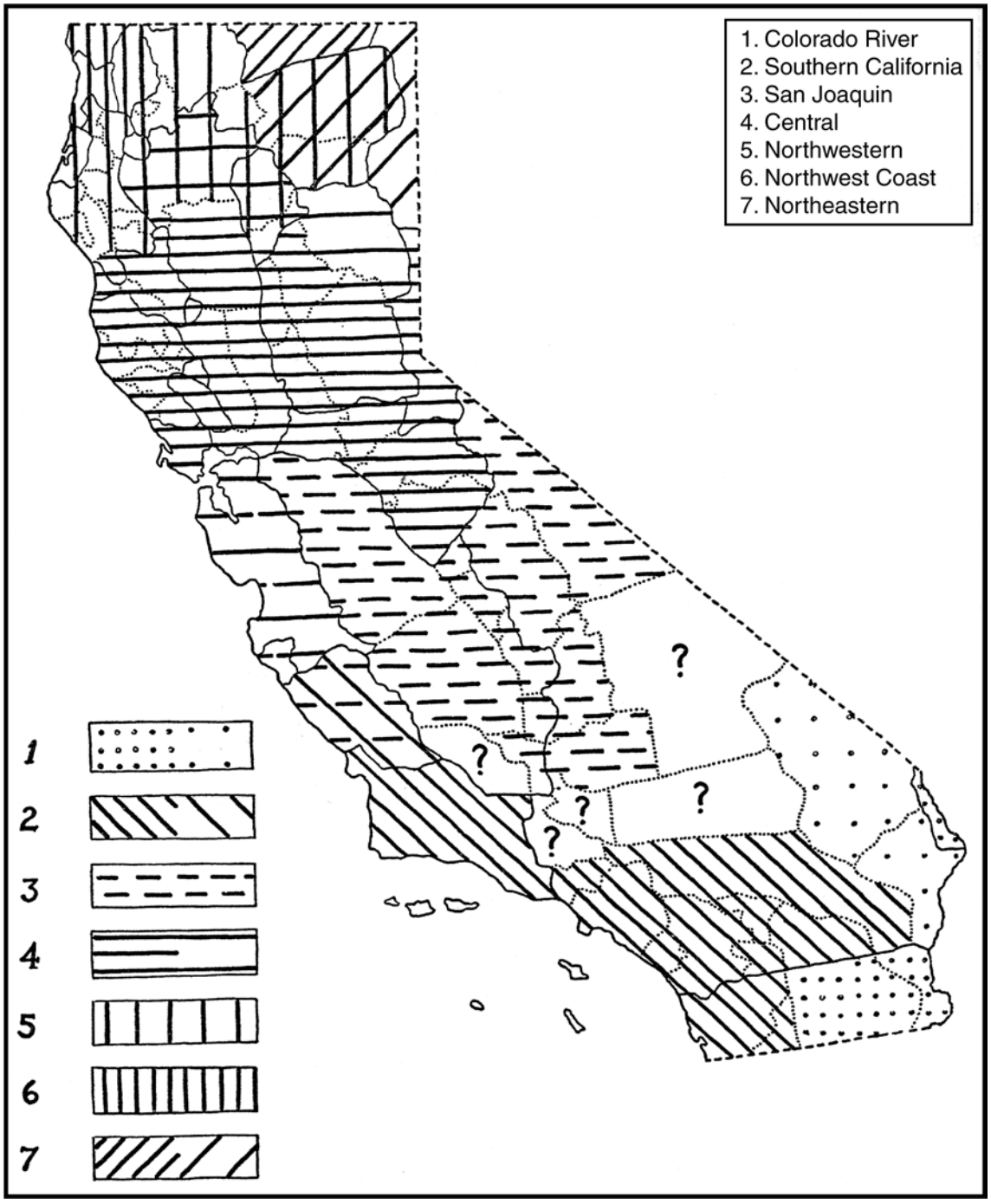

Figure 10. Klimek's 1935 Map of Cultural Provinces in California.

Kroeber sent colleagues and students into the field armed with checklists of possible cultural traits, with the intent of documenting "recall ethnology" about native cultures prior to European contact (Jorgensen 1980:10).[21] Jorgensen characterizes the ambiguity that most anthropologists, including the field workers themselves, felt toward the studies:

> The Culture Element Distributions that were published for each tribe became known as "checklists," though a more popular and pejorative referent used by anthropologists over the years has been "laundry lists." The lists were collected during the depths of the Great Depression, and many of the fledgling anthropologists found the job distasteful and mindless, a rote procedure leading nowhere, an exercise that robbed culture of everything—its life, its spirit, its intricate connections, and its sentiments (Jorgensen 1980:10).

Kroeber himself saw the CED checklists as supplements to careful monographs, rather than substitutes for them, when possible. The checklists attempted to cover the widest possible range of inquiry to allow exploratory quantitative comparison of cultures. In some cases, careful monographs did follow the checklist work; in other cases no follow-up monographs were ever written.

The Costanoan language family areas were considered to be part of the "Central California Coast" area for purposes of the CED. The checklist for that area was filled out by John P. Harrington (1942) in a different way than the checklists for other areas. He filled it out from his notebooks, rather than from direct fieldwork. The special situation was explained by A. L. Kroeber in his introduction to the "Central California Coast" report.

> In the spring of 1935… Mr. J. P. Harrington, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, suggested that he could probably furnish more information from his notebooks than could still be secured from living natives of the southern coastal tracts of California…. Inasmuch as Mr. Harrington began collecting data from the few surviving descendants of the missionized Gabrielino, Chumash, and Salinans nearly thirty years before, had repeatedly interviewed probably every such informant, and as most of these old people had since died, I accepted the offer with gratitude. Mr. Harrington merely stipulated that in return we should not worry or upset the very few remaining aged survivors, among groups like the Kitanemuk and Chumash, with whom he enjoyed carefully cultivated relations. This we refrained from doing; and he, in turn added list data on the Northern and Southern Costano (Kroeber in Harrington 1942:1).
>
> The Harrington checklist consisted of questions from a larger list numbered between 1 and 1,706, but he found fewer than 1,000 of the questions pertinent to his Central Coast area. Harrington gave checks of "present," "absent," or "no information," for 18 discrete groups from three Gabrieleno groups on the south to two Costanoan groups (combined areas) on the north. Kroeber then collapsed them into 11 groups or areas for purposes of comparative quantitative analysis, consisting of two Gabrielino areas on the south, one Kitenamuk area, four Chumash areas, two Salinan areas, and two Costanoan areas (Southern and Northern) on the north.

[21] The first published CED research effort was a Yana study by Gifford and Klimek (1936). Next followed Gifford and Kroeber's (1937) Pomo study. Drucker's CED study for Southern California and Driver's for Southern Sierra groups were published in 1937. Following a pause of a few years, a series of CED studies appeared rapidly in 1942 and 1943. Among them were studies about the "Central California Coast" tribes (Harrington 1942), "Northeast California" (Voegelin 1942), "Round Valley" (Essene 1942), the "Ute-Southern Paiute" (Stewart 1942), and the "Central Sierra" (Aginsky 1943).

Harrington's list did provide Kroeber with enough responses to characterize cultural relationships among the language-based groups of the central coast. Keeping in mind that Kroeber's "statistical" conclusions have been rejected because they were based upon a fallacy in Klimik's statistical method (Chrétain 1946), we examine two of Kroeber's conclusions from the Central Coast data set pertinent to our examination of Ohlone/Costanoan cultures.

> First, all pairs of groups with high coefficients of similarity were geographic neighbors of the same language family. "In short, ethnic relationship as evidenced by speech made for closer cultural similarity than did geographical proximity" (Kroeber in Harrington 1942:4).
>
> Second, the two Costanoan areas/groups were highly correlated with each other, but "have only negative coefficients" with the Salinans and more southerly groups, indicating that they "possess much the most divergent culture in the area" (Kroeber in Harrington 1942:4).

Surprisingly, Harrington found perfect agreement, no differences between the northern and southern Costanoans for every one of the 288 traits for which both gave information. Seemingly, then, the CED list proved that the Monterey Bay Costanoans and the San Francisco Bay Costanoans were culturally very close to one another. The data set, however, is highly suspect. One problem lies in the fact that 265 of the 288 answers were positive, i.e., negative information that would rule out the presence of a given trait in either or both areas was seldom available. Furthermore, the answered items tended to be traits that were either unique to the Costanoans or items of general California culture that most California groups answered positively.

The second conclusion, that the CED information suggests a negative relationship between the Salinans and Costanoans, is also suspect. Only 213 checklist items were addressed for both the Costanoans and the Salinans. Regarding the weak comparative data set, Kroeber noted:

> This short list probably reflects meagerness of Costano-Salinan culture, largely. It may however be partly due to the list being constructed with reference to Yokuts-Chumash-Gabrielino and weighted for elements known to occur there, with nothing to compensate on behalf of the two northern groups (Kroeber in Harrington 1942:2).

The Costanoans and Salinans shared traits (or stated absence of traits) in 206 of the 213 items that were answered by both groups. Three of the seven areas of disagreement had to do with basketry forms and manufacturing techniques. Another stated that Costanoans "smoke" cured meat, something no other central or southern Californians claimed. Still another indicated Costanoans made flutes, but not of elderberry, again contrary to other central and southern Californians. The basketry differences are interesting and probably meaningful. The only listed disagreement of real ethnographic value between Salinans and Costanoans was an indication that women could be shamans among the Costanoans, but only men could be shamans farther south. Overall, the data sets indicate near identity of Salinan and Costanoan culture, but the weakness of the overall data set renders that conclusion as usubstantiatable as Kroeber's conclusion that the two cultures were quite divergent.

Kroeber never compared the Costanoan CED checklist with more northerly central Californian linguistic groups, even though he and Gifford did develop a checklist and publication for the various Pomo language groups and neighboring Lake Miwok and Patwin (Gifford and Kroeber 1937). The two lists are very difficult to compare, because Kroeber and Gifford (1937) used a completely different "trait numbering" system than Harrington (1942). Nevertheless, we were able to identify 42 important traits that could be compared between the Costanoans in the Harrington (1942) study and four of the most southerly groups in the Kroeber and Gifford (1937) study, the latter being the Cloverdale Southern Pomo, Santa Rosa Southern Pomo, Fort Ross Southwest Pomo, and Coyote Valley Lake Miwok. Complete cultural agreement can be descerned in only 23 of the 42

traits. In four cases one or another northern group concurred with the Costanoans, while other northern groups differed. The Costanoans gave very different answers than any of the northerners in 15 cases. Examples of differences were: Costanoans claimed that their chiefs doubled as their orators, while northerners had a separate office for the orator; Costanoans claimed to have killed unsuccessful shamans, while northerners did not do so; Costanoans plucked excess facial hair with tweezers, while northerners reportedly shaved with sharp flakes; Costanoans used slings to hunt, but not in warfare, while northerners used slings for both; Costanoans played both shinny and a "football race," while the northerners only played shinny; and Costanoans claim to have used feathers to wave smoke down holes to flush out gophers, while northerners hunted the same way without using feathers.

Overall, Kroeber concluded that his CED studies supported language groups as cultural units in south-central California, at least so far as they differentiated Costanoans from Salinans, and Salinans from Chumash. But the complete agreement for 288 traits for the northern and southern Costanoans, as provided by Harrington (1942) is suspect. Harrington was a linguist who learned ethnography in the context of documenting words, phrases, and stories. He brought the texts from one Costanoan person in one area and read them over to people in other areas. The absence of disagreement about cultural practices from one area to the next may have been partly a sign of lack of knowledge, partly a matter of politeness. Farther north, the far more substantial Pomo CED checklist illustrates tremendous variation in cultural detail within the overall Pomo culture area (Gifford and Kroeber 1939). That pattern leads us to suspect that there had been similar variation within the Costanoan language family area. Good evidence for such internal cultural variation will be presented below in this chapter.

Statistical Classification in Western North America Since 1945

Kroeber retired from the University of California in 1946. He never did use the information from the CED checklists to attempt a formal quantitative comparison of western North American groups, nor even of California groups, although he did continue to write about California Indian cultures until his death in 1960. Chrétien's (1946) negative review of his statistical methods may have caused Kroeber to sour on the quantitative approach. Also, Richard Beardsley's (1948) *American Antiquity* paper entitled "Culture Sequences in Central California Archaeology" may have shown Kroeber that archaeological evidence is more useful than strained ethnographic inference for reconstructing past patterns of innovation and diffusion. Be that as it may, other scholars did continue to study quantitative relationships among native North American cultures, most notably Harold Driver (with William C. Massey, 1957; with James L. Coffin 1975) and Joseph Jorgensen (1980).

Driver and Massey (1957:173) produced an atlas of trait distributions across native North America prior to westernization using data from the CED and from George P. Murdock's (1954) world-wide Human Relations Area Files. The underlying purpose of Driver and Massey's work, explained in their final chapter, entitled "An Integration of Functional, Evolutionary, and Historical Theory," was to disentangle the processes of evolution and diffusion in the creation of cultures across traditional native North America. This was the same interest that had provoked Kroeber, one of Driver and Massey's mentors, to begin the CED project. Much of their conclusion is a response to Murdock (1949), who proposed a single functional evolutionary sequence in cultural development around the world involving correlated shifts in subsistance strategy, division of labor, and kinship terminology. Driver and Massey (1957:438) found variations in trait combinations across North America that did not fit the predictions of the single evolutionary model. They did not, however, directly address our research question regarding the cultural and genetic relationships of the native language groups of west-central California.

Driver and Coffin (1975) used computer punch cards and one form of cluster analysis to classify cultural relationships among 245 language-based societies in *Classification and Development of North American Indian Cultures: A Statistical Analysis of the Driver-Massey Sample*. They produced

separate tree diagrams for tribes in each of seven intuitively defined culture provinces of North America. Data for 36 key groups were then re-sorted to form a single tree indicating that a nine-area division best describes the higher level of contact-period cultural diversity across North America. In the nine-fold scheme, all California groups (with the exception of the Tolowa in the far northwest of the state) were merged with the Great Basin and northern Baja California groups into a single California-Great Basin cultural unit.[22] Costanoans were excluded from the study, for want of a robust data set.

The most recent publication in the long series of quantitative analyses of cultural relationships among language-based tribes is Joseph Jorgensen's *Western Indians* (1980). Jorgensen was a student of Harold Driver. His study applied more sophisticated cluster analysis methods to the data set inherited from the CED and from the Human Relations Area Files (Jorgensen 1980:311-313). *Western Indians* is an encyclopedic work, including distributional maps for 260 of the 430 cultural variables that he used. The work includes a two-dimensional scattergram that illustrates the clinal distribution of cultural relationships among most western North American cultures. Figure 11 shows that scattergram, with the tribal plots encircled within seven cultural areas (Jorgensen 1980:89).

Neither the Costanoans nor the richly documented Chumash were included in the analysis that produced Jorgensen's scattergram. The Miwokan, Yokutsan, and Salinan groups that we would expect to have been most like the Costanoans are encircled on the scattergram with the Patwin, Pomoan, and Maiduan groups in a "Northern and Central California" cluster. Yet he reported a cluster analysis tree that suggests a different clustering pattern, one that placed the Miwokan, Yokutsan, and Salinan groups in a "Southern California" cluster together with the west-southern California Shoshonean and Yuman groups, while assigning the Patwin, Pomoan, and Maiduan groups together with the Achomawi, Shasta, and Northwest California groups (Jorgensen 1980:94). The differences between the scattergram and cluster tree suggest that the enclosed areas on the scattergram reflect Jorgensen's intuitive division of the clinally related California linguistic/cultural groups.

Jorgensen explained why he did not include the Costanoan language family area within his study population:

> Because Spanish policies and European-carried diseases ravaged tribes along the California Coast, some tribes, such as the Gabrieliño and Salinan of coastal California, are poorly reported; nevertheless these two are included in the sample. The Chumash from the coastal region near Santa Barbara, and the Costanoans from the coastal region between San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay were, however, less well reported than either the Salinan or the Gabrieliño and have been excluded (Jorgensen 1980:2).[23]

Jorgensen's rejection of Costanoan data for his ethnographic study supports our conclusion that there is little comparative value in Harrington's 1942 CED material for the Costanoans.

---

[22] Driver and Coffin (1975) referenced Jorgensen (1969) for a full description of the type of cluster analysis or numerical taxonomy program that they used to generate their tree diagrams. Statisticians are now aware that very different results may be generated in cluster analysis, depending upon whether "nearest-neighbor, furthest-neighbor, or average neighbor" linkage decisions are used at each cluster level. We did not consult Jorgensen (1969), and thus, cannot report the linkage criteria they used.

[23] The absence of Chumash data from Jorgensen's study is understandable. J. P. Harrington's extensive detailed notes pertaining to Chumash material culture and social organization would, it seems, have provided the necessary basis for their inclusion. However, those notes had not been published when Jorgensen (1980) prepared Western Indians in the 1970s.

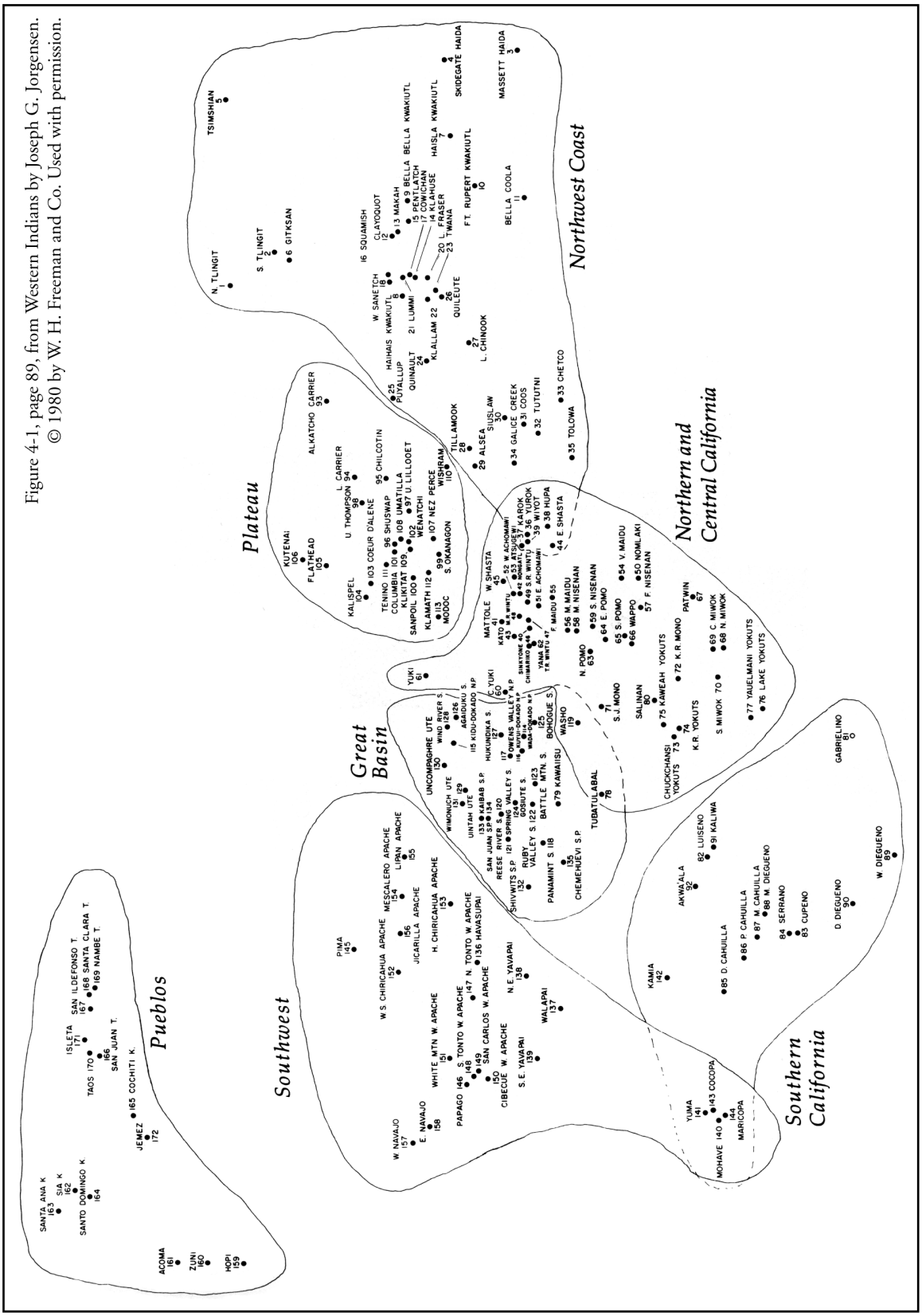

Figure 11. Jorgensen's 1981 Scattergram Showing Cultural Relationships among 172 Western North American Language Groups.

ETHNOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN WEST-CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

In this section we examine the degree to which cultural differences did or did not co-vary with language and language area in west-central California. This is a difficult topic because our data are so limited. The first systematic attempt to collect and publish a broad range of ethnographic information in central California was undertaken in the 1850s by Alexander Taylor, a post-Gold Rush immigrant. Taylor gathered information of uneven quality from Indians themselves, Mexican settler descendants, and interested Anglo settlers. He published the information in a series of articles in *The California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences* newspaper between 1860 and 1863. In the 1870s, Hubert Howe Bancroft published material regarding California Indian ethnography, also of uneven quality, in *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*. Linguist/anthropologists Alphonse Pinart and Jeremiah Curtin gathered small scraps of information in the 1870s and 1880s within Ohlone/Costanoan territory.

The only detailed interview with an Ohlone/Costanoan Indian published in the nineteenth century took place during the late 1880s, when E. L. Williams (1890) interviewed Awaswas Costanoan descendant Lorenzo Asisara of Mission Santa Cruz. The Asisara interviews contain information about Mission Period history. They do not address questions of pre-contact material culture, social culture, ceremonials, or myths. Field anthropologists began working in California in 1902 with the arrivals of A. L. Kroeber and C. Hart Merriam. Both men spent a small amount of time interacting with Ohlone/Costanoan descendants. Kroeber's "Costanoan" chapter in his 1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California* contains very little information. Merriam (1967:371-403) collected some important information about basketry, food and medicine, and general vocabulary from southern Ohlone/Costanoans in the San Juan Bautista area between 1902 and 1906. Also before 1920, E. W. Gifford of the University of California visited northern Ohlone/Costanoan people in the Pleasanton area and wrote a few notes. Most importantly, J. P. Harrington began working with Ohlone/Costanoans in 1921 and continued to do so into the early 1930s (Mills 1985). Although he was primarily a linguist, Harrington took voluminous notes that included ethnogeography, ethnobotany, family histories, and oral mythic narratives.

Detailed evidence about ethnographic cultural practices in the Costanoan language family area is so sparse that J. P. Harrington (1942) had to lump all of the Ohlone/Costanoans into just two groups, Northern (San Francisco Bay) and Southern (Monterey Bay), in order to get enough material for his quantitative comparison of native cultures from Los Angeles to San Francisco Bay. Jorgensen (1980) had to leave the Costanoan language family out of his comparative study of the tribal groups of western North America, for want of an adequate sample of cultural traits. Furthermore, detailed information is also sparse for the southernmost Coast Miwok, southern Wappo, southern Patwin, Delta Yokuts, and Bay Miwok, all of which were left out of the CED studies and Jorgensen's (1980) *Western Indians*.

The subsections below deal with subsistance economy and material culture to political organization, then to population density, residential flexibility, and intermarriage patterns, and finally to evidence about ceremonialism and mythology. Our main sources are the early diaries and reports of Spanish explorers, missionaries, and government officials.[24] Ethnogeographic, marriage pattern,

[24] The most important early sources, aside from the mission registers, are by Costanso ([1769] in Boneu-Companys 1983); Crespi ([1769] in Brown 2001); Portola ([1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969); Fages ([1772] in Bolton 1930); Crespi ([1772] in Bolton 1926); Rivera ([1774] in Stanger and Brown 1969); Santa Maria ([1775] in Galvan 1971); Anza ([1776] in Bolton 1930a); and Font ([1776] in Bolton 1930b). The initial explorers' diaries provide little information on socio-political and religious organization, but do provide base-line data regarding

and personal name pattern information derives from the Franciscan mission ecclesiastical registers. Some information about material culture, mythology, and kinship terminology derives from the work of early twentieth-century field ethnographers, most particularly J. P. Harrington.

Subsistance and Material Culture

All of the contact-period people of west-central California made their living primarily by harvesting the plant and animal resources of their local environments. They augmented local produce with foods and tool-making resources received in trade from their neighbors. A sexual division of labor existed. Women harvested plant foods, involving an astounding variety of seeds, nuts, fruits, and roots (including corms and bulbs), while men augmented the food supply by fishing and hunting for large and small game. No detailed studies were ever carried out on specific subsistance patterns in any Costanoan language family area because the early Spanish explorers and settlers who witnessed those practices made no more than passing comments about them.

We presume that geographic and ecological factors shaped some material cultural discontinuities in lands where Costanoan languages were spoken. Local tribes that controlled Pacific Coast lands probably used different fishing technologies than groups along the bayshore sloughs or along creeks in the inland Livermore Valley or southern Santa Clara Valley. Groups near redwood trees constructed some shelters of redwood planks, while those along marsh edges used tule bundles to thatch their semi-circular family houses, and those in interior valleys used grass bundles. Such differences are well documented between coastal, Russian river, and Clear Lake Pomo people to the north of the Bay Area (see Kniffen 1939).

Archaeological evidence illustrates important differences in technological traditions between the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas during the period immediately prior to Spanish entry. Archaeological evidence suggests, for instance, that the bow-and-arrow came to the San Francisco Bay and to the Monterey Bay Areas along different paths, causing acceptance of distinct arrow point types in the two areas. The distinctive Stockton Serrate point was the first arrow point to appear around San Francisco Bay. It rapidly spread from the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta to the East Bay, the Marin Peninsula, San Francisco Peninsula, and Santa Clara Valley with the emergence of the Augustine Pattern at approximately AD 1200 (Bennyhoff 1994a, Hylkema 2002 [date modified after Groza 2002]). The first arrow point accepted in the Monterey Bay Area, on the other hand, was the Desert Side-notched (DSN) form. The bow-and-arrow, with DSN point, seems to have arrived in the Monterey Bay Area from the southern San Joaquin Valley. It may not have supplanted the dart in the Monterey bay area until after AD 1500 (Gary Breschini, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2005).

Baskets were the ubiquitous utensils of California cultures. California basketry construction traditions can be separated into two major groups—coiling traditions and twining traditions. Basketry scholar Ralph Shanks, a student of twentieth-century California basketry expert Lawrence Dawson, points out in his new book, *Indian Baskets of Central California* (2006), that Ohlone/Costanoan utilitarian baskets (boiling, eating, winnowing, storage, and burden) were described to field anthropologists as having been made using twining techniques. The only surviving Ohlone/ Costanoan utilitarian baskets (winnowers) were manufactured with twined techniques nearly identical to the few documented Esselen twined baskets.

---

village sizes and material culture. The earliest source on political organization is Pedro Fages' 1775 overview of coastal California ethnography north to Monterey Bay, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California* (Priestley 1937). The final important early Spanish sources are the responses of missionaries in Ohlone/Costanoan territory to the Spanish governments *Interrogatorio* of 1812 (Geiger and Meighan 1976).

> For all Ohlone groups, twining was the most important basketry technique. All or nearly all Ohlone baskets made for every day utilitarian purposes were twined. This Ohlone-Esselen twining was not only culturally important, it was also one of the oldest basketry techniques in all California (Dawson pers. Comm.. in Shanks 2006:32).

The few surviving contact-period Ohlone/Costanoan utility baskets, all twined, come from the Monterey Bay Area. One twined archaeological fragment comes from southwestern Alameda County. Contact-period San Francisco Bay Costanoan utility baskets were also twined, reported one of J. P. Harrington's Chochenyo consultants (Harrington 1942:21-23). Esselen and Ohlone/Costanoan twining featured two of the four important twining techniques found in western North America—plain twining and diagonal twining. Plain twining is common from Alaska to California, while diagonal twining is most commonly found from west-central California south and east into the Great Basin. Shanks (2006:24) suggests that diagonal twining was developed thousands of years ago by proto-Pomoans and proto-Esselens in west-central California, then learned by Utian speakers who later displaced them in the area.

Ohlone/Costanoan coiled baskets were limited to bead-decorated and/or feather-decorated fancy baskets manufactured for gifting. Some of them have been saved in museums in California and Europe. San Francisco Bay groups practiced coiling, but evidence is conflicting regarding whether or not Monterey Bay groups practiced it. According to Broadbent (1972) and Merriam (1967), they did not. Yet four coiled baskets attributed to Santa Cruz and further south have been preserved in museums (Yamane 2002a:130). According to Shanks:

> Not all Ohlone groups made coiled baskets. Surviving coiled baskets came from the San Francisco Bay Area and perhaps as far south as San Juan Bautista. Ohlone coiling apparently became less important the farther south you went in Ohlone country. The Rumsen, a southern Ohlone group, only made twined baskets (Shanks 2006:32).

Of three coiled basketry traditions in central California—Maidu-Patwin-Pomo, Sierra Miwok-Washoe, and Yokuts-Southwestern California—Ohlone/Costanoan coiling is closest to that of the Maidu-Patwin-Pomo group.

> The technical features of Ohlone coiling show that there are clear ties to the cultures to their north and northeast. Ohlone coiled basketry is most closely related to Coast Miwok, Patwin, Wappo and Pomo coiling, in that order. It also shows some relationship to Plains Miwok coiling (Shanks 2006:28).

However some Ohlone/Costanoan coiled basketry elements show a Yokuts influence not present on other north-central California coil work. "Several Ohlone coiled baskets use trimmed weft fag ends, which suggests a relationship to Yokuts work," writes Shanks (2006:28). That led him to suggest:

> The variations in handling weft fag ends and moving ends probably indicate difference in the histories of the eight Ohlone (Costanoan) language groups. Some of the branches of the culture may have arrived in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area at different times or have had contact with different cultures (Shanks 2006:28).

Overall, it is clear that there were differences in Ohlone/Costanoan basketry from north to south. However, a full and rigorous comparison of northern and southern Ohlone/Costanoan basketry is impossible because of the paucity of evidence about utilitarian baskets of the San Francisco Bay Area.

Local Tribe Organization

At the time of Spanish entry, the native people of the San Francisco Peninsula did not know themselves as Costanoans or Ohlones. What mattered was local tribe and extended family membership. A. L. Kroeber relied upon late nineteenth-century evidence from the North Coast ranges, Sierra Nevadas, and southern San Joaquin Valley to argue that regional communities were

the ubiquitous form of political organization in central California. He called the units tribelets. Using Pomo and Patwin examples, Kroeber described tribelets in the following manner:

> Each of these seemed to possess a small territory usually definable in terms of drainage; a principal town or settlement, often with a chief recognized by the whole group; normally, minor settlements which might or might not be occupied permanently; and sometimes a specific name, but more often none other than the designation of the principal town. Each group acted as a homogeneous unit in matters of land ownership, trespass, war, major ceremonies, and the entertainment entailed by them (Kroeber 1932:257).

The multi-village groups that Kroeber called tribelets, and which we call "local tribes" were ubiquitous in central California. Most early Franciscan missionaries called the local tribes rancherias (a word they also applied to individual villages), but one scribe at Mission Dolores called the multi-village local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula "nations." (See Appendix B for details about specific local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula and see the Mission Registers section in Chapter 1 for background and sources on ethnogeographic reconstruction of central California local tribe territories.) Multi-village local tribes were also documented by Franciscan missionaries in Rumsen and Mutsun Costanoan-speaking areas to the south of San Francisco Bay (see Milliken 1981, 1993, 1994, 2002a).

No early diarists clearly described the intricacies of political organization and group decision-making among San Francisco Bay and Monerey Bay multi-village groups. Early Spanish explorers and missionaries occasionally identified male village or local tribe leaders, and bestowed upon them the title of *capitán* (captain). The Yelamu group had only one captain named by the missionaries. He was Guimas of the village Chutchui (SFR-B 365). The Lamchin of the present Redwood City area, on the other hand, had three contemporary named captains, including Atale (SFR-B 1173), Yunenis (SFR-B 1180), and Gimas (SFR-B 1233). The Lamchin are the only known Bay Area example of a local tribe with multiple-captaincy. Evidence is unclear regarding the nature of the power of these tribal headmen. Captains seem to have been responsible for community coordination and dispute settlement, but their decisions were probably constrained by a myriad of unwritten cultural rules.

Population Density and Distribution

Population was very light in west-central California by today's standards, although it was relatively dense for a nonagricultural society. A. L. Kroeber (1925:882-883) inferred that there had been approximately 7,000 Costanoan speakers at contact, on the basis of village size estimates by travelers and settlers and summary statistics from mission registers. Kroeber (1939:154) proposed a population density of 45-70 people per 100 square kilometers (1.2-1.8 per square mile) throughout Costanoan and Miwok-speaking regions. Soon thereafter Sherburne Cook (1943a:183-186) used Franciscan mission register tallies to reconstruct average contact period tribal population densities on San Francisco Bay in the 1.8-2.2 per square mile range, 3.75 people per square mile in the Santa Cruz area, and 1.8 people per square mile in the Soledad area. Martin Baumhoff (1963:223-224) compared Cook's 1943 figures against his model of rainfall and vegetation, and came up with an upward revision to 3-5 people per square mile in the South Coast ranges as a whole. Subsequently, Cook (1976:37) revised his own estimate upward for the South Coast ranges, including the southern portion of the San Francisco Bay Area, from his 1943 average of 2.0 to 2.4 people per square mile.

The most recent South Coast Range population density study was conducted by the senior author of this report. Milliken (2006) used mission register baptismal evidence to model population densities for all Costanoan and Bay Miwok-speaking local regions from the San Benito River watershed and Big Sur north to the Carquinez Strait (Table 4). Population density varied in 34 Costanoan language family study regions from a high of 6.3 persons per square mile to a low of 1.1 persons per square mile. Highlights are as follows:

Table 4. Community Distribution Model Population Density Results for South Coast Range Regions (from Milliken 2006).

ZONE / REGION	BAPTIZED ADULTS	PRE-MISSION MORTALITY FACTOR [a]	ADJUSTED TOTAL POPULATION	POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE	LANGUAGE	COMMUNITIES (WITH HOME MISSION CODE)
SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA						
North Peninsula	68	0.99	137	2.61	SF Bay Costanoan	Yelamu (FR)
Half Moon Bay	77	0.95	162	1.35	SF Bay Costanoan	Pruristac (FR), Chiguan (FR), Cotegen (FR)
West Bayshore	235	0.91	516	3.90	SF Bay Costanoan	Urebure (FR), Ssalson (FR), Lamchin (FR)
Point Año Nuevo	198	0.90	440	2.89	SF Bay Costanoan	Oljon (FR), Quiroste (FR/CL/CR)
Portola Valley	117	0.89	263	4.27	SF Bay Costanoan	Olpen (FR/CL)
EAST BAY AREA						
East Bayshore - North	327	0.84	779	5.21	SF Bay Costanoan	Huchiun (FR), Huchiun-Aguasto (FR)
East Bayshore - South	524	0.83	1,263	5.61	SF Bay Costanoan/Miwok	Tuibun (CL/JO), Irgin (JO), Jalquin (FR)
Diablo Valley	309	0.75	824	4.18	Bay Miwok	Saclan (FR), Tatcan (FR/JO), Chupcan (FR/JO)
Livermore Valley	304	0.75	811	3.73	SF Bay Costanoan	Causen (CL/JO), Seunen (JO), Souyen (JO)
Brushy Peak	78	0.72	217	1.73	SF Bay Costanoan	Ssaoan (JO)
Marsh Creek	77	0.69	223	1.99	Bay Miwok	Volvon (FR/JO)
Carquinez Strait	99	0.59	336	5.97	Karkin Costanoan	Carquin (FR)
INTERIOR SANTA CLARA VICINITY						
Santa Clara Valley	779	0.89	1,751	6.28	SF Bay Costanoan	Tamien (CL), Alson (CL), Puichon (CL/FR)
Saratoga Gap	76	0.87	175	2.11	SF Bay Costanoan	Partacsi (CL/CR), Lamaytu (CL)
New Almaden	188	0.87	432	2.82	SF Bay Costanoan	Ritocsi (CL/CR), Matalan (CL)
Hall's Valley	122	0.84	290	2.52	SF Bay Costanoan	*Paleños* (CL)
Upper Alameda Creek	190	0.81	469	1.92	SF Bay Costanoan	Taunan (JO), Asirin (CL, JO)
Morgan Hill	158	0.81	390	2.75	SF Bay Costanoan	Somontac (CL/CR)
San Antonio Valley	107	0.69	310	1.93	SF Bay Costanoan	Aloc (CL), Murcuig (CL)
Corral Hollow	83	0.65	255	1.59	SF Bay Costanoan	Luecha (CL, JO)
Orestimba Creek	204	0.65	628	1.64	SF Bay Costanoan	Tayssen (CL)
Del Puerto Creek	102	0.59	346	1.64	SF Bay Costanoan	Juñas (CL)
SOUTH OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA						
Santa Cruz Mountains	276	0.88	627	1.82	Awaswas Costanoan	Uypi, Cotoni, Sayantac, Chaloctac, Aptos (all CR)
Gilroy	164	0.83	395	2.81	Awaswas or Mutsun	Chitac (CR), Pitac (CR), Uñijaima (JB)
Burra Burra Mountain	62	0.72	172	1.42	Awaswas or Mutsun	Auxentac (CR)
Los Banos Creek	186	0.69	539	1.78	Mutsun Costanoan	Tamarron (JB), Tomoi (CR)
San Juan Bautista	133	0.84	317	2.12	Mutsun Costanoan	Mutsun (JB/CA)
Tres Pinos/Panoche Creeks	207	0.81	511	1.38	Mutsun Costanoan	Pagsin (JB)
Hollister	144	0.78	369	2.09	Mutsun Costanoan	Ausaima (JB), Chipuctac (CR)
Little Panoche Creek	139	0.72	386	1.40	Mutsun Costanoan	Orestac (JB)
Monterey Bay	248	0.84	590	2.33	Rumsen/Mutsun	Calendaruc (CA/JB), Guachirron de la Playa (JB)
Carmel Valley	221	1.02	433	2.47	Rumsen Costanoan	Rumsen (CA)
Big Sur Coast	85	0.94	181	1.41	Rumsen Costanoan	Sargentaruc (CA)
Upper San Benito River	378	0.78	969	1.49	Chalon Costanoan	Chalon (SO), Escoyzama (SO/AN), Zula (AN)
Silver Creek	133	0.72	369	1.11	Chalon Costanoan	Ochentac (JB), Milanistac (JB), Chapana (SO, JB)

Notes: **Mission codes are like those for mission register citations, as shown in Table 1, but with the lead "S" removed.** [a] "Pre-Mission Factor" adjusts baptized adult population upward to generate inferred "pre-mission" population (Milliken 2006:21-22).

- The highest population density in Costanoan language family lands was 6.3 people per square mile in the northern Santa Clara Valley (Los Altos-San Jose) area. Other high population areas (5.0-6.0 persons per square mile) were along the east shore of San Francisco Bay and on Carquinez Strait. (Coast Miwok populations around San Pablo Bay to the north were higher yet, perhaps reaching 12 persons per square mile on the lower Petaluma River.)
- Population densities that can be called moderately high (3.7-4.3 persons per square mile) were along the bay shore portion of the San Francisco Peninsula, in the Portola Valley area west of present Palo Alto, and in the Livermore Valley to the east of San Francisco Bay. Bay Miwok groups in the Diablo Valley, adjacent to the San Francisco Bay Costanoans, had similar population densities.
- Mid-range population densities (2.0-3.0 persons per square mile) occurred in Yelamu lands at the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula, in the Point Año Nuevo vicinity along the San Mateo coast, the southern Santa Clara Valley from Morgan Hill to Hollister, along the central Monterey Bay coast, and in the Carmel Valley.
- Low population densities (1.0-2.0 persons per square mile) occurred in two kinds of marginal habitats, the dry interior and the most heavily forested of the coastal areas. The coastal low population areas were the Half Moon Bay-Purisima Creek areas of the San Mateo coast, the Santa Cruz Mountains-San Lorenzo River area, and the Big Sur region south of the Monterey Peninsula. The inland low population areas included the entire inner Coast Ranges from the San Antonio Valley area east of San Jose south to the upper San Benito River and Panoche Creek areas east of the Salinas Valley.
- The lowest population density in any Costanoan language area was 1.1 people per square mile in the dry Silver Creek region, overlooking the San Joaquin Valley east of Mission Soledad.

The total population of the various Costanoan language speakers, prior to the Spanish settlement, was probably around 17,000.

Populations of specific local tribes typically ranged between 200 and 300 people thoughout the lands of Costanoan speakers. Exceptionally large local tribes, such as the Huchiuns of the Richmond area in the East Bay and the Rumsens of the Carmel Valley, had populations of over 400 people. Some small independent bands of the sparsely populated areas included less than 50 people.

All but the smallest local tribes were divided for most of the year into three to five village groups. Specific village residence was flexible. In fact, village populations were ephemeral, subject to change on a seasonal and yearly basis. Residential flexibility is documented through family reconstitution studies of the earliest, most-detailed, mission records, those of missions Carmel and Dolores. The records show that Yelamu couples at Mission Dolores and Rumsen couples at Mission Carmel often had offspring born at two or three different villages of the group (Milliken 1983). Additionally, one Mission Dolores baptismal entry describes the seasonal movement of a Ssalson family from the San Mateo vicinity:

> I baptized…a girl of about six months age… Her father…and mother…are native of the village of Olestura, who, like all the aforesaid [baptized on this day], live without partiality, now along the tributaries of the San Mateo River, again at the aforesaid village, as well as at Sycca, and they come as far as Guriguri and San Bruno (SFR-B 178 in 1778).

Documentation for residential flexibility is also found in Spanish explorer diaries. One of the small villages that the first Spanish explorers of the Portola party visited was Pruristac (Aramai group) in San Pedro Valley, adjacent to the Mori Point GGNRA parcel. On October 31, 1769 as the explorers

approached the valley from the south over the Montara Mountain grade, they were greeted by 25 native people (Portola [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:94). Reaching the valley floor, they received food that the local people brought to them from their village (Crespi ([1769] in Brown 2001:593); the village was almost certainly Pruristac. Two weeks later, on their return south through the San Pedro Valley, the Spaniards noted that the native people were gone (Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:617).

The San Andreas rift valley (the present location of Crystal Springs Reservoir) was reported to be uninhabited in November of 1769 by the Portola party. Yet on the last day of November in 1774, the Rivera-Palou expedition reported five "large" villages in that valley, west of San Mateo and Redwood City. Wrote diarist Francisco Palou:

> The first expedition that passed here did not give it a name on account of not finding any villages, while now, in the short stretch that we have traveled, we have found five large ones. From this it is inferred that the country is well populated and that the inhabitants move their villages readily from place to place (Palóu [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:272).

Villages that were in use tended to vary in population size from 40 to 200. Villages of about one hundred inhabitants were considered to be of "good size" (Anza [1776] in Bolton 1930a:133, 134), while villages with populations of around forty inhabitants were "not large" (Palóu [1773-1783] in Bolton 1926:3:290). Farther south, the Carmel Valley Rumsens, baptized prior to the spread of endemic diseases, had five villages with baptized populations of 37, 68, 74, 85, and 144 (Milliken 1987:52-56), which suggests that village sizes in the Monterey Bay Area were equivalent to those of the San Francisco Bay Area.

"Large" villages of 200 and 250 inhabitants were visited by explorers at Whitehouse Creek on the coast at Point Año Nuevo and at San Francisquito Creek on the bay shore, respectively (Crespí [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:87; Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:326, 366). The largest Bay Area village reported by Spanish explorers was said to have contained 400 people. It was across the bay from the San Francisco Peninsula, in Huchiun or Huchiun-Aguasto territory in the present Contra Costa County area. Its large population was reported in the summer of 1775 (Cañizares [1775] in Galvin 1971:96) and again in the spring of 1775 (Anza [1776] in Bolton 1930a:125). No other reports suggest villages of more than 200 people. It is hard to understand how a village of 400 could have been maintained over time by the people of present western Contra Costa County, given the small size of Rodeo and Pinole Creeks, the two creeks in the area where the village was reported. Perhaps the village was a site of temporary regional trade fairs or ceremonial activities, and was twice visited by explorers when a festival was taking place.

Social Interaction Spheres

Members of local tribes in west-central California participated in intensive spheres of direct social interaction with their immediate neighbors, and spheres of maximum social interaction with more distant groups up to 26 miles away. The spheres of direct social interaction are reflected in patterns of exogamy (group outmarriage to neighbors). Mission registers provide evidence for the patterns of exogamous marriage for many local tribes in Costanoan language family territory.

Mission baptismal and marriage records explicitly document many couples who renewed their marriages at the mission and originally came from two different local tribes. The intermarriage data suggest that small groups of 40-50 people, such as Urebure and Pruristac on the San Francisco Peninsula, were as much as 80% exogamous, that is to say, that in eight out of ten marriages, one of the spouses derived from a surrounding group. In groups with larger populations of 200-300 people, such as the Ssalsons and Lamchins of the Peninsula, about half the couples had spouses from

neighboring groups, making them 50% exogamous (Milliken 1983:122-124). The exogamy pattern for the largest Peninsula group, the Puichons of the Los Altos/Palo Alto area (who may have had 420 members), is masked because half of them moved to Mission Santa Clara, where the people from lands east, south, and west of Los Altos/Palo Alto were not identified by their local tribe affiliation in the mission records. The Puichon exogamous marriages that can be documented are with Oljons, Olpens, Lamchins, and Ssalsons, with enough examples to suggest that even they were at least 20% exogamous to neighboring groups.

The marriage networks of the small local tribes overlapped like shingles on a roof.[25] Most exogamous marriages involved spouses from contiguous local tribes, people who had grown up within eight to 14 miles of one another. That exogamy pattern brought all groups into marriage pools of at least 500 people. The pattern makes sense in the light of studies that have shown that small-scale human populations around the world, prior to the introduction of modern transportation, participated in marriage pools of at least 500 people, whether their normal daily face-to-face communities were only 20 people or 400 people (Adams and Kasakoff 1976). Small groups needed to find mates for their young people among neighbors in societies where half the members were under 15 years old and where taboos precluded sibling marriages and some cousin marriage.

Once the San Francisco Peninisula people reached out to a pool of 500 people for marriages, there seems to have been little incentive to reach out farther. However occasional longer-distance marriage links are documented in the mission registers. For instance, a marriage between a coastal Oljon man (SFR-B 588) and a bayshore Ssalson woman (SFR-B 1202) is documented in their child's baptism record (SFR-B 808); the heartlands of those two groups was about 18 miles apart. The longest distance of documented San Francisco Peninsula marriages involved spouses from places 26 miles apart. A woman from the Yelamu village of Chuchui and a man from the Cotegens on the Pacific Coast, 26 miles to the south, were already married when they were baptized in 1786 (SFR-B 534, 535). Another Yelamu woman, this time said to be from Sitlintac, had been living with her husband Caronon among the Chupcans in the Concord region, 26 miles to the east in the Diablo Valley, prior to the baptism of their child at Mission Dolores in 1779 (SFR-B 119, 401).

Exogamous marriage patterns in the Monterey Bay Area were similar to those around San Francisco Bay (King 1994; Milliken 1987:74). Throughout central California people were tied together in a fabric of social and genetic relationships through intertribal marriages, despite their political divisions. Marriage pool distances probably reflected direct social interaction spheres for trade and ceremonial interaction, but no direct evidence is available to support that inference.

Boundary Maintenance and Conflict

The same local tribes that inter-married with one another occasionally fought to defend boundaries against one another. Territorial disputes and wife-stealing were the most commonly documented reasons for inter-group hostility in central California, according to Pedro Fages in 1775 :

> The land also provides them with an abundance of seeds and fruits...although the harvesting of them and their enjoyment is disputed with bow and arrow among these natives and their neighbors, who live almost constantly at war with each other (Fages [1775] in Priestley 1937:70).

[25] Marriage networks were not impeded by language borders. For example, the Huchiuns of Oakland-Richmond (San Francisco Bay Ohlone/Costanoan speakers) intermarried with the Coast Miwok-speaking Huimens, the Karkin Ohlone/Costanoan-speaking Carquins, and the Bay Miwok-speaking Saclans.

Diarists of the Anza-Font expedition documented an example of territorial defense and conflict between intermarried neighboring groups on the San Francisco Peninsula in 1776. Expedition Chaplain Pedro Font reported the following at a Lamchin village in the present Redwood City vicinity:

> One of them was wounded in the leg by an arrow, and another stood with his bow and arrows making signs and gestures as if he were fighting, and pointing out the wound. From this we inferred that he was telling us how they were at war with other villages ahead, and was trying to persuade us not to go there because they were very warlike (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:328).

Font's "villages ahead" belonged to the Ssalson local tribe of San Mateo. The Lamchin-Ssalson boundary was somewhere between present Redwood City and San Mateo. After exploring the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula a few days later, Juan Bautista de Anza wrote:

> In the district which I have examined today and from which I returned at five o'clock in the afternoon, I have also encountered numerous and docile heathen, who have accompanied me with great pleasure but without going a step outside of their respective territories, because of the enmity which is common among them (Anza [1776] in Bolton 1930a:129).

Most hostile encounters were individual ambushes or ritualized small group face-offs, but archaeological evidence of group graves indicates that larger-scale conflicts occassionally erupted.

Kinship Terminology

Kinship terminology suggests that Ohlone/Costanoan kinship organization was like that of the more southerly Salinan, Chumash, Takic Shoshonean, and Numic Shoshonean language groups, and markedly different than that of the neighboring Miwokan, Wintuan, and Yokutsans, according to Levy (1978a:488). Levy found enough information to characterize the kinship systems of the Chochenyo (San Francisco Bay), Awaswas, Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon language speakers. Levy culled information from the field notes of J. P. Harrington to show differences in terminology between each Costanoan language area. Similarities and contrasts between language groups vary, depending upon the kinship term in question.

In identifying offspring, all Chalon men and women used the same words for sons and daughters, as Americans do. Mutsun and Rumsen men differentiated "son" and "daughter" terms, but Mutsun and Rumsen women lumped together offspring with a term equivalent to "child." Awaswas and San Francisco Bay (Chochenyo) speakers had a four-part system, specific terms used for "son" and "daughter" by men and two other specific terms used for "son" or "daughter" by women.

In reference to both grandparents and grandchildren, the San Francisco Bay speakers (Chochenyo) and Rumsen were like each other and like most Miwokan groups, while the Mutsun and Awaswas were like each other, but in ways that were similar to the Salinan and Yuman groups to the south. Terms for father's brother and mother's brother were equated in both San Francisco Bay (Chochenyo) and Rumsen, a system that is like the American system, but unlike the system of any other core California group. San Francisco Bay (Chochenyo) niece and nephew terminology contrasts with that of the Awaswas, Mutsun, Rumsen, and Chalon.

Levy reached the interesting conclusion that the kinship terminologies of the Rumsen in the south and the Chochenyo dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan in the north were most similar to one another, and to the underlying proto-Costanoan kinship terminology. Mutsun, Awaswas, and Chalon kinship terminologies differed from each other in many ways, but all seem to have been influenced by Salinan kinship terminology (Levy 1978a:488). In kinship terminology, at least, there is no dichotomous split between Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay Ohlone/Costanoan culture.

Ritual and Mythic Narrative

Ritual activities and mythic narratives form integrated systems in today's dominant religions, including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam. The mythic narratives explain the nature of the world and of the supernatural beings with whom humans interact, while individual and community rituals involve contemplation of, or supplication to, the supernatural beings of the mythic narrative. Such may have been the case in native central California, but anthropological documentation, including documentation of metaphor and figurative allusion, is so superficial in the area that the connection between myth and ritual is not recognizable.

Throughout west-central California oral narratives about creation and the nature of the universe shared common over-arching themes (Barrett 1933:466-482; Gayton 1935:588-591). They documented how present events and places in nature were determined by the actions of a prehuman race of supernatural beings during a former mythological age, but they also suggested the on-going activity of those supernatural beings in the contemporary world of the story teller. The specific narratives of each group were linked to the local landscape, and served as a charter that established the group's origins and rights of ownership to a particular territory. Most of the Central California narratives that have been recorded emphasize male skills and dependence upon knowledgeable older male mentors. Some stories describe the occurrence of floods or wild fires as a consequence of avarice or rule-breaking. Many narratives stress the dangers of interacting with neighboring peoples holding contrary allegiances (Barrett 1933; Gayton 1935; Gifford 1917; Kelly 1978; Merriam 1910; Radin 1924).

It is impossible to know the degree to which oral narrative themes varied among all of the Ohlone/Costanoan groups, because no Ohlone/Costanoan myths have been handed down from the Awaswas or Mutsun speaking local tribes, from the Ramaytush or Tamyen dialect areas of the San Francisco Bay-speaking tribes, or from the Karkin. However a separation of northern and southern oral traditions is indicated from the two bodies of Ohlone/Costanoan traditional stories that are available. The northern stories come from J. P. Harrington's Chochenyo (Mission San Jose dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan) consultants, while the southern stories come from a number of Rumsen sources in the Monterey-Carmel vicinity (Ortiz 1994). Chochenyo creation myths feature Coyote and his grandson *kaknu*, the falcon; similar stories are told among the Wappo and all of the Miwok-speaking peoples. Rumsen myths come out of a different tradition. They feature Eagle, Coyote, and Hummingbird, a group of individuals who commonly appear in Yokuts and Salinan oral narrative (Gayton 1935:595; Ortiz 1994).

Kroeber (1925:855-859) recognized four traditions of public ritual activity in native California, and no subsequent scholars have disagreed. A ceremonial system centered around "Dances of Wealth Display" existed in Northwest California. The "Secret Society and Kuksu Dances" ceremonial system was practiced in north-central California south to Salinan language territory. Most of south-central and southern California was within the "Jimson Weed Initiation" area, with a special "Chinigchinich with Sand Painting" form in Takic Shoshonean-speaking areas of Southern California. The "Desert System of Dream Singing" ceremonial system held sway along the Colorado River and in present Imperial County (Kroeber 1925:Plate 74).

The label "Kuksu Cult" covers a number of fairly well-described ceremonial dance systems, including those of the Pomoans, Patwin, Nisenan, Coast Miwok, Plains Miwok, and Sierra Miwok. Many of the groups classified as members of the cult had neither dances nor dance personages called Kuksu. They did have in common the secret dance society, initiation into the society by novices, and control of dance performances by elders who served as directors. According to Kroeber:

> The Kuksu cult was the only one in California which directly impersonated spirits and had developed a fair wealth of distinctive paraphernalia and disguises for several mythic characters. This is a feature which probably grew up on the spot. It cannot well

> have reached central California from either the Southwestern or North Pacific coast areas (Kroeber 1922:305).

Among the well-documented Pomoan groups membership in the Kuksu society was selective, and Kuksu leaders tended to be professional specialists in other areas, such as headmen, shamans, bead makers (Bean and Theodoratus 1978:294).

Northern Ohlone/Costanoan (Mission San Jose) ritual was documented by J. P. Harrington, who learned that the Hiwey, Lole, and Kuksu dances, associated with the cult to the north, were practiced at Mission San Jose. Since so many northern groups moved to Mission San Jose during the historic period, it is uncertain if those dances were practiced in the East Bay prior to the Mission Period. Good evidence for spirit-impersonation dances among San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speakers in the earliest days at Mission San Jose is found in Langsdorff's painting of partially outfitted dancers in typical central California regalia at that mission in 1806 (plate in Langsdorff 1814, see also Milliken 1995, title page, [original at The Bancroft Library]).

Merriam recorded the names of dances among the Rumsen of Carmel Valley that translate as medicine man's dance, devil's dance, bear dance, coyote dance, dove dance, and puberty dance (in Broadbent 1972:79). These names are unlike the names of specific dances within the north-central California dance cycles, and seem to represent a separate tradition.

Finally, Harrington (1942:37, 45) received vague information to the effect that boys ingested jimson weed to augment vision quests among both northern and southern Ohlone/Costanoans. That practice is generally recognized as a Southern California trait. It may have been brought to the historic mission communities by Yokuts-speaking people.

ARCHAEOLOGY, PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY, AND LINGUISTIC PREHISTORY

Ethnographic evidence suggests some separation between the cultures of Costanoan language family speakers of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas, as we have seen in evidence presented above. In this section we look at evidence for the emergence of these differing Ohlone/ Costanoan cultures in prehistory. We examine the archaeological records of both areas as far back as they reach. We also examine evidence from physical anthropology, new mtDNA evidence, and evidence suggested by reconstructed proto-languages.

Archaeological Sequences in Ohlone/Costanoan Territories

Native west-central Californians were hunters and gatherers from the time they arrived, at least 14,000 years ago, until they joined the missions. Initially they concentrated on big game hunting, possibly contributing to the demise of Pleistocene fauna in western North America. Later people developed a generalized mixed-resource gathering lifestyle that has been called the Archaic lifestyle (Willey and Phillips 1958), similar to the Epipaleolithic of the Middle East (Byrd 2005) and the Mesolithic of Europe (Jochim 1998). Archaeologists have developed names for the cultural "phases" or "facies" of California's past, in order to highlight periods of change and continuity. In this section, we follow the classificatory systems for the prehistoric cultures of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas that are documented in the new volume entitled *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity* (Jones and Klar 2007).

Little is known about the cultures of either the Monterey Bay or San Francisco Bay Area during the 11,500-3500 BC period. But much is known about times since 3500 BC. The cultural records for the two areas are so distinct that they have been separated into two different chapters in *California Prehistory*. San Francisco Bay Area prehistory is described in the chapter entitled "Punctuated Culture Change in the San Francisco Bay Area" (Milliken et. al. 2007), while Monterey Bay Area prehistory is documented in the chapter entitled "The Central Coast: A Midlatitude

Milieu" (Jones et. al. 2007). Below we compare San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay cultural patterns and phases over five major periods of the past 13,500 years.

11,500-10,000 BC – Clovis Pattern Big Game Hunter Pattern

The earliest definite culture in western North America was that of the specialized big game hunter groups that manufactured large Clovis spear blades. It is inferred that the small groups of mobile foragers of this time period relied upon mammoth and bison herds for their primary food sources. Evidence for their presence in the 11,500-10,000 BC period, the terminal Pleistocene, occurs all across North America. But no such evidence has yet been found in the San Francisco or Monterey Bay Areas. It is generally believed that they lived in the two areas, but all evidence has either been washed away by stream action, buried under Holocene alluvium, or submerged on the continental shelf (Rosenthal and Meyer 2004:1).

10,000-3500 BC – Early/Middle Holocene (Lower Archaic) Millingstone Pattern

A generalized mobile foraging lifestyle prevailed throughout California during the Early Holocene and the first half of the middle Holocene. It was characterized by the milling slab and handstone, used to process hard seeds into edible meal, and by a variety of large wide-stemmed and leaf-shaped projectile points. Millingstone components have been documented in buried sites around the edges of the San Francisco Bay Area, including sites CCC-637 and CCC-696 at Los Vaqueros reservoir in the hills east of Mt. Diablo (Meyer and Rosenthal 1997), SCL-178 at Metcalf Creek in the Santa Clara Valley-Hollister corridor (Hildebrandt 1983; Fitzgerald and Porcasi 2003), and at SCL-65 at Saratoga in the western Santa Clara Valley (Fitzgerald 1993). Millingstone pattern components have also been documented in the Monterey Bay Area at MNT-228 (Breschini and Haversat 1991), MNT-229 (Jones and Jones 1992), and MNT-234 (Milliken et al. 1999), all in the Elkhorn Slough-Moss Landing vicinity. During this period there is no evidence of any important cultural differences between Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay people.

3500-500 BC – Early Period (Middle Archaic) Split Sequence
Lower Berkeley Pattern on San Francisco Bay, Hunting Culture Pattern on Monterey Bay

At the beginning of the Early Period, about 3500 BC, mortars and pestles appeared in many locations in west-central California. Mortar and pestle technology is believed to be associated with intensive acorn harvesting and processing, concomitant with increased population and the beginnings of sedentary village life. On San Francisco Bay, a specialized incipient sedentary collector pattern emerged at approximately 3000 BC. This pattern, in which stone bowl mortars and pestles are abundant while millingslabs and handstones are absent, is the Stege Phase expression of Fredrickson's (1973) Berkeley Pattern. It is marked by a variety of bone punches, gouges, flakers, and serrated scapulae saws, as well as large numbers of grooved stone net sinkers (see Elsasser 1978, Gerow 1968). Rectangular beads cut from the wall of the olivella and abalone shell appear for the first time and mark the Early Period throughout California and western Nevada. The earliest known cut-and-shaped shell beads in a San Francisco Bay Area burial were recovered at SCL-832 in Sunnyvale and date to 3590 BC; the grave also contained red ocher and exhibited pre-interment burning (Cartier 2002). Emergence of a sedentary lifeway is suggested by rich midden at the West Berkeley mound (Wallace and Lathrop 1975). The large oval house floor of a sedentary village in Walnut Creek has recently been dated to 1500 BC (Price et al. 2006).

During the Early Period on Monterey Bay, mortars and pestles first appeared as a minor part of a groundstone assemblage dominated by milling slabs and handstones. The local expression of this mixed use pattern, labeled the Saunders Phase, also includes various notched, square-stemmed, and long-stemmed dart point forms (Jones 1998). Occasional burials on the Monterey Peninsula from this

period contain rectangular olivella shell beads (Breschini and Haversat 2002:57, Cartier et al. 1993). A similar cultural assemblage is found along the Santa Cruz-San Mateo coast during this time (Hylkema 1991). Jones and Ferneau (2002:213) associate this mixed groundstone, mixed projectile point assemblage with the "Hunting Culture" of the same time period on the Santa Barbara Channel. The predominance of millingslabs and the nature of other site materials indicate that the Monterey Bay people were continuing a mobile foraging lifestyle in the Early Period.

500 BC-AD 1050 – Middle Period (Upper Archaic) Split Sequence: Upper Berkeley Pattern in the San Francisco Bay Area, Hunting Culture Pattern in the South

The beginning of the Middle Period was marked by new shell bead forms, the most common being the olivella shell Saucer, replacing the Early Period bead forms throughout California. Cobble mortars continued to be the sole grinding tool in the central bay, although mixed mortars and millingslabs continued to be used at the inland peripheries. New leaf-shaped projectile points and new bone artifact types appeared. New site locations were occupied, many of them bay shore midden sites that would grow to become mounds and be inhabited off-and-on until the Spanish arrival. These midden mounds seem to have been stable villages with mortuaries. Flexed burial, with occasional cremation, continued as the main interment custom of the first half of the Middle Period. Diversity of grave goods increased from earlier times, but remained limited to a small portion of the Middle Period burials. The presence of mortars and flexed burials led Fredrickson (1973) to call this Middle Period phase a continuation of the Berkeley Pattern. Yet it is very different from the Lower Berkeley Pattern of the Early Period, with its new site locations, new tools, increase in burial wealth, and evidence of increased sedentism. This increasingly complex incipient collector Upper Berkeley Pattern is labeled the Ellis Landing Phase on San Francisco Bay, following Beardsley (1954).

About half way through the Middle Period, a different cultural expression replaced the Ellis Landing Phase culture in part of the San Francisco Bay Area. The Meganos Pattern pushed from the east into the interior valleys of the East Bay at about AD 450. It rapidly spread onto the Fremont Plain and down into the Alviso area of the Santa Clara Valley, where it lasted for another 200 or 300 years, until about AD 800. Its primary distinction from Ellis Landing was its off-village cemeteries and nearly ephemeral village sites, suggesting a more frequent seasonal shift of villages. Meganos burial practice, involving extended burials, was also distinct from the Ellis Landing Phase. Bennyhoff (1994b) considered Meganos a derivative of the Early Period Windmiller Pattern of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. Even at the height of Meganos presence in the East Bay interior and Fremont, the Ellis Landing Phase of the Berkeley Pattern continued in place in most of the south part of the San Francisco Bay shore, on the west side of San Francisco Bay, and along the East Bay shore in the Oakland-Richmond area. Both Ellis Landing people and Meganos people participated in the Upper Middle Period trade network marked by distictive olivella shell Saddle beads. However, the central California Saddle beads never replaced olivella saucer beads in southern California and the Monterey Bay Area.

On Monterey Bay, the Middle Period may have been preceded by a period of cultural collapse. Breschini and Haversat (2002) report that the number of inhabited sites seems to have dropped precipitously during an 800 year period from 900-200 BC, essentially the Early/Middle Transition. Site occupation then returned to the pre-gap levels. The cultural pattern seems to have continued much as it had during the Early Period, according to Jones (1998). Bowl mortars and milling equipment both continued in use, as did the contracting-stem and side-notched projectile points that had characterized the previous Saunders Phase. Olivella Saucer beads replaced the earlier rectangles, as elsewhere; few beads or other items are found with burials, and many of the saucer beads are poorly rounded, suggesting casual local manufacture. Jones et al.(2007:137) call this Middle Period culture on Monterey Bay the Vierra Phase, and consider it a continuation of the Hunting

Culture, with its reliance on a mixture of portable millingslabs and heavy mortar stones for vegetal processing. Breschini (personal communication, 2006), on the other hand, emphasizes the increase in proportion of mortars to millingslabs during the Middle Period and argues that at least some of the sites indicate incipient collector land use like that of San Francisco Bay's Berkeley Pattern. Also, Breschini and Haversat (2002:31) present evidence for a shift in settlement pattern on the Monterey Peninsula at AD 660, at which time many Middle Period sites were abandoned and new sites were occupied that continued to be utilized through the Late Period.

AD 1000-1770 – Late Period Split Sequence: Augustine Complex Collectors on San Francisco Bay, Rancho San Carlos Incipient Collectors on Monterey Bay

In the San Francisco Bay Area, a major cultural shift began at AD 1000, the start of the . Middle Period/Late Period Transition or MLT (Groza 2002). Most bone tools and ornament types of the Middle Period disappeared. A new fish spear appeared. New olivella shell bead types proliferated, including nicely finished sequin rectangle and poorly finished split-drilled and split-punched half shell olivella beads. Although the MLT was coincident with the Medieval Climatic Anomoly (a dry period in the Sierras and parts of southern California [Jones and Kennett 1999]), site density around San Francisco Bay did not drop.

By AD 1250 the transition to a new culture on San Francisco Bay was complete. Called the Augustine Pattern by Fredrickson (1973), it also took hold in the northern San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento Valley, and the North Coast ranges as far north as Round Valley in Mendocino County. Shell beads of the Augustine Pattern were well-shaped olivella shell sequin rectangles and the difficult-to-make olivella shell cups. Other costly cultural markers included shaped stone "flower-pot" mortars, flanged steatite pipes, carefully carved bone whistles, and "banjo" effigy ornament that may have marked development of the "Kuksu" secret society. The bow-and-arrow was finally accepted into the San Francisco Bay Area at this time, marked by the distinctive Stockton serrated projectile point forms invented in the adjacent Central Valley (Bennyhoff 1994b:54, Hylkema 2002:49, Justice 2002:352). Mortuary behavior evidenced social stratification. Partial cremation appeared, often associated with the wealthiest grave offerings. While some items were traded over long distances, bay shell decreased at sites in the interior valleys, suggesting that territories were becoming more restricted and controlled.

We call the Augustine Pattern a complex collector pattern because specialized craft, political, and secret society roles seem to have become much more important at this time than in any earlier central California pattern. Fredrickson (1973) argued that this was an Emergent culture, by his definition equivalent to initial agricultural village life elsewhere, rather than a typical hunter-gatherer Archaic culture.

The first sub-phase of the Augustine Pattern faded around San Francisco Bay soon after AD 1500. Its signature olivella sequin and cup beads disappeared as mortuary offerings, banjo abalone pendants became less common, and a new set of olivella lipped beads and pentagonal abalone ornaments appeared (Bennyhoff 1994a:68-71). Clam shell disk beads spread across the North Bay and out into the Sacramento Valley after AD 1500, but did not reach the southern part of San Francisco Bay until as late as AD 1700. Clam shell disk beads never were traded south of the Coyote Narrows, just south of San Jose (King 1978b:60). It is not clear if, after AD 1500, the overall Augustine Pattern population crashed or just went into a more modest expressive mode. Some have suggested that European-introduced epidemics spread across the continent following Spanish explorations in Mexico and the southeastern United States, causing population crashes and cultural disturbances (Erlandson and Bartoy 1995, Preston 1996).

The Late Period Monterey Bay people did not participate in the Augustine Pattern. While the area has a few rich midden habitation mounds, it never incorporated flanged steatite pipes, flared

"flower-pot" mortars, or graves rich with beads into its material culture. Etched bird bone whistles and "banjo" abalone pendants have been recovered at only one site south of the San Francisco Bay Area, SCR-44 at Watsonville (Jones and Ferneau 2002:232). Sequin rectangle beads are rare, and clam shell disk beads never did reach Monterey Bay. Jones et. al. (2007) label the local Late Period culture the San Carlos Ranch Phase. It is best characterized as an incipient collector pattern. Breschini and Haversat (2002) argue that the pattern emerged at AD 660, during the latter portion of the bead horizon-defined Middle Period. Jones argues that the previous Vierra Phase culture crashed, along with other central Coast cultures, before and during the MLT and Medieval Climatic Anomoly, and that the Rancho San Carlos Phase did not develop strongly until well into the Late Period, as late as AD 1400. "There is very little evidence for continuity in settlement between ca. A.D. 800 and 1500" (Jones 1998:86). Perhaps related to this, no Stockton serrate points are found south of the Coyote narrows, which separates the Upper Santa Clara Valley from the southern Santa Clara Valley. Instead, the first projectile point on Monterey Bay associated with the bow-and-arrow was the Desert side-notched point, which spread to the area from the south and east some time after AD 1200, then continued to spread north, replacing the Stockton serrate point on the San Mateo coast and in the San Jose area after AD 1500. Jones and Ferneau (2002) find evidence for "de-intensification" of culture on Monterey Bay during the Late Period.

All in all, the differences between the San Carlos Ranch Phase of Monterey Bay and the Augustine Pattern of San Francisco Bay is stark. It is also surprising, given the similarities between Costanoan family languages of the two areas. In contrast, the Augustine Pattern was shared by San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Bay Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, Pomoans, Wappos, Patwins, Maiduans, Plains Miwoks, and Delta Yokuts. Just as Germans, French and Italian speakers participated in Medieval and Enlightenment European culture, so too the distinct Late Period language groups of the San Francisco Bay Area participated together in the complex collector Augustine pattern.

Physical Anthropology and Prehistoric Population Movements

The study of genetic differences among human populations is not the same endeavor as the study of cultural differences. Genetic lineages may follow a single tradition of slow cultural change over time, or they may suddenly accept the different culture of an invading lineage. In just the same way, the language of a genetic lineage may change slowly through internal innovation or relatively rapidly through acquisition. Despite the imperfect relationship between genetics, language, and culture, human history is replete with invasions that bring new genetic lineages, carrying new languages and new cultural configurations, into areas where they had not previously existed. Thus it is worth examining the evidence from physical anthropology, as an aid in understanding changing cultures in prehistoric central California, and in shedding light on cultural differences between Ohlone/Costanoans of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas, in particular.

Differences in cranial form and teeth aid forensic anthropologists in distinguishing the gross genetic identity of modern individuals and populations as African, west Asian (including European), East Asian (including native North American), or Austral-Asian. But within each of those large geographic divisions of humankind, the discrimination of sub-groups has been problematic. Physical anthropologists do agree that central California physical populations of the past 4,500 years can be classed into three physical types:

> Measurements of recent California Indians and skeletal remains from archaeological sites indicate that at least three morphologically distinct groups of Indians lived in California during the late prehistoric period (Gifford 1926a, 1926b). People of the Yuki physical type were confined to the Mendocino County area of northern California. These Indians are short in stature, with narrow heads, broad noses, and low faces. A second widely distributed "California" physical type consists of people

> with high faces and broad heads. Areas occupied by Indians with this cranial morphology include the northern Channel Islands and the adjacent mainland coast [as well as all of central and northern California outside of the restricted Yuki and Western Mono areas-ed.]. A third narrow-headed, broad-nosed group called the "Western Mono" physical type occupied a much more restricted area that included the Monache territory in the Sierra Nevada near the headwaters of the San Joaquin River and the territory of the Gabrielino on the southern California mainland, including the Los Angeles basin and southern Channel Islands (all of the "Western Mono" type occupied territory inhabited by Shoshonean speakers in historic times) [Titus and Walker 2000:80-81].

Brooks (published in 1975, but written in the 1950s) verified that the San Francisco Bay Area people during all three late Holocene time periods fit the "general" native California crania type. In contrast to Titus and Walker above, Brooks (1975) characterized the general type as having "medium-high faces and medium-width heads." Brooks compared measurements of Early Period skeletons from ALA-307 (West Berkeley mound) with Middle Period skeletons from ALA-309 (Emeryville mound) and Late Period skeletons from ALA-309, then compared that series with skeletal measurements of the general California type published earlier for other parts of California:

> The picture presented by the cranial measurements is that of a group on the narrow side of mesocephaly [between narrow and long headed-ed.], with a mesoprosopic face [between wide and narrow face-ed.] bordering on broad, and with a nose on the broad side of mesorrhiny…
>
> All three, Hrdlicka's, Gifford's and the Ala 307-309 series, appear to correlate closely. Grouping all three together furthers the possibility that the description, presented here and by Gifford, of a population medium in nearly all measurements and observations, is valid (Brooks 1975:112-113).

Brooks (1975:113) also noted that Early Period Delta Windmiller Pattern skeletons were significantly larger in both cranial and post-cranial (stature) measurements than the San Francisco Bay and general California populations.

Gerow (1968:96-98) also emphasized that the Early Period Windmiller people were larger and more robust than the Early Period San Francisco Bay people. He showed that the size differences between Bay and Delta populations decreased over time. Gerow also argued for significant differences in cranial form between Windmiller and the general California population, calling the general population "low-vaulted" and the Windmiller population "high-vaulted." In fact, the cranial form differences between the two populations are not great. Gerow's (1968:171) San Francisco Bay University Village population had an average vault height index of 74.1, at the high end of the "medium" range (70-75). Newman's (1957:27) comparable Early Period Delta population had an average vault height index of 76.8, at the low end of the "high" range. Gerow argued that the Windmiller people were the first Penutians in California and that they intermarried with their physically distinct Hokan-speaking neighbors as they spread out among them from the Delta after 2000 BC, leading to a convergance of physical types over time.

Recently, Ivanhoe (1995) and Ivanhoe and Chu (1996) have published cranial and post-cranial measurements on a larger sample of skeletons from the San Francisco Bay Area and the Central Valley, stratified by time. Like Brooks and Gerow before them, they found the San Francisco Bay people to be smaller than the Windmiller people in the Early Period, but they also found an overall reduction in stature in both areas through the Middle and Late periods, and they found that the Bay populations continued to be metrically smaller than their Central Valley counterparts

through those periods. Ivanhoe (1995) attributed the reduction in stature to population stress leading to nutritional stress, as reliance on protein-deficient acorns as a food source increased over time.

Breschini (1983:56-61) distinguished a Penutian (Wintuan and Miwok) cranial type from a Hokan (Shasta and Salinan) cranial type. He used discriminate analysis on small samples from geographically discrete areas to argue that Late Period Bay Area Costanoans exhibited metric cranial characteristics intermediate between Hokan and Penutian extremes, concluding that the Costanoans are a genetic mix of the two. His model complements Gerow's (1968) idea that the Windmiller people were the first Penutians, while the generalized California physical type originally represented Hokans. This conclusion is controversial in light of new linguistic evidence that languages of the Penutian phylum developed separately outside of California and never entered the state as a single population. Furthermore, the Windmiller, Shasta, Salinan, Wintuan, and Miwokan crania are so similar to one another, relative to variation across North America, that differences among them might easily be accounted for by small sample size and genetic drift (Jurmain in Cartier et al. 1993:90, Suchey 1975).

mtDNA and Prehistoric Population Movements

Mitochondrial DNA studies have determined that all living people share descent through a single woman who lived in Africa some 150,000 years ago. Mitochondria are organelles in our cells that carry out the energy-generating process. They copy themselves as needed and are passed on from mothers to children within the egg, without undergoing genetic recombination each generation. In general, accidental mutations become fixed only when they occur in limited unimportant regions of the circular mtDNA. Researchers in the 1980s began building a phylogeny of global mtDNA variation by examining the degree of differences among large samples of people from around the world. It was discovered that human mtDNAs could be classified into a relatively small number of key groups called haplogroups.

> These were usually restricted geographically: some to sub-Saharan Africans, others to Europeans, and yet others to East Asians… The identification of robust genealogical groups has allowed the development of the phylogeographic approach to demographic history, in which questions of dispersals, migrations, and colonizations are addressed by study of the geographic distribution of lineages on a gene tree, with a growing body of work exploring the colonization of the Americas, the Pacific, and Europe (Richards and Macauley 2001:1316-1317).

By 1985 it was determined that living people from pure Native American maternal lineages had mtDNA signatures (or haplotypes) that could be bundled into four clusters (or haplogroups), each derived from a woman with a distinct founding signature (Wallace et al. 1985). The four haplogroups were labeled A, B, C, and D by Antonio Torroni and colleagues (Torroni et al. 1992). It was soon clear that the least divergent founding lineages of all four exist in east and central Asia (Torroni et al. 1993, see also Kivisild et al. 2002 and Derenko et al. 2003). By 2000 a fifth rare haplogroup, X, was reported in both native North America and across north Asia; its least differentiated founding lineage occurs in northeast Asia (Reidla et al. 2003)

By 1996 it was clear that the four major mtDNA haplogroups are not evenly distributed among native American groups. "There is some correspondence between language group affiliations and the frequencies of the mtDNA haplogroups in certain tribes, while geographic proximity appears responsible for the genetic similarity among other tribes," wrote Lorenz and Smith (1996). Most clearly related to recent language group migrations are the Eskimos of the Arctic and Na-Dene (Athabascans) in both Canada and the southwest United States, both marked by specific subsets of Haplogroup A. The available mtDNA sample from living American Indians by 1996 included a small group of 17 central California descendants—Costanoans, Miwoks, and Yokuts; their haplogrop distribution of 12% A, 41% B, 6% C, and 41% D. Only the southern California Uto-Aztecans were

also strongly represented in both haplogroup B and D, among 30 other language groups reported at the time from across North America (Lorenz and Smith 1996:317). It remains to be seen whether distinctive combinations of haplogroups, including rare one-of-a-kind variants, that have been associated with specific North American language groups (not tribes) are (a) meaningful markers of distinct population history, (b) the product of stochastic variation, or (c) merely a reflection of small sample size (see Malhi et al. 2002).

The ancient mtDNA of a small number of skeletal remains from early central California populations has recently been characterized by Eshleman (2002). He reports 16 samples from the Early Period Cecil Site near Stockton, 23 samples from the lower Middle Period Cook Site near Vacaville, and 6 samples from the Middle Period Applegate Site near Lodi, all in the Central Valley to the east of the San Francisco Bay, as well as 3 samples from the Monterey Peninsula. The patterns of haplogroup representation for the Central Valley sites are so similar that we can report them as a single group of 45, 2% A, 11% B, 51% C, and 36% D. The ancient central California pattern resembles more closely that of modern southern California Shoshoneans than modern Costanoans, Miwoks, and Yokuts, at least in the small available samples of those groups. That does not, in itself, mean that the ancient central Californians were the ancestors of the modern southern California Shoshoneans. Stochastic change in haplogroup distribution of local populations is possible if a few women of one lineage have disproportionate reproductive success over two or three generations. Leading mtDNA researchers Martin Richards and Vincent Macauley warn:

> Patterns… may reveal the existence of a genetic trail leading back to the source of the dispersals. In contrast, poorly designed summary statistics that are blind to the phylogeographic patterns within different populations will often fail to reveal these relationships, and the archaeological record can rarely provide unequivocal evidence for a movement of people, as opposed to cultural diffusion (Richards and Macauley 2001).

To overcome the weakness of summary comparisons of haplogroup distributions, Eshleman (2002:98-101) looked further into the geographic distributions of common and uncommon variants among the haplogroups in the ancient and modern populations. The analysis confirmed stark differences between the lineages represented in the Early and Middle Period in the Central Valley and the lineages represented by 17 modern Costanoans, Miwoks, and Yokuts. It did not confirm strong specific lineage relationships between the ancient Central Valley people and the modern southern California Shoshoneans. In summary, Eshleman reports:

> The low frequency of haplogroup B, the most common haplogroup among most modern populations in California, among the ancient samples from California, and the lack of shared or closely related haplotypes between ancient and modern individuals in this region suggest that more recent migrations into the region have occurred. A more recent migration later in prehistory or increasing numbers of migrants in a continual stream probably introduced greater frequencies of haplogroups B and D and consequently diminished the relative frequency of haplogroup C in admixed populations in the Central Valley (Eshleman 2002:107).

Eshleman (2002:104) concludes that lack of continuity between ancient and modern Central Valley populations must have occurred after the Middle Period—[more specifically the lower Middle Period, when the Cook site was inhabited-ed.]—and that it may have occurred through migration of Penutian speakers from the Great Basin, which does have specific mtDNA lineages in common with modern California Penutians (cf. Eshleman and Smith 2007).

Not nearly enough mitochondrial DNA data sets have yet been accumulated to shed light on genetic relationships between ancient and ethnographic people of the San Francisco Bay Area and Monterey Bay Areas. However results from the first three mtDNA recoveries from ancient skeletons

on the Monterey Peninsula are interesting. Eshleman (2002:100) reports that all three examples, from sites MNT-619, MNT-1482 and MNT-1489, represent Haplogroup A, which is all but absent in the interior California skeletal populations. Two of the three Monterey samples represent the basal founding Haplogroup A lineage that occurs all across North America, but is common in California only among the modern Chumash, Salinan, and Esselen of the south-central California coast. Future testing of larger well-dated skeletal populations may determine if the predominance of Haplogroup A along the coast, and its absence in late Holocene Central Valley populations, is the fluke product of small sample size, or a telling piece of information about prehistoric population interactions in California.

Inferential Linguistic Prehistory

The long-lasting theory that Penutian speakers pushed Hokan speakers out of the central area of California at some time in the past has been touched upon in the discussions of physical anthropology and mtDNA above. Below we briefly sketch the history of the Hokan-Penutian model. Then we summarize the latest consensus view of past central California linguistic group movements, which emphasizes the interaction of Hokans with proto-Utians, rather than with the larger hypothetical Penutian stock. After that we describe the contradictory conclusions of different linguists regarding the depth of time of internal Utian family splits. Those contradictory conclusions support alternative models of San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area culture history.

The scholars that initially developed the Hokan-Penutian model assumed that proto-Penutians migrated into California as a single speech community. The model was introduced by A. L. Kroeber in 1923 and elaborated by Klimek (1935) on the basis of comparisons of key "climax" area traits. It was first tied to archaeological cultures by Walter Taylor (1961), who proposed a Penutian intrusion about 3000 BC as part of a continent-wide series of language group movements that began as early as 10,000 year ago (see also Krantz 1977). Baumhoff and Olmstead (1963:282) proposed a somewhat later sequence, with the Hokans in place on San Francisco Bay as the Early Horizon people and the Penutians coming in at the start of the Middle Period at 500 BC.

Gerow (1968:12, 98) hypothesized that all Bay Area Early Period people spoke proto-Hokan languages. Penutians entered Central California at approximately 2000 BC in the Early Period, as the carriers of the distinctive Windmiller Pattern into the Delta. "We infer the coexistence of two distinct cultures or traditions and populations in Central California between 1500 and 1000 BC. After that date Bay and Delta cultures and populations gradually converged" (Gerow 1968:12). During this convergence process, Gerow implies, Penutian languages differentiated and replaced Hokan languages in much of central California.

During the 1970s the concept of a single Penutian entry into California fell apart. Linguist Kenneth Whistler (1977, 1980) was aware that the Wintuans (postulated Penutians) arrived in California from Oregon at a later time than the Utians (also merely postulated as Penutians). He hypothesized that the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas were inhabited by proto-Esselen foragers (postulated Hokans) prior to 2500 BC and that they were replaced between 1000-2000 BC by proto-Costanoans who practiced an acorn-intensive semi-sedentary lifestyle. This fit Gerow's model, the key difference being that Whistler named the people who pushed into San Francisco Bay during the latter part of the Early Period as proto-Costanoans, in place of proto-Penutians.

In 1979 linguist Richard Levy proposed a detailed reconstruction of the differentian and spread of the Penutian language families of California into their specific historic languages and language locations. He inferred moments of punctuated language differentiation in the past, using the lexico-statistical method. He traced innovations and borrowings of words specific to certain environments to locate possible language group homelands He reasoned that the proto-Miwokans were in place in a Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta homeland at the beginning of the Middle Period at 500 BC, and the proto-Costanoans were in place in an inner Coast Range homeland by the same time:

> The Proto-Costanoan homeland … was located in the Inner Coast Ranges by virtue of the inclusion of coast live oak, valley oak, interior live oak, blue oak, California laurel, and digger pine in its reconstructed flora. The internal classification of the Costanoan languages and retention of some phonological traits by Karkin alone strongly suggests a homeland in the Carquinez Straits area (Levy 1979:8).

Levy correlated the restricted times of language differentiation with the times of great cultural change, as archaeologists of the 1970s understood them. His model indicates westward expansion of Miwok across the north end of San Francisco Bay into the Marin Peninsula soon after 500 BC, thus at the start of the Middle Period. He envisioned a southward expansion of Costanoan from Carquinez Strait at AD 500, at which time the Southern (Rumsen/Mutsun), Northern (San Francisco Bay), and Karkin branches began to differentiate.[26] He postulated the Rumsen-Mutsun differentiation at AD 1100, during what we now consider the Middle/Late Transition, and the beginning of dialect differentiation in the San Francisco Bay language at AD 1360. He showed similar geographic expansions and language differentiations among all of the Penutian language families in California.

Levy (1979:12-15) explained the Penutian expansions in general, and the Costanoan expansion in particular, as a function of development of the Omaha kinship system. That complex system reflected, he argued, marriage exchange systems advantageous to powerful lineages, allowing chiefs to extend their power over several settlements and form large tribelets.

> In periods where carrying capacity of a given biotic zone increased we would expect societies with Omaha systems to expand into the newly enriched area. Conversely, with diminishing carrying capacity, we would expect a decline in population density and a switch to symmetric exchange of women and the emergence of less compelx forms of societal organization (Levy 1979:14).

He correlated the most active periods of Penutian expansion and language differention with moments of environmental quality improvement following times of climatic stress at AD 500 and again at AD 1360.

Breschini (1983:64-70, 98-101) agreed with Levy that the proto-Costanoans expanded at the expense of the Hokans due to their superior social and political integration, but he postulated a much earlier Costanoan advance than Levy (1979), one more akin to that proposed by Gerow (1968).

> The change from Hokan to Peutian speakers, assumed to be a result of intermarriage and gradual absorption, appears to have taken palce along the Central California Coast only where a very specific combination of several specific factors was present. The necessary factors were, as far as can be identified at present, a combination of relatively level areas of oak grassland in reasonable proximity to either the ocean or the San Francisco Bay, and sizeable areas of marshes (Breschini 1983:70).

Breschini proposed a Penutian (inferring proto-Utian) arrival from the east at the West Berkeley site on the east side of San Francisco Bay at 1800 BC, at which time they intermarried with local Hokans and merged cultures with them, forming the mixed cultural assemblage of University Village by 1400 BC (Breschini 1983:75-80). In his interpretation, Penutian intermarriage with Hokans continued southward along a wave front, so that the proto-Costanoan language arrived in the Carmel Valley at

[26] Levy (1979:9) thought that AD 500 was the beginning of the Late Period, because he was using Heizer's (1958) dating Scheme A. We now understand AD 500 to be the period of the Meganos Intrusion into the East Bay, half way through the Middle Period (Groza 2002).

500 BC to begin such intensively utilized sites as MNT-12, the Hudson Mound (see also Breschini and Haversat 2002:31-37).

Moratto (1984:552-553) suggested that proto-Utians entered the lower Sacramento Valley at 2500 BC from the Great Basin and founded the Windmiller culture, then began to move into the San Francisco Bay Area after 2000 BC to mix with the local Hokans (he suggested proto-Esselens) to create the Lower Berkeley Pattern. He quoted Levy (1979) regarding a probable proto-Costanoan homeland in the hills of the East Bay. Similar to Breschini (1983), Moratto (1984:280, 554) posited the Utian (or proto-Costanoan) arrival at University Village at the south end of the Peninsula at 1200 BC, then on south to their full historic territory on Monterey Bay by 100 BC. Meanwhile, the proto-Miwok segment of the Utians pushed into the North Bay by 1500-1000 BC, bringing the Berkeley Pattern from the East Bay (Moratto 1984:279). At the same time, a new Penutian group, the proto-Yokutsans, pushed into the lower Sacramento Valley to mix with the proto-Utians that continued the Windmiller Pattern there, suggested Moratto (1984:554-555).

At 500 BC, according to Moratto's (1984) scenario, the proto-Miwoks, with their mortar/pestle Berkeley pattern culture, pushed back eastward into the lower Sacramento Valley from the north side of San Francisco Bay, forcing the Yokutsans with their mixed groundstone modified Windmiller culture south into the San Joaquin Valley (Moratto 1984:557). The Yokutsans initially did well, spreading all the way south to Buenavista Lake by AD 400 (Whistler cited by Moratto 1984:563). Moratto only indirectly hinted at an explanation for the Meganos "extended burial" mortuary pattern intrusion into the East Bay by quoting Whistler's idea that a climate reversal led to drought in the San Joaquin Valley at AD 400, causing most Yokuts to pull southward to Tulare and Buenavista Lakes, while others assimilated with neighboring groups (Moratto 1984:563-564). Next, according to the Moratto (1984) model, around AD 500-700 proto-Patwin speaking Wintuans came down the Sacramento Valley, absorbing a Miwokan group (thereby splitting the western and eastern Miwoks), and bringing a suite of new artifacts—bow and arrow, harpoon, flanged stone pipes, and pre-interment grave pit burning—which, when shared with Pomos, Miwokans, and northern Costanoans, triggered the beginning of the Augustine Pattern around the Delta and San Francisco Bay (Moratto 1984:562-63). The most recent movement, according to the model, was a re-expansion northward of Yokutsans from the southern San Joaquin Valley back up into the northern San Joaquin Valley, an expansion not completed until AD 1600-1700, just before the Spanish arrival (Moratto 1984:571-572).

Moratto's (1984) "multiple-entry" hypothesis, so similar to Breschini's 1983 scenario, was portrayed as the *consensus* explanation of California linguistic group prehistory in the 1996 "Languages" volume of the Handbook of North American Indians series (Foster 1996:89-90). However, alternatives are still accepted by some scholars, and new explanations for language movements in some local areas are being offered every few years. For instance, Hildebrandt and Mikkelsen (1993:179-182, 194-195) and Jones (1998:86) use archaeological evidence for continuous forager adaptations to suggest that incipient sedentary collectors did not spread south into the Monterey Bay Area until AD 1000. Since they accepted the argument that proto-Costanoans were collectors, rather than foragers, they conclude that the Costanoans themselves did not spread south to Monterey Bay until after AD 1000. Their conclusion fits well with Levy's (1979) direct linguistic approach, but contradicts the earlier scenarios predicted by Moratto (1984), Breschini (1983), and Breschini and Haversat (2002).

Bennyhoff (1994b:83) rejected the idea that the Lower Berkeley pattern was formed under Windmiller pattern influence. Instead, he argued that the Lower Berkeley pattern arose around San Francisco Bay independent of, and concurrent with, the rise of the Windmiller pattern to the east (Bennyhoff 1986:67, 1994a:66). Unlike Gerow (1968), Bennyhoff believed that University Village

and all other Lower Berkeley Pattern manifestations around San Francisco Bay represented the proto-Utians, already in place west of the Delta as the Early Period unfolded.

> I hypothesize that the entire cultural sequence from 3000 BC to historic time in the Alameda District (San Francisco peninsula and East Bay) represents a single population changing through time. The physical type does not change and numerous cultural traits persist throughout this time span (spined serrated scapulae, type A1bII awls, wedges, cobble bowl mortars, and cobble pestles, etc.) In this [Alameda] district we have the Micos Tradition persisting through the Berkeley and Augustine patterns. The Micos Tradition (from Miwok-Costanoan) represents the ancestral Utian occupation of the San Francisco Bay region, displacing and pushing to the south an earlier Esselen population. If the Berkeley Pattern was brought in by ancestral Miwok and Costanoans before they split (the Stege aspect), the Upper Berkeley Pattern (Ellis Landing aspect) represents the split of Costanoan and Miwok (Bennyhoff 1994a:66).

Bennyhoff also rejected Moratto's (1984) identification of the Windmiller pattern people as Utian with an eventual Yokuts admixture. He believed that they were proto-Yokutsan people, indicated by their ventral extension burials, that they were pushed south into the San Joaquin Valley at the outset of the Middle Period, and that they were the people who brought Meganos pattern sites into the East Bay during the latter portion of the Middle Period (Bennyhoff, undated manuscript in the Bennyhoff Collection).

Most subsequent scholars have agreed with Moratto's (1984:279) tentative assertion that the Utians divided when a proto-Miwok segment pushed into the North Bay by 1500-1000 BC, bringing the Berkeley Pattern north and leaving the East Bay people to develop into the Costanoans (Fredrickson 1989). Linguist Catherine Callaghan has suggested that the proto-Miwok homeland may have been the interior North Coast Ranges, north of the marshlands north of San Pablo Bay, but south of Clear Lake:

> The nature of plant terms reconstructed for Proto Miwok is consistent with a homeland in or close to the Central California foothills, with access to valley areas and the high mountains. The foothills of the Sierras would qualify, also an area close to Mt. St. Helena in the North Bay. In view of the archaeological evidence, the North Bay may be more probable (Callaghan 1994:10).

Note, however, that the archaeological evidence is ambiguous for language groups between San Francisco Bay and Clear Lake. White has recently written:

> Archaeological and historical linguistics evidence from the North Bay indicates that pWMi [proto-western Miwok], pSYk [proto-Wappo], and pWPo [proto-western Pomo] speakers all employed a basic Berkeley Pattern material culture, interacted extensively, and thus may be largely indistinguishable using traditional archaeological systematics (White 2002:551).

Given the inability of the archaeological record to prove that early Berkeley Pattern people in the North Coast Ranges were Miwokan, the possibility of a Sierra foothill homeland for proto-Miwok must still be entertained.

Our understanding of the relationship between linguistic prehistory and cultural change in the past might be improved if we understood what forces allowed the proto-Costanoans and proto-Miwoks to stay apart from one another long enough to form distinct language clusters, rather than a wider clinal language continuum. It is difficult to model possible explanations because the linguists do not agree about the actual time depth of the key language splits. Victor Golla currently takes a short chronology

approach, arguing for a recent split between the Costanoans and Miwokans at 1000 BC, and a Costanoan radiation as late as AD 1000:

> I would give [the Miwok-Costanoan split-ed.] 3,000 years at a maximum. Twenty five hundred years feels even better, nicely correlating with the Early/Middle Transition. The time-depth of the attested Costanoan languages is much, much shallower than even 3,000 years. It's hardly a third of that, something more on the order of English and German … This suggests that it may be the sole survivor of a more deeply differentiated group of non-Miwok Utian languages that developed elsewhere in Utian territory (Golla, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2005).

Callaghan, on the other hand, takes a deep chronology approach. She considers the Utian language divergences to have occurred as far back as 4,500 years ago (2500 BC). She writes:

> Three thousand years is much too shallow for the Miwok-Costanoan split. The Germanic languages are 3000-3500 years apart, and one can determine cognate relationship by inspection of basic words. That is not the case for Utian … My 4,500 year estimate accords with Moratto's statements concerning a warming trend in the Nevada Great Basin area about that time which might have driven a portion of the people out and to California, presumably by a northern route (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2005).

The present Costanoan languages began to diverge from one another around 0 AD/BC, Callaghan suggests:

> When it comes to families of languages, I think that most people who know what a family of languages is want a simple comparison with an approximate date attached. That is why I say that the Costanoan family has an approximate time depth of 2,000 years, like the Romance family, and that the Miwok family has an approximate time depth of 3500 years, like the Germanic family (Callaghan, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2003).

Richard Levy's estimates for the Utian radiations lie between Golla's short chronology and Callaghan's long chronology. His lexico-statistical approach placed the Miwokan-Costanoan split at 3,200 years ago (1200 BC), an initial northern-southern-Karkin Costanoan language split at AD 500, and the Rumsen-Mutsun split at AD 1000.

With the scholarly three choices for the split between the Miwok and Costanoan populations—4,500, 3,200, and 2,700 years ago respectively—prehistorians can choose the linguistic evidence that fits their archaeological interpretations of late Holocene central California prehistory. Bennyhoff (1994a) thought Utians had been in the San Francisco Bay Area since 3000 BC, while Gerow (1968) believed they arrived at 1500-1000 BC. One researcher thinks the proto-Costanoans arrived in the Carmel Valley by 500 BC (Breschini 1983) or 200 BC (Breschini and Haversat 2002), while another believes they did not reach the Carmel Valley until AD 1350 (Jones 1998). Currently there is no way to reconcile these divergent opinions. Physical anthropology shows no really strong differences among groups of the relevent areas over time. Mitochondrial DNA evidence may track populations in the past, but only if significant comparative sample sizes are obtained for every time period. And finally, there is no assurance that archaeological pattern changes, even when well-dated and well-documented, co-occurred with language group movements (see Hughes 1992).

SUMMARY: SAN FRANCISCO BAY AND MONTEREY BAY CULTURES

In conclusion, a significant cultural split between San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Ohlone/Costanoans is documented in the admittedly sparse ethnographic record, as well as in the

archaeological record and in the linguistic record. While it is fairly clear that all of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan local tribes had more in common with each other than they did with the Mutsun, Chalon, and Rumsen local tribes of the Monterey Bay Area, it is also of interest to examine the extent to which the Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay Costanoan cultures were more similar to one another than either was to the culture of some neighboring language group. In this summary overview, we run down a checklist of internally contrasting elements, and examine them in the light of neighboring cultures.

Numerous ethnographic elements unite the northern and southern Ohlone/Costanoan cultures, but those that do are elements shared by Coast Range people of many languages from San Luis Obispo to Cape Mendocino, such as presence of brush-covered and tule-covered houses, elements of everyday dress, the use of the bow-and-arrow, and division of groups into local tribes of fewer than 500 people. Both San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Ohlone/Costanoans intermarried in limited social interaction spheres that did not surpass a 40 mile radius for any local group, so that intermarriage between the two branches occurred only along a narrow geographic geographic band from Point Año Nuevo through the Santa Cruz Mountains and on eastward to the Orestimba Creek drainage in the interior South Coast Range. But such relative isolation is true for any subgroup of the Costanoans on two sides of any line, arbitrary, linguistic, or cultural.

The following elements point to some amount of real cultural contrast between the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Costanoans:

- While both Northern and Southern Costanoan groups of the inner Coast Ranges engaged in intermarriage with San Joaquin Valley Yokuts groups, other external cultural influences were not shared equally between the two areas. Some of the northernmost San Francisco Bay Costanoans intermarried with Coast Miwoks, others with Karkin Costanoans and Patwins, still others with Bay Miwoks. On the other hand, some Southern Costanoans intermarried with Salinans, others with Esselens, and a few with both.
- Basketry traditions of San Francisco Bay seem to have been somewhat different from those of Monterey Bay, probably due to influences from different neighboring traditions. It may well be, however, that full inventories of baskets from both areas would provide evidence for a unified Costanoan tradition for at least a portion of the basketry repertoire.
- Mythological narratives from San Francisco Bay are oriented to a general north-central California pattern, while mythological narratives from the Monterey Bay Area have south-central California motifs.
- During the protohistoric period, leading up to and including Spanish contact, archaeological evidence illustrates significant differences from north to south. The San Francisco Bay people practiced the complex collector lifestyle of the Augustine cultural pattern (shared among the San Francisco Bay Costanoan, Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, and Southern Patwin); they invested time and effort into creating flared-rim "flower-pot" stone mortars and flanged pestles, flanged steatite pipes, distinctive "banjo" abalone ornaments, delicate Stockton serrate arrow points, and engaged in the clam shell disk bead trade network believed to signify a partially monetized economy. The protohistoric Monterey Bay people, less densely populated, practiced an incipient collector lifestyle of the San Carlos Ranch Phase. They did not use the items described above for the San Francisco Bay Area people, with the exception of one "banjo" abalone ornament found in the Watsonville area. They utilized the Desert side-notched arrow point for as long as they had the bow and arrow, a point that began to appear to the north (in the southern part of the San Francisco Bay Area) only after AD 1550. They used the hopper mortar, rather than the bowl mortar, for grinding acorns.

No elements of the archaeological record provide evidence for a distinct Late Period "Costanoan Archaeological Culture Area" that mimics the historic extent of the Costanoan language family.

Significant cultural differences between the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas began long before the protohistoric Late Period. The cultures of the two areas seem to have been very similar, even identical, in the earliest times that have been documented, between 10,000 and 3,500 BC; people in both areas were quite mobile, used milling slabs to process vegetal products, and had little ornamentation. Things began to differentiate at 3500 BC, after which time key differences between the two areas are reflected in different types of plant processing equipment, different settlement patterns, and different amounts of status differentiation:

- Millingstones, believed to signal a traveler lifestyle, were as common or more common in Monterey Bay sites at all times from 3,500 BC to AD 1000, while the mortar and pestle completely replaced the millingstone north of the Santa Clara Valley by 3,500 BC.
- Around San Francisco Bay, burials and cremations with diverse beads and ornaments, probably suggesting increasing importance of status differentiation, became quite common from 200 BC forward, but remained exceptional throughout time on Monterey Bay.

In short, Monterey Bay prehistoric culture, as much as it has been documented, seems to have been a stable local adaptation and a conservative one. San Francisco Bay culture, on the other hand, has been subjected to introductions of new artifact types, changes in settlement locations, and innovations in symbolic ornament systems over and over again since 3,500 BC.

Linguistic reconstruction also indicates a split between northern and southern Ohlone/ Costanoans. The Costanoan dialects around San Francisco Bay were nearly unified at the time of Spanish contact, with the exception of the very different Karkin speakers on Carquinez Strait. In the south, Mutsun, Rumsen, and Awaswas, while not mutually intelligible, form a language branch that has developed innovations that do not occur in the Chalon language to the east or in the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language to the north. The standard explanation of the events that shaped the distribution of the ethnographic Costanoan languages, supported by most authors cited above, is as follows:

- The San Francisco Bay Area was the proto-Costanoan homeland from the Early Period forward; toward the end of the Middle Period, a pre-existing Esselen-speaking population in the Monterey Bay Area began to emulate the cultural pattern of the more northerly Costanoans, leading to a wave of southerly progressing intermarriage and change to Costanoan language and San Carlos Ranch culture on Monterey Bay during the Late Period.

This standard explanation does not account for the great language diversity in the Monterey Bay Area (presumed by linguists to reflect great time depth of occupation), in contrast to low language diversity around San Francisco Bay south of the Karkin homeland. Given that problem, one new alternative explanation is offered for the first time here:

- There was a proto-Costanoan presence from the Early Period forward in both the San Francisco and Monterey Bay areas (albeit with cultural differences). By the Middle Period there were a number of diverse Costanoan languages in both the Monterey and San Francisco Bay areas. During the terminal Middle Period, the Santa Clara Valley became a center for innovation, provoking some of the cultural changes that would mark the Late Period. This was followed during the Middle/Late Transition period by an northward expansion of the new motifs and a single San Francisco Bay Costanoan language onto the Peninsula and into the East Bay, replacing all other Costanoan languages around the bay except Karkin.

The first model may be too simple to describe the ebb and flow of cultural development and language change that has occurred over the past few thousand years within contact-period Costanoan language family territory. The second alternative, while illustrating possible complex ebb and flow of language and cultural innovation in the past, has not been tested in the court of scholarly opinion. A satisfactory future model will have to take into consideration the evidence for change in culture in the lands of the historic Coast Miwoks, Bay Miwoks, Patwins, and Delta Yokuts as well each of the Costanoan language areas.

In conclusion, ethnographic and archaeological clues indicate that there was a generally united Augustine Pattern culture around San Francisco Bay when the Spaniards arrived, involving the Coast Miwok, Southern Pomo, southernmost Wappo, southernmost Patwin, Bay Miwok, and San Francisco Bay Costanoan (Bennyhoff 1994a). The Costanoans of Monterey Bay, on the other hand, are shown by ethnographic and archaeological clues to have been participating in a substantially different cultural pattern, the San Carlos Ranch Phase pattern, at the Spanish arrival (Jones et al. 2007).

Chapter 4. Spanish Entry and Mission Dolores, 1769-1800

This chapter details the first encounters of the San Francisco Peninsula local tribes with Spanish explorers in the 1769-1776 period, followed by the missionization of those local tribes at Mission Dolores (San Francisco de Asís) between 1777 and 1800. The first Spanish expedition to the Peninsula was the Portola party of late 1769. The Rivera-Palou expedition followed in 1774, the Ayala naval exploration took place in 1775, and finally the Anza-Font expedition explored the Peninsula in the spring of 1776. Mission Dolores (Mission San Francisco de Asís) and the San Francisco Presidio were founded at the north end of the Peninsula in June of 1776. Local native people began to be baptized at the mission the following spring.

By the end of 1793 the northern and central Peninsula—the coast from the Golden Gate south to San Gregorio Creek and the bay shore south almost to San Francisquito Creek—was devoid of tribal villages. The eight local San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking local tribes of the area had been absorbed into Mission Dolores. Just to the south, three other local tribes were sending members to both Mission Dolores and the more southerly Mission Santa Clara, which had been founded in 1777. Their remaining members went to Mission Santa Clara in the winter of 1794-1795, swept up in a massive regional migration that brought scores of other San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers, and many Bay Miwok speakers, from the east side of San Francisco Bay to Mission Dolores.

The last San Francisco Peninsula person baptized at Mission Dolores was an old woman whose baptism was recorded in 1800, the year that Coast Miwok-speaking people began to cross the Golden Gate to Mission Dolores in large numbers. This chapter will discuss Peninsula and near East Bay tribal absorption at Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara up to 1800, with a primary focus on Mission Dolores, home mission of the local tribes of Peninsula GGNRA lands.

FIRST CONTACT FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE PENINSULA

Local Tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula

At the time of Spanish entry, eight independent local tribes held lands entirely within the present counties of San Francisco and San Mateo, the area essentially equivalent to the San Francisco Peninsula. Four of the eight groups were from the San Francisco Bay shore and four were from the Pacific Coast. The bay shore groups were the Yelamu of San Francisco, Urebure of San Bruno, Ssalson of San Mateo, and Lamchin of Redwood City. The coastal groups were the Aramai of San Pedro Valley, Chiguan of Half Moon Bay, Cotegen of Purisima Creek, and Oljon of San Gregorio (Figure 12). The lands of these eight tribes are mapped in

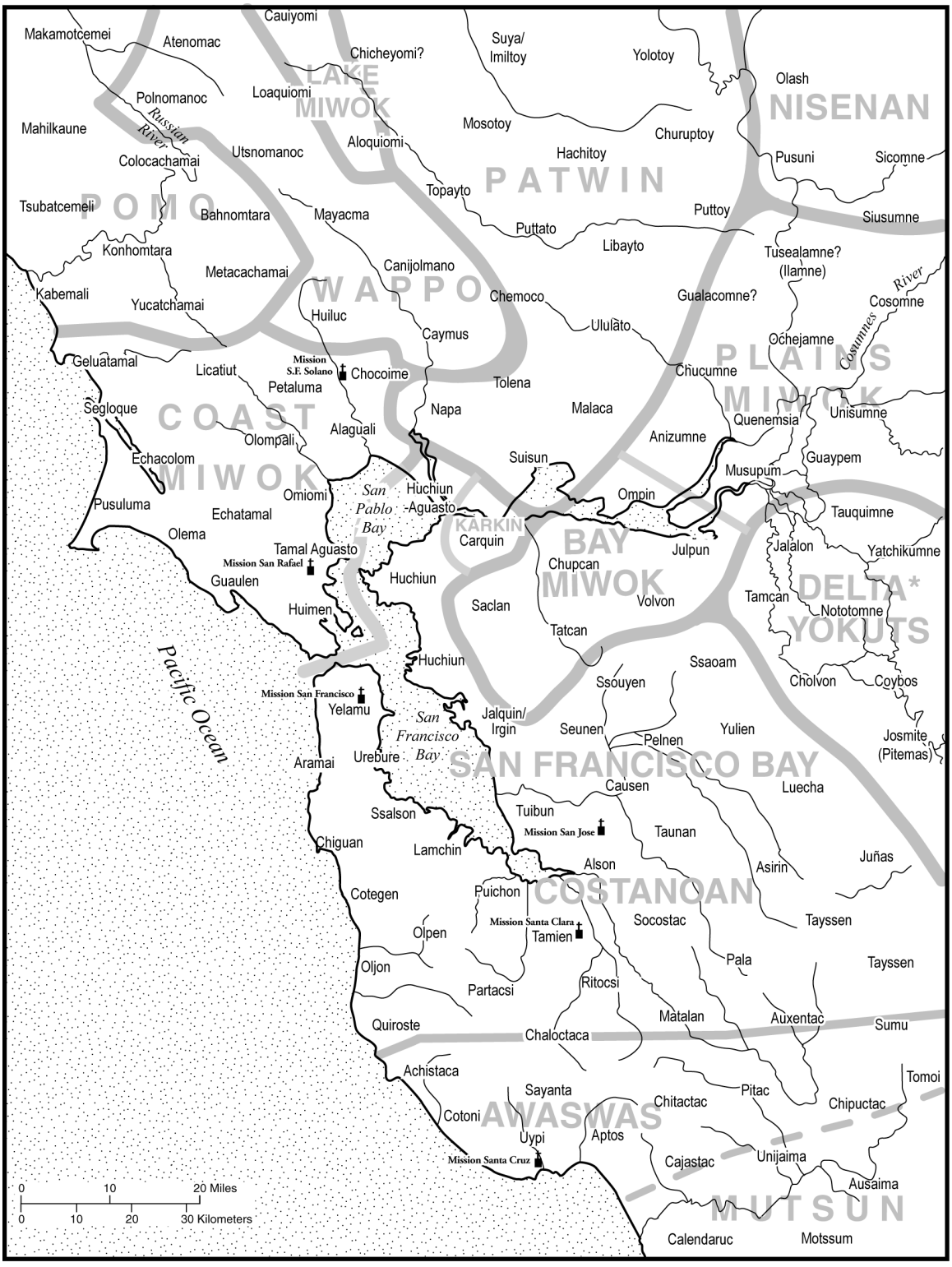

Figure 12. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas
Around San Francisco Bay at the Time of Spanish Entry.

classic ethnographies as belonging to speakers of the San Francisco (Kroeber 1925:Plate 1) or Ramaytush language (Levy 1978a:485) of the Costanoan language family. Ramaytush is now considered to be a dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language.

Another three local tribes held lands that were partially in San Mateo County and partially in more southerly counties, lands that might be considered the geographic boundary zone between the Peninsula and the Santa Cruz Mountains/Santa Clara Valley. One of those groups, the Puichun, lived along the bayshore at San Francisquito Creek, where the Peninsula gives way to the open Santa Clara Valley. Another of the three groups, the Olpen (alias Guemelento), lived in the mountains at the headwaters of San Francisquito Creek, southwest of the Puichuns. The third border group, from the point of view of the San Francisco Peninsula study area, was the Quiroste, of the coast in the Point Año Nuevo area. Kroeber (1925:Plate 1) mapped Puichun and Olpen lands within the San Francisco [Ramaytush-ed.] language area and he mapped Quiroste lands within the Santa Cruz [Awaswas-ed.] language area, while Levy (1978a:485) placed the lands of all three groups within the Ramaytush language area, which, as we pointed out above, is now recognized as a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan.

It is also possible that the Puichun, Olpen, and Quiroste spoke the Tamyen dialect recorded at Mission Santa Clara. All three groups eventually sent members to both Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara. It is really impossible to determine where the Ramaytush dialect ended and the more southerly Tamyen dialect began, because the only Ramaytush sample ever recorded came from an Aramai man from the north, and the precise homelands of the individuals who supplied the information for surviving Tamyen vocabularies and texts have not been documented. It is likely that the Puichuns and Olpens spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan dialects along a clinal path between Ramaytush and Tamyen, while the coastal Quirostes may have spoken a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan influenced by the Awaswas language of the Santa Cruz region.

The Portolá Expedition, 1769

The first documented contact between Spanish explorers and people of the greater San Francisco Bay Area took place when the expedition of Gaspar de Portola arrived from the south at the Quiroste village of Mitenne, near Point Año Nuevo, on October 23, 1769. Portola, governor of Spanish Lower California, had just established a Presidio at San Diego in July of 1769. His party, including 49 Spanish citizens and 15 Baja California Indians, was probing up the coast in search of Monterey Bay, where he intended to establish a second presidio. The party first encountered Ohlone/Costanoans just south of Salinas on September 29, 1769; we discuss Portola's earlier encounters with southern Ohlone/Costanoans south of Point Año Nuevo in Chapter 6.

The Portola party arrived at Mitenne, the main Quiroste village, late in the day on October 23, 1769. Miguel Costanso, one of three expedition diarists, wrote of the encounter:

> The heathens, who were warned by the scouts of our coming to their lands, received us with a great deal of affability and kindness, nor failed to make the usual present of seeds kneaded into thick dough-balls ... In the midst of the village was a great house of spherical shape, very roomy; while the other little houses, which were pyramidal construction and very small-sized, were built of pine [possibly redwood] splints (Costanso [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:87).

The friendly Quirostes showered the Spaniards with food and gifts.

> They brought two or three bags of the (wild) tobacco they use, and our people took all they wanted of it. One (old) heathen man came up smoking upon a very large (and well-carven) Indian pipe made of hard stone. The Indians almost all carry tall red-colored staffs, some with many feathers; they presented four of these staffs to Sergeant Don Francisco Ortega (Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:579).

On October 24 some Quirostes accompanied the Spaniards north into the lands of the Oljon tribe in the Pescadero and San Gregorio creek drainages. "We came across empty villages, and the heathens who were with us said that they were living farther above," wrote diarist Father Juan Crespi in the Pescadero Creek vicinity. At San Gregorio Creek the Oljons gave a festive welcome to the Spaniards:

> As soon as we had reached this place ... the whole of the big village here came over, all of them very well-behaved, fair, and well-bearded heathens, (who received us with much kindness and pleasure). The men all wore from neck to waist a kind of white tippet made of carded plants.... This was the whole of the clothes they wore, for the rest of their body was bare; indeed all the men hereabouts go wholly naked.... They brought us large shares of big dark-colored tamales they make from their grass-seeds, and the soldiers said they were very good and rich when used in atole-mush. They were with us during almost all the time we spent here, very happy and friendly, bringing a new lot of tamales again at every meal-time. Here the soldiers' pease ran out, leaving them with nothing but tortilla (Crespí [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:90-91).

The Portola party stayed with the Oljons for two days, over which time they were fed at each meal time. They continued up the coast from San Gregorio Creek on October 27, passing through Cotegen lands west of the GGNRA Phleger property without encountering any inhabited villages. On October 28 they arrived at the present site of the town of Half Moon Bay. Chiguan people moved their village down from Pillar Point to the vicinity of the Spanish camp on October 29. The Chiguans, too, fed the Spaniards.

On October 31, 1769, the northward-bound Portola party entered the territory of Aramai, whose people controlled the Sweeney Ridge lands now in the GGNRA. As the Spaniards topped the ridge at San Pedro Mountain, north of Montara Beach, they were greeted by 25 people who accompanied them down into San Pedro Valley (Portola [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:94). Reaching the valley floor, the Spaniards camped. According to Crespi ([1769] in Brown 2001:593), "A village of very fine, well-behaved heathens was hearabouts, and they came over at once to the camp, bringing a good many black pies made of their seeds."

Over the next two weeks the Portola party crossed to the east side of the San Francisco Peninsula at Sweeney ridge, at which time they are credited with the European discovery of San Francisco Bay. They traveled down the San Andreas rift valley to the San Francisquito Creek area (now Palo Alto), crossing the lands of the Ssalsons, Lamchins, and Puichons. They camped in the Palo Alto area and sent a scouting party around to the east side of San Francisco Bay. Rich descriptions of the local people and their acts of kindness, too numerous to repeat here, are described by the Portola party diarists (see Stanger and Brown 1969:97-108). At this time they were almost certainly visited by people from Lamchin villages on or near the Phleger Estate GGNRA parcel within the San Francisquito Creek watershed.

The Portola party began their return south to San Diego from San Francisquito Creek on November 12. They retraced their path north and crossed Sweeney ridge to the coast, arriving in San Pedro Valley on November 13, 1769. By November 19, they arrived back with the Quirostes, the southernmost Costanoan-speaking group to later send people to Mission Dolores. Continuing south, they explored the Monterey Peninsula lands of the Rumsen local tribe of Rumsen Costanoan-speakers from November 28 to December 11, 1769. On December 12 the Portola party passed from the lands of Costanoan speakers into Esselen lands in the Soledad vicinity on their way back south to San Diego.

Monterey Settlement and San Francisco Peninsula Exploration, 1770-1774

The Spaniards returned north from San Diego to establish the Presidio of Monterey and Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel), the first mission among Costanoan-speaking people, on May 24, 1770. An overview of the fate of the Rumsen Costanoans and their Esselen neighbors at Mission Carmel is provided in Chapter 7 of this report. Suffice to say here that the first Catholic baptism of any Costanoan-speaker occurred on December 26, 1770, when five-year-old Chinui, a boy of the Rumsen local tribe of the Carmel Valley, was baptized as Bernardino Jesus Fages.

The Spaniards at Monterey were interested in the new bay that Portola had discovered. Expeditions were sent north to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1770 and 1772, both under Pedro Fages. The first Fages party went into the Santa Clara Valley and along the east shore of San Francisco Bay in November of 1770 (Fages [1770] in Stanger and Brown 1969). The second Fages party, in March of 1772, again went up through the Santa Clara Valley and along the east shore of San Francisco Bay, thence eastward along San Pablo Bay, Carquinez Strait, and on to the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. It returned south through the valleys west of Mount Diablo. Neither party set foot on the San Francisco Peninsula.

The San Francisco Peninsula tribes were visited by Spaniards under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada in the fall of 1774, five years after the Portola party had passed through. The new Spanish party intended to document the nature of San Francisco Bay and scout a location for a Spanish presidio and mission near its mouth. Passing through the Santa Clara Valley, the party arrived among the Puichons on San Francisquito Creek on November 28, 1774, where it was warmly received. Here Father Palou commented about similarities between the local language and that of the natives at Mission Carmel (see quote in Chapter 2).

Leaving San Francisquito Creek, the Rivera party moved northward up the San Andreas Valley in the lands of the Lamchins. They probably passed just to the east of the GGNRA Phleger property on West Union Creek. Moving up through the San Andreas Valley, the party passed five good-sized villages where no villages had been seen by Portola in early and mid-November of 1769 (see Palou quote in the village mobility section in Chapter 3). As the Spaniards went up the San Andreas Valley they passed from Lamchin lands into Ssalson lands, arriving eventually at the north end of the valley in the Sweeney Ridge vicinity (Ssalson, Aramai, Urebure boundary area) on November 30, 1774. Here they crossed the northernmost point of Portola's 1769 route and continued a short distance north to camp. Rivera's party remained in camp just below the crest of Sweeney ridge the next day, December 1. They were visited by local people "both from the village in the valley of San Andrés, and from those on the shore of the great estuary" (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:274). The visitors were probably Ssalsons.

Rivera maintained his camp near Sweeney Ridge on December 2, but took a small group north far enough to make out the width of the Golden Gate. Upon his return in the afternoon, the Spanish camp was moved to the bay shore, probably at the mouth of Colma Creek in Urebure land, where they remained for two nights. Diarist Palou recorded visits by friendly villagers, probably the Urebure people from their bay shore village of Siplichiquin, on December 3:

> About two in the afternoon twenty-four heathen came to visit us from villages other than the preceding, although they speak the same language and use many of the same words as those of Monterey. They brought us their present of large tamales, more than a span across and correspondingly thick, kneaded of a dough made of very black wild seeds, resembling tar ... I returned their gift with strings of beads, and the captain did the same (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:277).

On the morning of December 4, the local people returned and conducted the tobacco smoking ceremony that was described in a quote in the "Early Language Documentation" section of Chapter

2. Following the ceremony, the Rivera party moved north to explore the very northern tip of the Peninsula. They camped, after traveling two-and-one-half hours, to the northeast of the lake now called Lake Merced, in the present southwestern portion of the city of San Francisco. From that camp a small party went north to the Golden Gate. At Ocean Beach, on their return south to the camp, they encountered "the skeleton of a whale and a tule raft, of the sort used by the heathen for fishing, although we did not see in the stretch from the camp to the mouth of the estuary a single heathen or any tracks of them" (Palou ([1774] in Bolton 1926:3:284).

The Rivera-Palou party began their return south to Monterey, by way of the coast, on December 5, 1774. They arrived in the San Pedro Valley, where they camped for the night without mentioning the people or village of Pruristac. On December 6 they crossed Montara Mountain. They camped that night near a hamlet of Indian people in Chiguan territory (present Half Moon Bay).

> The village is built in the arroyo itself, on a thick wall that it forms like an island, in such a manner that from the plain the arroyo is not visible, and still less the houses of the village... These Indians belong to another village in the Sierra [the adjacent Santa Cruz Mountains-ed.], so we understood, and are here only in passing. Their chief or head man told us that he had known our captain since the first expedition, when he had accompanied him for a day's march... I observed that these people here did not understand the language of Monterey... The men ate in the camp and I noticed that they were very fond of our food. I gave them a little tobacco and they at once began to smoke. I observed that they practiced the same ceremony as the rest, blowing the smoke to the four winds and pronouncing some words that I did not understand (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:288-289).

The "first expedition," where the Chiguan headman had met Rivera, must have been the Portola expedition which had passed through Chiguan territory on both its northward and southward passes.

The Rivera party headed south from Half Moon Bay on December 8, with guides provided by the local people. In the afternoon they found themselves being guided inland up a rugged ridge that was taking them toward the crest of the mountains that divide the coast from the bay shore. Topping a ridge short of that crest, and a few miles west of the current GGNRA Phleger property, the Spaniards saw a cluster of people calling to them from the next ridge east, across a deep inland valley. Rivera turned away to the south, in order to return to the coastal route to the south. The tribal people became upset.

> As soon as the heathen saw that we were taking another road they stopped, as though abashed, and those from the village came running, without any arms at all, and overtook us on the descent. One of them, who had a beard as long as the oldest hermit, made us a speech in which, by the signs, we understood that he was inviting us to his village, for having learned of our coming, they had prepared atole and pinole. We thanked him, but... took our leave of them, at which they seemed quite sad (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:292).

The bearded head man who invited Rivera to a gathering was a Lamchin captain, according to a note in the 1776 diary of Juan de Anza. The Rivera party was probably looking across Corte de la Madera Creek to the main ridge of the Peninsula, the Sierra Moreno, when they first saw the cluster of people across from them. Below the Sierra Moreno to the east, down Bear Gulch, was West Union Creek, the inland valley of the Lamchins, and the location of the GGNRA Phleger property.

First European Vessel on San Francisco Bay, 1775

The first documented entry into San Francisco Bay was made by the 58 foot long two-masted brig *San Carlos* on August 6, 1775. The ship maintained a number of anchorages off of the Marin

Peninsula and Angel Island during its 48 day stay, while ship's boats were sent out to chart San Francisco Bay and San Pablo bays. The remarkable notes maintained by the captain and chaplain of the *San Carlos* are rich with information about interaction with the Huimens of the southern Marin Peninsula and the Huchiuns of the Point Richmond vicinity in the East Bay (Galvin 1971, excerpted by Milliken 1995:40-51). None of the *San Carlos* diarists' notes concern the native San Francisco Peninsula people. But valuable ethnographic material pertaining to the Huchiuns, San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers who were intermarried with the Yelamus, is presented below.

Between August 7 and August 24 the Spaniards on the *San Carlos* interacted only with Huimens from nearby Marin Peninsula villages.[27] Then, on the morning of August 24, eight Huchiun men visited the *San Carlos* near Angel Island. The visitors, in two tule boats, presented themselves with a formal ritual of introduction:

> One of them, who doubtless came to the bow of his boat for the purpose, began to make a long speech, giving us to understand that it was the head man of the ranchería who came, and that he was at our service. This visit was not a casual one, for all of them appeared to have got themselves up, each as best he could, for a festive occasion. Some had adorned their heads with a tuft of re-dyed feathers, and others with a garland of them mixed with black ones. Their chests were covered with a sort of woven jacket made with ash-coloured feathers; and the rest of their bodies, though bare, was all worked over with various designs in charcoal and red ocher, presenting a droll sight (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:61-63).

Upon boarding the ship, the Huchiun men orchestrated a formal ceremony which seems to have symbolized intergroup solidarity:

> The chieftain of the ranchería had all his men, one after another, in the order of their importance, salute our captain; and when this ceremony was completed he begged us all to sit down, as the Indians also did, for distribution among us of their offering, which they brought to us in all tidiness. All being in their places in due order, the second chieftain, who was among the company, asked of another Indian a container made of reeds that he carried with him, in which were many pats or small cakes of pinole. It was given him, and having placed it beside him he indicated that he was to be listened to. With no lack of self-composure he spoke for quite a while, and then, opening the container, handed the pinole cakes to the first chieftain, who as soon as he received them handed them to our captain, making signs to him to distribute them among all the men of the ship, insisting, moreover, that he be the first to taste the pinole (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:63).

The ritual indicates that the Huchiun men considered the occasion to be a diplomatic contact between equals. The Francsican chaplain of the brig, Vicente Santa María, showed them a Christian religious icon:

> We gave them glass beads and other little gifts, which they put in their reed container. This done, I brought out a representation of our holy father St. Francis, most edifying, and upon my presenting it to the Indians to kiss they did so with so

[27] Diarists from the *San Carlos* recorded some Costanoan words spoken by Huimens, leading to modern scholarly consideration that the Huimens may have been native Costanoan speakers (Brown 1973a). Other evidence strongly suggests that the Huimens spoke a Coast Miwok dialect. They probably used Costanoan words, learned from their immediate neighbors, the Yelamus and Huchiuns, to speak with the sailors who had been learning Rumsen Costanoan at Monterey since 1770.

> much veneration, to all appearances, and willingness, that they stole my heart and the hearts of all who observed them (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:63).

During the afternoon of August 24, 1775, the eight Huchiun men sat on the beach at Angel Island with Santa María, sharing the sacred songs of the two cultures:

> They all crowded around me and, sitting by me, began to sing, with an accompaniment of two rattles that they had brought with them. As they finished the song all of them were shedding tears, which I wondered at for not knowing the reason. When they were through singing they handed me the rattles and by signs asked me also to sing. I took the rattles and, to please them, began to sing to them the "Alabado" (although they would not understand it), to which they were most attentive and indicated that it pleased them (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:67).

On the following morning, August 25, the same group of Huchiun men came back on board the San Carlos. Santa María wrote that the ship's crew spent some time learning their Costanoan words and writing them down. Santa María also wrote down the names of the men, "Their chieftain was called Sumu; the second chieftain, Jausos; the others, Supitacse (1); Tilacse (2); Mutuc (3); Logeacse (4); Guecpostole (5); Xacacse (6)" (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:67). Twenty years later, four of those men would move from their East Bay villages to Mission Dolores.

Santa María's diary indicates that rivalry, even jealousy, existed between the local Huimens of the Marin Peninsula and the Huchiuns from the East Bay. While the Huchiuns were still on the ship, some of the Huimens came on board:

> Soon after these Indians came to the ship there came eight others of our new friends, and at first it appeared that those of the one and the other ranchería did not look on each other with much friendliness, but our treating them all as equals made them friends and on speaking terms with one another (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:69).

With a truce in place, Santa María proceeded to teach the native men how to cross themselves. He remarked that "those under Sumu's command were better disposed toward these pious observances" (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:69). Individual variations in personality, differences in curiosity, and in a willingness to experiment, are bound to have an effect on the initial interactions between cultural groups.

The *San Carlos* remained at Ayala Cove until September 7. From August 24 onward, Indians in tule boats visited the ship every day, presumably from villages throughout the central San Francisco Bay region (Ayala [1775] in Galvin 1971:84; Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:61), but no more specific details were provided about the interactions. The San Carlos sailed south to Monterey on September 18, 1775.

The Anza Expedition, Early 1776

In March of 1776, a Spanish expedition went north from Monterey under leadership of Spanish Army Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza to make the final choice for the location of the Presidio and Mission of San Francisco de Asís. Anza's party included Franciscan priest Pedro Font, eleven soldiers, and seven servants and muleteers. The party took the inland route up the Santa Clara Valley to the San Francisco Peninsula.

At a Lamchin village on Laurel Creek (in the present town of Belmont), diarist Font noted that the local people seemed to be at war with their northern neighbors. They showed the explorers an arrow wound on one man's leg and warned the Spaniards against continuing north into the lands of their enemies, who could only have been the Ssalsons of the San Mateo vicinity. (This evidence of warfare between the Lamchins and Ssalsons was quoted in the "Boundary Maintenance and Conflict"

section of Chapter 3.) The twenty Spanish explorers did continue north, however. They passed a village on San Mateo Creek and camped about two-and-a-half miles further north, near another small village:

> At sunset some Indians were sighted on a hill. Then others came out and the first ones ran and afterwards came to the camp, and according to the signs which they made with their bows and arrows it seems that they wished to tell us that the others were hostile, but that we need not be afraid because they had already chased them away. These Indians were very friendly with us, and it seemed to me that they were saying that we must stay there.... At nightfall we bid them all goodbye (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:329).

The local villagers by this point must have been Ssalsons. Thus the people on the hill were probably Lamchin raiders who had followed the Spaniards north. No further mention was made of the Lamchin-Ssalson antagonism in the Anza party diaries.

On the following day, March 27, Anza entered Yelamu territory and camped at Mountain Lake, just south of the Presidio and Golden Gate. They went out to the point of land where the Golden Gate Bridge is now anchored, seeing one Indian person in the distance. Later two local Yelamu men came to the Spanish camp. Chaplain Font wrote of their helpfulness:

> They were attentive and obsequious and brought us firewood. They remained at camp a while, but when the commander gave them glass beads they departed. While we were on the cliff at the mouth, some Indians on the other side of the port yelled at us several times, according to what the soldiers said; but I did not see them or hear them (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:333).

The Spanish party explored the entire San Francisco vicinity, but they mentioned seeing only one structure, at the beach in the present Presidio/Marina area.

> Here we found a little hut with four small children, and from this I judged that they msut belong to the Indians who yesterday came to the camp. Today likewise four came and were very gentle and obliging (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:342).

The Anza party left the San Francisco area on March 29, heading back down the bay shore of the Peninsula. Over the next few days the Anza party retraced its steps south, rounded San Francisco Bay, and carried out an exploration eastward to the Carquinez Straight and on into the San Joaquin Valley. From the vicinity of the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers (the present Antioch area), they turned south along the east flank of the Diablo Range, then southwest through that range to the upper Santa Clara Valley, and on south to Monterey. The quotes of the expedition diarists regarding local Indian people along the way are of great interest, but are beyond the scope of this study (see Milliken 1995:53-57 for excerpts).

YELAMU RESISTANCE AND MISSIONIZATION, 1776-1787

Spanish Settlers at the Presidio and Mission Dolores, June 1776

In June of 1776, Spanish settlement was extended north to San Francisco Bay with the arrival of a party of 75 people on the Peninsula to found Mission Dolores and the Presidio of San Francisco. The party traveled over land from Monterey, arriving at the Presidio site on June 27. It consisted of 14 Spanish soldiers, seven settlers, wives and children of settlers and soldiers, missionary priests Francisco Palóu and Pedro Cambón, and a retinue of 13 young Indian servants to the missionaries (mainly Baja California natives, but also including a native of the Rumsen local tribe of Carmel Valley, a Rumsen Costanoan speaker, as an interpreter). The 75-person immigrant party was probably larger than any single Yelamu village aggregation.

The Spanish settler party also included a large mule train and a herd of 286 cattle. Francisco Palóu, the supervising Franciscan missionary, documented the surprise the caravan prompted from villagers along the trail:

> We were well received by all the heathen whom we met on the road, who were surprised to see so many people of both sexes and all ages, for up to that time they had not seen more than some few soldiers, on the occasions when they went to make the explorations. And they were astonished at the cattle, which they had never seen before (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:119-120).

The Spaniards set up fifteen tents near a lagoon in Mission Valley, adjacent to the seasonal village of Chutchui:

> As soon as the expedition halted, a great many of the pagans came in, making signs of friendship and expressing their pleasure at our arrival. Their good will was greatly increased when they saw with what courtesy we treated them, and when they received the little presents which we gave them of beads and trinkets to attract them, and also of our food. They continued to visit us frequently, bringing us presents of small value, principally shell-fish and grass seeds (Palóu [1786] in James 1913:203).

While the people of Sitlintac, Amuctac, and other nearby towns came to get acquainted with the missionaries, the soldiers and settlers began cutting timbers for a mission station and moving the cattle onto convenient pastures near springs.

On July 26, 1776, the larger part of the Spanish party moved three miles northwest to begin constructing shelters and a chapel for the presidio of San Francisco on the south shore of the Golden Gate channel. The two missionaries were left with their five servants, six soldiers with families, and one settler with family. Over the next two weeks the missionaries went out to the nearby villages, presumably Chutchui, Petlenuc, and one or two Visitation Valley villages. Palou ([1786] in James 1913:203) wrote:

> The people showed themselves courteous by returning the visits, whole villages coming in to see us and bringing us their little presents, which we tried to return in better kind and so win their affection.

Yelamu Defeat by Ssalsons and Skirmishes with Spaniards

Daily life for the Yelamu people, certainly altered by the arrival of the Spaniads, was completely disrupted on the morning of August 12, 1776, six weeks after the Spanish arrival. That morning the Yelamu villages were attacked by their Ssalson neighbors further south on the Peninsula.

> The heathens of the villages of San Mateo, who are their enemies, fell upon them at a large town about a league from this lagoon, in which there were many wounded and dead on both sides. Apparently the Indians of this vicinity were defeated, and so fearful were they of the others that they made tule rafts and all moved to the shore opposite the presidio, or to the mountains on the east side of the bay. We were unable to restrain them, even though we let them know by signs that they should have no fear, for the soldiers would defend them (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:135).

The Ssalsons burned not only Sitlintac, on the shore of Mission Creek, but also two other Yelamu villages (Palóu [1786] in James 1913:208). The timing of the Ssalson attack leaves many unanswered questions. The Ssalsons may have been trying to do the Spanish a favor by securing for them complete control of the Yelamu lands. They may have been removing an impediment to their own easy access to the Spaniards. On the other hand, the attack may have been the result of a local feud that had nothing at all to do with the Spanish settlement.

Most of the Yelamu survivors seem to have found shelter with the Huchiuns of the east shore of San Francisco Bay, with whom they were intermarried. In the autumn of 1776, some Yelamu men began to return to the Peninsula, ostensibly to hunt ducks. But they may also have come to watch the Spaniards and determine whether or not they could re-inhabit their old village sites. On some of their visits the local men presented ducks to the Spaniards and were given beads and food in return (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:136).

Relations between the displaced Yelamu people and the Spaniards turned for the worse in the late fall of 1776. A series of negative incidents have been reported from the Spanish point of view:

> In the last visits which they made in early December they began to disgrace themselves, now by thefts, now by firing an arrow close to the corporal of the guard, and again by trying to kiss the wife of a soldier, as well as by threatening to fire an arrow at the neophyte from the mission of Carmelo who was at this mission (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:135).

A few days after the latter incident, the man who had made that threat visited the new mission with four companions. The Spanish sergeant ordered him arrested, dragged off to the guardhouse, and flogged. Two other local men heard his cries for help from the lagoon. They ran up to the guardhouse preparing to shoot arrows, but fled when muskets were fired into the air (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:136).

On the morning after the Yelamu man was flogged, the Spanish soldiers went down to the beach area at the foot of Mission Bay to find a group of native people, presumably returning Yelamus, camped at the beach. The soldiers demanded that the two men who had fired arrows at them the day before be turned over. The two were pointed out, denied responsibility, and fled, at which point others began firing arrows at the Spaniards, wounding a horse. The Spaniards shot back with their guns for the first time on the San Francisco Peninsula, killing one man.

> The rest ran to take refuge among some isolated rocks not far away, whence they continued to shoot their arrows. The sergeant fired at them and at one shot the ball went through the leg of one of them and then pierced the rock, for they found the hole the next day, and signs that the Indians had taken out the ball, doubtless to see what it was that had made such havoc among them. As soon as the Indians among the isolated rocks saw one of their number dead and the other so badly wounded, they asked for peace, making the gesture of throwing their bows and arrows on the ground (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:137-138).

The two Yelamu men accused of trying to free their friend were captured and whipped. The Spanish sergeant told them that he would kill them if they ever tried to attack the Spaniards again.

Yelamu People Join Mission Dolores, 1777-1787

Young Yelamu people overcame their fear of the Spaniards and began taking religious instruction from the missionaries during the spring of 1777. Three young men were baptized at Mission Dolores on June 24. The first was twenty-year-old Chamis, from the seasonal village of Chutchui within a few hundred yards of the mission (SFR-B 9). Chamis's father had died years earlier and his mother was living at Pruristac on the coast with another husband (SFR-B 313). Also baptized that day were Pilmo (SFR-B 10) and Taulvo (SFR-B 11), both said to be nine-year-olds from Sitlintac at the beach. Their fathers were also dead, perhaps killed in one of the two altercations of the recent past, either the Ssalson attack of the previous summer or the fight with the soldiers the previous December.

By the end of 1777, 32 local Indians belonged to the Christian community at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 1). They were all young people, 23 males and 9 females. Of the group, 27 were from local Yelamu villages. Four others were from Urebure, just to the south. Only one of the new neophytes

baptized that year, 15-year-old Emptil of the Lamchin tribe, came from any great distance (Appendix F:Table 2).

The year 1778 began with the baptism of seven young people, among them three children of Yelamu headman Guimas (SFR-B 44, 46, 49). Altogether, 40 tribal people were baptized in 1778, of whom 38 were from the local Yelamu villages. When deaths and mission births are taken into account, 73 Indian people were neophytes at Mission Dolores at year's end, of whom 62 were from the Yelamu villages (Appendix F:Tables 1 and 2).

By 1780 most young Yelamu villagers under the age of twenty had joined the Mission Dolores community. By that year, five older Yelamu married couples had also joined the mission. Over the four year period from the beginning of 1780 to the end of 1783, another 27 Yelamu people joined the mission. During the same four years, 79 Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin and Puichon people came up from their bay-facing villages to join Mission Dolores while 29 people from coastal Peninsula groups joined the mission (Appendix F:Table 2). By the end of 1783 the Mission Dolores Indian population was 221 (Appendix F:Table 1). Of that total, 73 were Yelamu tribal converts and 8 were mission-born Yelamu children. Most of the key Yelamu elders, however, had still not been baptized by the end of 1783.

Guimas, headman of the Sitlintac-Chutchui village group, and probably of all the Yelamu villages, was baptized with Huitenac, one of his three wives, on May 2, 1784 (SFR-B 365-366). Along with Guimas and Huitenac, eight other couples were baptized that day, including three other Yelamu couples, two Aramai couples, two Urebure couples, a Lamchin couple, and the first Miwok-speaking Huimen couple from north of the Golden Gate to be baptized (SFR-B 367-382). This was the largest single group of established families to join Mission Dolores up to that time.

It is probably no coincidence that Father Junípero Serra arrived from Mission Carmel two days later to perform confirmations. The date was seven years after the first local Yelamu boys had begun attending missionary catechism classes.

Yelamu power in their own lands receded from 1784 forward. The last 11 Yelamu people were baptized during 1785-1787, but in those same years dozens of Ssalsons from further south joined the mission, as did the first groups from the coastal Cotegen and Oljon groups south of Half Moon Bay (Appendix F:Table 2). Demographically, the Yelamu population was initially successful, swinging up and down between 100 and 86 individuals between 1784 and 1793, through mission births. After 1794 the Yelamu population began to plummet, dropping to only 46 individuals by the year 1800. As a fraction of the overall Mission Dolores population, Yelamu representation dropped from 37% in 1784 to just 7% in 1800, due to immigration of other groups from down the Peninsula and from the east side of San Francisco Bay (Appendix F:Table 3). The story of the continuing drop of Yelamu population from 1800 to 1817 will be taken up in the last section of Chapter 5.

PENINSULA GROUPS JOIN MISSION DOLORES, 1779-1793

Once the Yelamu people and their neighbors were brought under control in the early 1780s, Mission Dolores brought in more and more groups, from further and further down the San Francisco Peninsula, as well as from the east shore of San Francisco Bay. Further south, Mission Santa Clara was bringing in native people from the southern end of the Peninsula, and after 1791 Mission Santa Cruz was reaching up the coast toward the Quirostes at Point Año Nuevo.

In this section, in order to follow some thematic developments, we present the initial portion of the story of eighteenth-century missionization along the San Francisco Bay shore, followed by the stories of missionization along the coast of the Peninsula and the near East Bay, then return to the last part of Peninsula bay shore missionization. The reader is reminded, however, that the events documented in separate sub-sections below were occurring concurrently.

Yelamu-Ssalson Reconciliation and Bay Shore Peninsula Conversions, 1777-1793

A total of 542 people were gathered into Mission Dolores from Peninsula bay shore local tribes south of San Francisco, all but one by the end of 1794. They came in to the mission in three waves, one from 1777 to 1786, a second in 1790, and a third in 1793-94. The Urebure people were all baptized in the first wave, most by 1783. The Ssalsons were baptized over a long period from 1778 to 1794, with the largest single segment of them baptized at the end of the first wave, in 1786. Lamchin and Puichon patterns of baptism were nearly identical to each other, with the largest numbers of baptisms occurring in the second and third waves, 1790 and 1793 (Appendix F:Table 2).

The first bay shore convert from south of present San Francisco was Sebastian Emptil, a 15-year-old from the Lamchin. He was the thirteenth Indian baptized at the mission. Small numbers of young people from bay shore groups, Urebure, Ssalson, and Lamchin, were baptized later in 1777, in 1778 and in 1779. A large number of unmarried young Sssalsons were baptized in 1780; they comprised 17 of 41 new neophytes that year. Again in 1781 children came up to Mission Dolores from the south, some from as far as the Puichon villages on San Francisquito Creek, a bit closer to Mission Santa Clara than to Mission Dolores. Despite these baptisms of young Peninsula people, no adult married couples from any group south of the Yelamu had joined Mission Dolores by the end of 1781.

The absence of married people from bay shore local tribes at Mission Dolores prior to 1782 may be understood in the light of the Ssalson attack on Yelamu villages in August, 1776. Reconciliation betweem the Ssalson and Yelamu people occurred at the end of 1781, when two marriages took place between young people from the two areas. The importance of those marriages was underscored in a year-end report by Mission Dolores priests two years later:

> Some people from those villages [Ssalson] have come to be baptized and to live at this mission. They have married among those of this place.... With these conversions the continuous warfare in which they lived has ceased, with which both nations show themselves to be well pleased (Palóu and Cambón 1783).

The first of those Yelamu-Ssalson weddings took place on December 19, 1781, when María Francisca of Chutchui, sister of the first neophyte at the mission, married Mariano, son of Guascan, a Ssalson widow (SFR-M 27). A week later Mariano's Ssalson sister, María de los Remedios, married Jacome de la Marca, son of the head man of the Yelamu village of Petlenuc (SFR-M 28).

Over the years 1782-1785 bay shore people of all ages from the Urebure, Ssalson, and Lamchin groups joined Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 2). All of the Urebure people were baptized by the end of 1785. The years 1786 and 1787—the last years Yelamu people were baptized—were the first years in which large groups of people from the Peninsula bay shore local tribes were baptized at Mission Dolores, 54 Ssalsons, 13 Lamchins, 11 Puichons, and 6 Olpens were baptized at the mission. Among the Ssalsons was head man Kequecég (SFR-B 517). (The years 1786 and 1787 also saw baptisms of small numbers of people from across the bay, 21 San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and 2 Bay Miwok speakers from the east shore of the bay, and 13 Coast Miwok speakers from the north side of the bay; they will be discussed in some detail in a subsequent subsection.) Very few people from any direction were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1788 and 1789.

In 1790, after a three year lull, significant numbers of bay shore Peninsula people were baptized at the main Mission Dolores location in mixed groups, including 53 Lamchins, 23 Puichons, and 27 Ssalsons. By the end of 1790, 62% of the eventual 542 people ever baptized at Mission Dolores from the bay shore south of San Francisco (including Portola Valley Olpens) were part of the mission community (Appendix F:Table 2). In 1791, Spanish attention turned to the Pacific coast in what is now San Mateo County.

The final wave of Peninsula bay shore conversions at Mission Dolores occurred in 1793. Over a five month period—January through May—the last 20 Ssalsons were baptized in mixed

groups with 40 Lamchins, 36 Puichons, and 36 Olpens. At Mission Santa Clara during the same months, 41 people were baptized from their district of San Bernardino (from Stevens Creek to the coast), including some Puichons and Olpens. During these months Spanish soldiers were going into the mountains in search of a resistance leader named the Charquin; he was arrested in May (see discussion in the next subsection). Another 38 San Bernardino district people went to Mission Santa Clara during the latter part of 1793.

Coastal Peninsula Conversions and Resistance, 1779-1793

The Pacific coast of San Mateo county was much more lightly populated than the San Francisco Bay shore at the beginning of the Mission Period. A total of 297 tribal people from the Pacific Coast south of San Francisco joined Mission Dolores, all between 1779 and 1793. Although the Pacific Coast people were seldom baptized in groups limited to members of a single local tribe, the predominant local tribe representation in specific baptismal groups switched steadily southward over time. First to be absorbed were the Aramai people of Pruristac and Timigtac villages in the present Pacifica area; most of them were baptized between 1779 and 1784. Most of the Chiguans of Half Moon Bay were baptized between 1783 and 1787, the Cotegens of Purisima Creek between 1786 and 1791, and the Oljons between 1786 and 1793. Quirostes from further south at Point Año Nuevo dispersed in three directions during the early 1790s, north to Mission Dolores, east to Mission Santa Clara, and south to Mission Santa Cruz.

The first coastal Peninsula head man to become a neophyte was Mossués, also known as Yagueche, of Pruristac. At the time of his baptism, June 7, 1783, he was said to be 70 years old and was an important figure on the northern Peninsula (SFR-B 319). His son-in-law was the Urebure head man Xoyecsse, who had been baptized a few months earlier (SFR-B 306). His younger brother was Camsegmne, head man of the Chiguans of Half Moon Bay (SFR-B 345). Mossués joined Mission Dolores one year before Yelamu head man Guimas did so. The fact that 28 Pruristac/Timigtac people, including the head family, had joined the mission by the end of 1783 may have contributed to Guimas's decision to be baptized. Chiguan head man Camsegmne (SFR-B 345) joined the mission in February of 1784. Although 12 Chiguans were baptized in 1784 and 1785, most of them were not baptized until 1786 and 1787 (Appendix F:Table 2).

In 1786, the missionaries at Mission Dolores began some plantings and construction in San Pedro Valley, now the southern portion of Pacifica, 12 miles south of the mission. The site was located at the Aramai village of Pruristac and was known as the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo. The outstation eventually consisted of a full quadrangle, with chapel, granary, and work and living rooms. Its purpose was to reduce the crowded conditions at San Francisco and raise critically needed supplemental crops for the mission, as well as provide a base of mission outreach to the coastal villages further south (Cambón and García 1787, Milliken 1979).[28]

Most San Mateo coast people went through the ritual of baptism at Mission Dolores itself. But 99 of them were baptized at the short-lived chapel of San Pedro and San Pablo in the San Pedro Valley between mid-1787 and early 1792. By the time the first baptisms were conducted at the San Pedro and San Pablo chapel, on June 30, 1787, 116 of the eventual 297 coastal neophytes had already been baptized up at Mission Dolores. The first converts at the coastal chapel were Cotegens and Oljons, along with a few bay shore Lamchins and interior Olpens. The Oljon head man, 30-year-old Ysúu, was baptized at the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo in March of 1789 (SFR-B 734). Quirostes from

[28] The Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo eventually became the headquarters of Mexican Period Rancho San Pedro. The site is now the Sanchez Adobe County Park in Pacifica, California.

Point Año Nuevo were also baptized at the chapel, often in mixed groups with Oljons and Olpens.[29] All in all, 99 coastal people were baptized at the San Pedro and San Pablo chapel) from 1787 through early 1792, along with 19 people from the Peninsula bay shore (including 13 Lamchins).

The first active resistance to Spanish power in the San Francisco Bay Area began along the Pacific Coast and in the adjoining Santa Cruz mountains in the winter of 1791-1792. It was led by a Quiroste named Charquin. He was the first in line among a group of mixed Quirostes and Oljons baptized in mid-November of 1791 at the San Pedro chapel (SFR-B 1002-1015). Within a few days of his baptism, Charquin fled into the rugged country behind Point Año Nuevo, land equidistant from the San Pedro chapel, Mission Santa Clara, and newly opened Mission Santa Cruz. From there Charquin invited dissatisfied neophytes to join him (Milliken 1995:116-120).

Perhaps in response to Charquin's activities, in February of 1792 the missionaries stopped conducting baptisms at the San Pedro outstation chapel and withdrew most of its resident neophytes up to Mission Dolores. (The San Pedro outstation did continue as a mission farm for the remainder of the mission era, up through 1834). Oljons and Quirostes continued to come north to join Mission Dolores in 1792, and some people from both those groups were baptized at Mission Santa Clara during that year. Charquin was captured by a Spanish patrol and sent away for imprisonment to the Presidio of San Diego in May of 1793. The final groups of coastal Oljons and Quirostes from the southern San Mateo coast to go to Mission Dolores were baptized between October of 1792 and May of 1793. The last large group of Quirostes, 89 people (by inferential analysis of "San Bernardino" district baptisms), were baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1794 (Appendix F:Table 2).

Neophytes from the San Mateo County coast never became as large a component of the Mission Dolores population as the bay shore Peninsula people, but they did surpass the Yelamu people as a percentage of the mission population by the end of 1787. The coastal proportion of the mission community reached a peak in 1793, with 197 (28%) of 711 mission inhabitants (Appendix F:Table 8). However, death rates at the mission from 1792 through 1795 were very high, so that by the end of 1795 their mission population was reduced to 128, including mission births. By 1800 their population was down to 81. The further decline of the missionized San Mateo coast people up through 1817, and their status in 1834, will be examined in Chapter 5.

MIGRATIONS FROM ACROSS THE BAY, 1779-1800

Prior to 1800, Indian people moved to Mission Dolores from the east side of San Francisco Bay and from the Marin Peninsula to the north of the Golden Gate, albeit in smaller numbers than those from the San Francisco Peninula. The pattern of migration from the east and north over the 1779-1793 period was very different than the pattern of migration in the subsequent 1794-1799 period.

The first subsection below will discuss the light migration to Mission Dolores from north and east of the Peninsula during the 1779-1793 period. The next three subsections will describe the mass 1794-1795 migrations from the east and (to a lesser degree) from the north, as well following events up to the year 1800.

[29] The reader may wonder why the Oljons and many Quirostes moved north to be baptized by Mission Dolores priests, when Mission Santa Clara was actually closer. The answer may have to do with the setting of the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo as a more attractive landscape to coastal local tribes than the hot interior Santa Clara Valley.

Initial Tribal Converts from the East and North, 1778-1793

Between 1778 and 1793, 94 East Bay people, mainly Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans, and 31 Marin Peninsula people, mainly Huimen Coast Miwoks, were baptized at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Tables 3 and 4). The Huchiuns lived directly across San Francisco Bay to the east of Mission Dolores. As we have mentioned before, they spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as the Yelamu of San Francisco, and they had many marriage ties with the Yelamus. We think that all but three of the 94 East Bay people who moved to Mission Dolores between 1779 and 1793 were Huchiuns, but we cannot be certain because the earliest East Bay people were identified in the Mission Dolores baptismal register by their home village, not by the name of their multi-village local tribe. For example, a girl baptized in 1780 came from "the other side of the southeastern estuary, from the ranchería called Thenau" (SFR-B 194); family reconstitution evidence shows that Thenau (also spelled Genau), was a Huchiun village (Milliken 1983). Some early East Bay converts were said to be from Yacomui, probably a directional label for "east." For instance, a young boy was from "Yacomui, of the ranchería called Genau" (SFR-B 188). The label "Huchiun" first appeared in a 1787 baptism for a five month old "native of the other shore of the vicinity that they call Juncháque and the Nation Huchiun" (SFR-B 581).

Only three of the 94 East Bay converts baptized before 1794 can be identified with any other group than the Huchiuns. They include one Huchiun-Aguasto, one Carquin, and one possible Chupcan (see Figure 12 for group locations). Insights are gained regarding long-distance family relations through study of the mission register information on those three exceptional individuals.

- On July 28, 1779 an infant was baptized who had been "born in the place called Yupucantche on the other side of the estuary or arm of the sea, where her gentile parents were ... who gave their consent [for the baptism], saying now they would not remove themselves from the mission" (SFR-B 119). Yupucantche was almost certainly equivalent to Chupcan, a Bay Miwok-speaking local tribe from the Concord area, 26 miles inland from Mission Dolores across San Francisco Bay (see Figure 12). The father, Coronon, was never baptized. The mother, Tirium FR 401, was from Sitlintac. She had another daughter born in 1773 at Potrero Hill, adjacent to Mission Dolores. It is possible that these parents were Yelamus who had been living with the Chupcans for a few years, maybe since the 1776 Ssalson-Yelamu war.
- On July 28, 1787 Nazaria, age 27, was baptized. She was "native of the other shore at the place called Jùris, of the Carquin family [familia]. She was, as a gentile, the wife of the Christian Homobono, with whom she renewed the contract of marriage" (SFR-B 658). Homobono, her husband, had been baptized in March of 1786; he was from the Huchiun village of Ocquizara (SFR-B 504).
- On August 24, 1788 Blandina, age 17, was baptized from "the village of Ssogoreate in the port of *La Assunta* near the mouth of the great river of Our Patron Saint Francis, daughter of gentile parents, now deceased … of the Aguasa-Juchiun family" (SFR-B 708). Her group, more commonly called Huchiun-Aguastos, can be located along the western portion of Carquinez Strait from the mapping of the port of La Assunta on the Canizares bay chart of 1775 (see Galvin 1971). On the day after Blandina was baptized she married Blandino Maiam, a Huchiun bachelor from Thenau who had been baptized in 1780.

By the end of 1786, 29 East Bay people were living at Mission Dolores. Another 11 East Bay people were baptized at the mission in 1787. Only two East Bay people were baptized over the years 1788-1790. Small groups of Huchiuns again arrived at Mission Dolores in 1791 and 1792 (Appendix F:Table 3). By the end of 1793, San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the east shore of San Francisco Bay represented 12% of the Mission Dolores population.

The first Marin Peninsula Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores were baptized in the spring of 1783. They were two children of a couple from Livaneglua (at present Sausalito), the main town of the Huimen local tribe on Richardson Bay (SFR-B 305, 325). The parents, Juluio and Olomojoia, either stayed on at the mission or returned in February of 1784. They were baptized on March 5, 1784 in the mainly Peninsula group of couples that included Yelamu captain Guimas. A few more Huimens were baptized between 1786 and 1791 (Appendix F:Table 4). At the end of 1793, however, Coast Miwoks made up less than 4% of the Mission Dolores population.

Mass Migration of East Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks, 1794-1795

By the beginning of 1794 most of the tribal villages on the central and northern San Francisco Peninsula were empty, their people having moved to Mission Dolores. Of 713 native people in the Mission Dolores community, 603 (85%) were from Peninsula local tribes. Another 84 (12%) were San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the east side of San Francisco Bay, while 24 (3%) were Coast Miwok speakers from the north, and 2 (>1%) were Bay Miwok speakers from the interior East Bay.

During the summer of 1794 the Spanish priests at Mission Dolores turned their attention to the intact villages on the east side of San Francisco Bay. In the fall, a mass migration of tribal people took place unlike anything that had occurred over the previous 18 years. Between the end of October of 1794 and the beginning May of 1795, the Mission Dolores population jumped from 628 to 1,095, a 75% increase. Entire village populations of East Bay Huchiuns and Saclans moved, via tule boat, across the bay to Mission Dolores. A similar mass migration took place at Mission Santa Clara as well, from villages throughout the Santa Clara Valley and surrounding hills. Milliken (1995:136) has described this new phase of mission outreach and local tribe disintegration around the bay as a religious conversion/psychological disintegration movement.

As has been discussed in an earlier sub-section, approximately 94 Huchiuns had joined Mission Dolores over a 15 year period from 1779 through 1793. Another 187 Huchiuns were baptized over a two week period between November 14 and November 29. Among the new Huchiun converts were three of the men that had visited the exploring vessel *San Carlos* 19 years earlier, in August, 1775. They were Supitaxe, now age 50 (SFR-B 1509), Guilicse, also age 50 (SFR-B 1505), and Mutacxe, age 40 (SFR-B 1508). The mission's 1794 year-end Huchiun population was 260 (28% of 917 people), making them the largest local tribe in the Mission Dolores community.

The first Saclan Bay Miwoks at Mission Dolores were baptized in mid-December of 1794. Seventeen Saclan children were baptized on December 15 (SFR-B 1531-1547) and 42 adults were baptized on December 18. Scores more Saclans were baptized in January and February of 1795. Mixed in with the Saclans were nine Tatcan Bay Miwoks and two Chupcan Bay Miwoks (Appendix F:Table 3). In that winter of 1794-95, Bay Miwok representation among the baptized Mission Dolores population jumped from a neglible portion to 15% (Appendix F:Table 10).

The first large groups of Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores were also baptized as part of the mass migration of 1794-95. Prior to that winter, 26 Huimens had been baptized, all in small groups between 1784 and 1791. In late 1794 and early 1795, 46 Huimens, 13 Tamal Aguastos from San Rafael, and 1 Guaulen from Bolinas Bay were baptized (Appendix F:Table 4). Some of them were mixed in with groups of their Huchiun neighbors, while others were baptized in small pure Coast Miwok groups. Coast Miwoks represented 8% of the Mission Dolores population by the end of 1795 (Appendix F:Table 12).

Saclan and Huchiun Resistance, 1795-1796

A severe epidemic struck the newly enlarged Indian population at Mission Dolores in March of 1795. At the end of the month some of the newly converted Saclans were allowed to leave the

mission on *paseo* (a sanctioned vacation to their homeland). When the Saclans did not return to the mission in late April, the missionaries sent a group of fourteen Mission Indian men to bring the resisting Saclan back. In the early afternoon of April 29, the Mission Dolores posse found them at a village recorded as that of the Chimenes, probably a Caymus Wappo village at the present city of Napa. A fight ensued and the mission posse was routed, with seven men killed (see Milliken 1995:131-142 for details).

The Saclan victory encouraged a mass flight of Indian people from Mission Dolores during the summer of 1795, including the return of many Huchiuns to their East Bay villages. Mission baptisms of tribal people came to a complete halt. By late 1797 most Christian Saclans remained, from the point of view of the missionaries, fugitives in the East Bay interior. The Spanish military felt itself too weak to try to round them up during 1795 and 1796.

Mission San Jose Founded and Resistance Defeated, 1797-1800

Mission San Jose was founded on the east side of San Francisco Bay in the early summer of 1797, within the context of the Huchiun and Saclan hostility in the East Bay. Work began in May to prepare the new mission site in the present city of Fremont. A temporary chapel was dedicated at the site on June 11, 1797 (McCarthy 1958:49). At the end of the month the missionaries and Spanish authorities received more news of Indian resistance in the East Bay. Another party of Mission Indians, led by Baja California native Raymundo Morante, had been driven out of Huchiun territory, where they had gone to try to force baptized Huchiuns to return to Mission Dolores.

By early July it was clear to the Spanish military leaders that they must act against the fugitive Saclan Bay Miwoks and Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans, if they were to have any success with their new Mission San Jose in the East Bay area. In mid-July of 1797 a Spanish expedition attacked and defeated the Saclan Bay Miwoks in the present Lafayette area, then raided a number of Huchiun villages in the present Richmond area. They forced most of the fugitives from the two local tribes to rejoin Mission Dolores, but took the men they believed to have been resistance leaders to the San Francisco Presidio for trail and punishment (Milliken 1995:157-162).

In 1798 more Saclans and Huchiuns turned themselves in at their missions. Spanish troops conducted a six-day sortie from April 7 to April 12 of 1800 to tribal villages north and east of Mission San Jose. The last Saclan resisters returned to Mission Dolores in January and February of 1802, at which time some of their children were baptized with the children of their Jalquin allies (Milliken 1995:164, 167-168).

FINAL BAPTISMS OF PENINSULA TRIBAL PEOPLE

To close this chapter, we return to the local tribes of the Peninsula. At the end of 1793, only 29 bay shore Peninsula natives and 1 San Mateo coast native remained who would ever be baptized at Mission Dolores (13 Olpens, 9 Lamchins, 5 Puichons, and 1 Ssalson). Their numbers, and evidence from the Mission Santa Clara registers, suggest that two or three tribal villages were still intact at the south end of the Peninsula, probably along San Francisquito Creek and its tributaries, at the end of 1793. A total of 86 tribal Puichons and 83 tribal Olpens would be baptized at Mission Santa Clara between 1794 and 1804 (Appendix F:Table 2).

At the end of 1793, San Francisco Peninsula people represented 85% of the Mission Dolores Indian community of 711 people. By the end of 1795, after the Saclan and Huchiun migrations, Peninsula representation was down to 49.5% of the Mission Dolores population. That percentage stabilized for the next few years, so that by the beginning of 1800, San Francisco Peninsula people still represented 49% of the Mission Dolores population.

The last Peninsula person baptized at Mission Dolores was an old woman who may have been living at the mission for a number of years before her baptism. Father Ramon Abella baptized her as Matea on June 19, 1800:

> During the Feast of the Body of Christ in 1800, the baptism of pagans on this side of the estuaries has come to a conclusion (to the great honor and glory of God), as today the last person was baptized, a woman of sixty years age, known by the name *La Comadre* ["Midwife" or "Gossip"] among enlightened people and Indians alike (SFR-B 2073 [Abella, June 19, 1800]).

Matea's local tribe affiliation was not listed. Given her christened name, and the fact that one of the major Ssalson villages was called *San Mateo*, she was probably a Ssalson. Subsequently, between 1801 and 1804, the last eight Puichons of the Palo Alto area and the last two Olpens of Portola Valley, were baptized at Mission Santa Clara. Just prior to their baptisms they may have been living at a Mission Santa Clara outstation, such as San Bernardino on San Francisquito Creek, with their Clareño relatives.

Chapter 5. Shift to Coast Miwok Predominance at Mission Dolores, 1800-1817

At the end of the year 1800, San Francisco Bay Costanoans made up 70% of the 644 Indian people at Mission Dolores. Yet by the year 1817 San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Karkin Costanoans represented only 22% of 1,048 Indian people at the mission (Table 5). Over the intervening 17 years, local tribes from greater and greater distances to the north and east moved to the mission, including more San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the east side of the bay, more Bay Miwoks, many more Coast Miwoks, and speakers of two new languages, Patwin and Wappo. As early as 1810, Coast Miwok speakers surpassed the combined San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoan speakers in numbers at the mission. By the end of the year 1817 Coast Miwok was the native language of nearly half the residents of Mission Dolores.

The years 1800-1817 include three of the four years when the mission population surpassed 1,200 individuals (1811, 1812, and 1813, the only other being 1821). At the mission, speakers of the new languages intermarried with speakers of the older languages. Since the death rates were higher for women than for men, some long-missionized San Francisco Bay Costanoan widowers married women from the new groups, especially Coast Miwoks. Mission Dolores would eventually have become a Coast Miwok settlement but for the fact that the new outstation (soon to be mission) of San Rafael was founded on the north side of the Golden Gate and a large portion of the Coast Miwok community was sent there over the winter of 1817-1818, an event that will be documented in the next chapter.

In the pages below we examine the arrival of new local tribes at Mission Dolores in the 1800-1817 period with four separate sections based on the migrant's linguistic group affiliations. The sections will address the following linguistic clusters:

- New San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the East Bay, including bi-lingual (Costanoan and Bay Miwok) Jalquins from the Hayward vicinity, Huchiuns from the Oakland-Richmond vicinity, and Huchiun-Aguastos from the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay. Also discussed in this section are the linguistically distinct Carquins, Karkin Costanoan speakers from the Carquinez Strait area beyond San Pablo Bay to the east.
- New Bay Miwok speakers from the interior valleys east of San Francisco Bay, including the last Saclans, and the newly arrived Tatcans, Volvons, and Chupcans.

Table 5. Language Representation of the Indian Population at Mission Dolores for Selected Years between 1790 and 1834.

Year	Peninsula Costanoan	East Bay Costanoan [a]	Bay Miwok	Coast Miwok	Patwin	Wappo	Pomo	Database Total [b]	Annual Report Total
1790	456 (86%)	45 (9%)	1 (>1%)	23 (5%)	0	0	0	525	525
1795	446 (51%)	211 (24%)	130 (15%)	69 (8%)	0	0	0	856	872
1800	285 (44%)	168 (26%)	99 (16%)	92 (14%)	0	0	0	644	635
1805	186 (15%)	319 (29%)	228 (20%)	404 (36%)	0	0	0	1,137	1139
1807	129 (16%)	215 (25%)	187 (23%)	296 (36%)	0	0	0	827	828
1810	115 (11%)	313 (29%)	177 (17%)	437 (41%)	20 (2%)	0	0	1,062	1,057
1815	89 (8%)	206 (18%)	110 (10%)	472 (42%)	241 (21%)	8 (1%)	0	1,126	1,113
1817	76 (7%)	153 (15%)	84 (8%)	516 (49%)	211 (20%)	8 (1%)	0	1,048	1,060
1822	46 (5%)	108 (11%)	47 (5%)	259 (27%)	323 (33%)	185 (19%)	0	968	958
1824	42 (17%)	72 (29%)	28 (11%)	74 (30%)	26 (10%)	7 (3%)	0	249	265
1834	31 (15%)	72 (36%)	25 (12%)	51 (25%)	17 (8%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	202 [c]	136

Notes: [a] The counts in the "East Bay Costanoan" column combine the San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers (Huchiuns and Huchiun-Aguastos) with the Karkin Costanoan speakers (Carquins) and the bilingual Costanoan/Bay Miwok Jalquins. [b] Year-end populations in Milliken's mission register data base do not perfectly match the year-end populations presented in Bowman's (1959) published mission annual reports for a number of reasons, including reaggragation of some people to other missions (which drops the annual report counts) and inconsistant inclusion of children from Baja California families in the annual report counts. The percentages must be based upon the database, because the year-end reports do not identify language groups. [c] The 1834 year end count in Milliken's database includes all San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks not known to be dead or at any other mission in 1834, as well as Coast Miwoks, Patwins, Wappos, and Pomos who had children, married, or died at Mission Dolores in the 1830s; it excludes scores of Patwin and Wappo people who probably moved north to Mission S. F. Solano, but cannot be proven to have done so.

- Coast Miwoks from the Marin Peninsula as far north as Point Reyes, Petaluma, and the lower Sonoma Valley. Local tribes included the Huimens, Guaulens, Habastos, Tamals, Omiomis, Choquoimes (alias Sonomas), Petalumas, and Alagualis. Their language would predominate at Mission Dolores from 1802 to 1817.

- Patwins from the northeast side of San Pablo Bay and lands still further to the northeast in present Solano County, including Napas, Tolenas, Suisuns, and Malacas, along with a very small number of Wappo speakers from the middle Napa Valley.

A final section of this chapter reviews the survivorship history of the San Francisco Peninsula people and of the people from other geographic areas and language groups, using a series of tables that show changing survivorship year-by-year up through 1817.

NEW COSTANOAN MIGRATIONS FROM THE EAST BAY, 1801-1811

Final Huchiun Migrations, 1800-1806

Approximately 150 Huchiuns were still in their East Bay villages at the beginning of the year 1800 (see Figure 12). Only four Huchiuns had come to Mission Dolores for baptism over the four year 1796-1799 period, immediately after the chaotic events of 1794-1795. A small group of 14 Huchiuns were baptized in 1800 and another 65 moved to the mission in 1801. Other large groups of Huchiuns were baptized in 1803 and 1805 (Appendix F:Table 3). The 1803 and 1805 groups were in mixed parties with the first large groups of Huchiun-Aguastos from the present Rodeo area and the Mare Island vicinity of present Vallejo, also San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers. By the summer of 1806, the Huchiun villages were empty.

Bilingual Jalquin Migration, 1801-1803

The Jalquins were a local tribe of the San Leandro Creek area of the East Bay, about midway between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose. They are an intriguing group because the personal names of the women have an admixture of Bay Miwok terminal sounds with predominately San Francisco Bay Costanoan names, suggesting that the Jalquins were bilingual. At Mission Dolores a total of 78 Jalquins were baptized, most in 1801 and 1802. They seem to have been the same people as the Irgins, of whom 152 were baptized at Mission San Jose between 1797 and 1805 (Appendix F:Table 3). The synonymy is inferred on the basis of numerous nuclear family ties between Jalquins and Irgins evidenced in cross-references between the Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose records.

Four of the Jalquin men baptized at Mission Dolores in the winter of 1801-1802 had been arrested and punished in 1797 for their participation in the initial Saclan resistance of 1795 (Milliken 1995:156-160, also SFR-B 2319, 2372, 2374, 2375). The last Jalquins baptized at Mission Dolores were four old people, three women said to be 70 years old and one man said to be 80 years old, listed in the baptismal register in June of 1803 (SFR-B 274-2746). Those baptisms probably signaled the final abandonment of the Jalquin/Irgin villages in the present Hayward area. A few Irgins, however, were baptized at Mission San Jose as late as 1810 (Appendix F:Table 3). They were probably refugees who had been living with neighbors further inland to the east of Mission San Jose.

Huchiun-Aguasto Migrants, 1803-1810

To the east of the Huchiuns on San Pablo Bay were the Huchiun-Aguastos, who also had villages on both sides of the west end of Carquinez Strait, at Crockett and Mare Island. Only one identifiable Huchiun-Aguasto was baptized at Mission Dolores before 1803. Most of them were baptized in 1803 and 1805 in mixed groups with Huchiuns. The last large group was baptized in 1809 with Carquins (Appendix F:Table 3). In fact, although we list 95 baptized Huchiun-Aguastos in Appendix F:Table 3, only 33 people were ever explicitly identified as such in the Mission Dolores baptismal register. The indirectly identified Huchiun-Aguastos include three other categories of people, all of whom were identified merely as "Huchiun" at baptism. One category includes people called "Huchiun-Aguasto" in their death records. Another includes those called "Huchum Aguasto" in the 1822 Mission Dolores census list. The last category includes people from nuclear families

whose other members were Huchiun-Aguastos. For some reason, the missionaries were inconsistent in distinguishing Huchiun-Aguastos from Huchiuns. Perhaps they were not actually separate political entities.

Carquins, the only Karkin Costanoans, 1804-1810

The northernmost of the Costanoan languages, Karkin, was spoken by only one local tribe, the Carquins. They held the east end of Carquinez Strait in the present Benicia-Martinez vicinity. Although the majority of Carquins did not join Mission Dolores until 1809, individual Carquins began moving to the mission in 1787. Nazaria Saqénamaie came from "the other shore in the place they call Juris, of the Carquin family" in July of 1787 (SFR-B 658). She was already the wife of a near East Bay Huchiun man who had been baptized in 1786 (SFR-B 504), and she renewed her marriage with him at the mission on the day she was baptized (SFR-M 155).

Three Carquins joined Mission Dolores during the mass migration of the winter of 1794-1795, a woman married to a Huchiun and her two children (SFR-B 1835, 1837, 1848). A few others went to the mission with Huchiuns and Huchiun-Aguastos between 1802 and 1805. There was a pause in San Pablo Bay baptisms between 1806 and 1809. The pause is partly explained by the measles epidemic in the spring of 1806. Another reason for the pause, however, seems to have been the low level warfare between the Mission Indians of San Francisco, on the one hand, and the Carquins, Chupcans, and Suisuns, on the other hand. Carquins were involved in resistances to Mission Indian attempts to detain fugitive Christian Indians in 1804 and 1807 (Milliken 1995:180-182, 204-206).

The last Carquins and Huchiun-Aguastos moved from the Carquinez Strait area to Mission Dolores between June of 1809 and February of 1810, a few months before a Spanish punitive expedition moved north into present Solano County to destroy the villages of the resistant Suisun Patwins and fugitive Chupcan Bay Miwoks (Milliken 1995:209-211).

New Bay Miwok Migrations to Mission Dolores, 1801-1811

Bay Miwok speakers (mainly Saclans) represented 16% of the Mission Dolores population in 1800. Over the next few years many more of them would cross the bay to the mission, so that by the end of 1805 they rose to 20% of the population. Yet, like the San Francisco Bay Costanoans, once their tribal base disappeared, their importance waned, so that by 1817 they represented only 8% of the mission population (see Table 5).

From the time the Saclans fled Mission Dolores in 1795 until 1804, very few Bay Miwoks, mainly Saclans, were baptized. Then, between 1804 and 1811 three Bay Miwok tribes moved to Mission Dolores in whole or in part. They were the Tatcans of the East Bay's San Ramon Valley, the Volvons of the small creeks east of Mt. Diablo, and the Chupcans of the Diablo Valley just east of Carquinez Strait.

Tatcan Bay Miwoks Migrate to Mission Dolores, 1804-1806

The Tatcans were Bay Miwok speakers from San Ramon Creek in the interior of present Contra Costa County, about 24 miles east of Mission Dolores. A small number of Tatcans were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1794, as in-married spouses of Saclans. Most of the Tatcans, 127 people, were baptized at Mission Dolores over a three-month period in early 1804, along with a small number of in-married Volvons, Chupcans, Carquins, and Ssouyens (Appendix F:Table 3). The first entry for one large group noted that they were also known as "Posscons" (SFR-B 2887). From that clue we recognize that the four Posscons who appear at Mission San Jose, three in 1808 (SJO-B 1590, 1591, 1601) and one with a Chupcan husband in 1811 (SJO-B 1812), were members of the Tatcan local tribe. By the end of April, 1804, only a small remnant group of Tatcans remained outside

mission control. In addition to the ones baptized at Mission San Jose, a few were baptized at Mission Dolores with the Volvons in 1806.

Volvon Bay Miwok Migration to Two Missions, 1804-1806

The Volvon Bay Miwoks were baptized at both Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose (Appendix F:Table 3). They first appeared at Mission Dolores in 1804 as in-married spouses of Tatcans. The first large group, 45 Volvons, was baptized at Mission San Jose between May 22 and May 30 of 1805. The parents of some of them left Mission San Jose without becoming neophytes.

In May of 1805 a Spanish military party of 22 soldiers swept through every valley and flatland area in the interior Coast Ranges from Mt. Diablo on the north to Pacheco Pass (opposite Carnadero, near Gilroy) in search of fugitive Christians and the non-Christian villagers who defended them. The area covered extended 75 miles from north to south and contained approximately 1700 square miles of the most rugged territory in Central California. In August a group of 14 Volvon adults were baptized at Mission Dolores, probably captives from the Spanish raid of the previous spring.

A final group of Volvons remained non-Christian until the spring of 1806. That group of 30 people, led by a man named Poyl, was baptized at Mission Dolores in March of 1806 (SFR-B 3327). Only three Volvons were baptized after April of 1806. The Volvon Bay Miwoks may have been split between the two missions because they were considered to be trouble makers by the Spanish military. A significant portion of the Volvons of Mission San Jose were soon transferred to Mission Dolores, where 17 of them died prior to 1818. The opposite transfer occurred between 1818 and 1822, when a number of surviving Volvons were reaggregated from Mission Dolores to Mission San Jose.

Chupcan Bay Miwoks, Allies of the Suisun Patwins, 1804-1811

The Chupcans were Bay Miwok speakers who held the marshlands and oak groves of the Diablo Valley, 25 miles east of Mission Dolores. They were occasionally called Yacumusmos in Mission San Francisco records. Their lands were at a strategic intersection of language groups. To the north across Suisun Bay were the Suisun Patwins and to the west on Carquinez strait were the Carquin Karkin Costanoans. The Chupcans were heavily intermarried with both of those local tribes and also with the Tatcans of the San Ramon Valley to their south.

Individual Chupcans were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1779 and 1795 (Appendix F:Table 3). Two more came in with the Saclans in 1795. The next four Chupcans were baptized in January and February of 1804, as in-married members of the Tatcans, who were baptized at Mission Dolores en masse that month. But something happened that month that caused most of the Chupcans to flee their lands and move north to live with the Suisuns until 1810. In January of 1804 a battle occurred north of Carquinez Strait between Mission Dolores Indians on leave to visit their homeland and a group of Suisuns. Fourteen Mission Dolores Indians were killed, including Saclans, Jalquins, and the mission alcalde, Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan Pedro Armengal.

Circumstantial evidence indicates the Chupcans were involved in the 1804 altercation in Suisun lands that led to the 14 deaths (Milliken 1995:182, 204). A Spanish military expedition under Luís Peralta raided the main Chupcan town in the present Concord area in September of 1804. The majority of the resident Chupcans avoided capture by slipping away at night across Suisun Bay on tule boats. (The odd spectacle of burning fires, but no people, in the village that night seems to have generated the Spanish tale of Monte del Diablo, later the source of the name of Mount Diablo [Milliken 1995:184-185]).

The majority of Chupcans appeared for baptism in 1810 and 1811 in mixed groups with Suisuns. This appearance was after the Spanish under Gabriel Moraga attacked and burned the

villages of the Suisuns in May of 1810 (Milliken 1995:210-211). The final groups of Chupcan converts were divided between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose (Appendix F:Table 3).

MAIN COAST MIWOK MIGRATION TO MISSION DOLORES, 1800-1817

A total of 1,697 Coast Miwok-speaking people were baptized at Mission Dolores over a 34 year period from 1783 through 1817 (Appendix F:Table 4). Many of the Coast Miwoks who survived the ravages of disease at Mission Dolores were re-aggregated to Mission San Rafael when it was founded at the end of 1817. But some Coast Miwoks stayed in San Francisco through the close of the Mission era; they will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the previous chapter we introduced the earliest Coast Miwok converts at the mission. They totalled just 94 individuals baptized between 1783 and 1799. Most of them were Huimens from just north of the Golden Gate. Following the Saclan uprising in the spring of 1795, many of them fled the mission. Some, however, did not flee, as marriage records during the late 1790s attest (SFR-M 509, 514). Those who did flee stayed away from Mission Dolores until January of 1800. Below we take up the story of Coast Miwok migration to Mission Dolores that year.

Southern Marin Peninsula Coast Miwok Converts, 1800-1803

Guaulens from Bolinas Bay and Tamal Aguastos from the San Rafael vicinity led a resurgence of Coast Miwok migrants to Mission Dolores in 1800. On January 28, 1800, five teen-aged Guaulen girls and one boy were baptized at Mission Dolores (SFR-B 2015-2020). Other Marin Peninsula people went through catechism lessons over the next few weeks. Soon twenty-five Habastos, four Huimens, and two more Guaulens were baptized. In addition, others married neophytes; two more Guaulen girls and two Habasto girls, for example, married Huimen neophyte widowers, while two Habasto women in their thirties immediately found husbands among the neophytes of the San Francisco Peninsula (SFR-M 615, 617, 618, 621, 622, 627).

A larger Coast Miwok contingent arrived at Mission Dolores in the spring of 1801; the group was predominately Huimen, with some Guaulens and Tamal Aguastos. Baptisms dropped off in the summer and fall, but more large groups from the three southernmost Coast Miwok local tribes were baptized in the spring of 1802. Among the converts of 1801 was Huicmuse, aged 20, christened Marino (SFR-B 2182). He later became "Chief Marin," an important figure in the memoirs of Spanish Californians; he gave his name to the Marin Peninsula.

The largest group of Marin Peninsula people yet went to Mission Dolores during the winter of 1802-1803, following an epidemic in the summer of 1802 labeled the *peste* by the missionaries. Among the hundreds of Coast Miwok converts were 49 married couples, including the last significant group of Huimens and Guaulens, a few Tamal Aguastos and Tamals, and the first Olemas and Omiomis from farther to the north. Baptisms again declined during the summer of 1803. In September of 1803 the last large group of Tamal Aguastos, from the San Rafael area, was absorbed into Mission Dolores, together with a few Huimen stragglers.

By the end of 1803, the Huimen and Guaulen villages on the southern Marin Peninsula were empty, and only a quarter of the Tamal Aguastos remained unbaptized. During the 1800-1803 period of migration, 275 Marin Peninsula adults moved to Mission Dolores. They brought with them only 192 infants and young people under the age of fifteen. Since a normal native population with 275 adults should have included 250-275 people under the age of fifteen, it is probable that chronic diseases like syphilis, as well as epidemics like the *peste* of 1802, were crippling their ability to maintain their populations.

Mid-Peninsula Tamals and Other Coast Miwoks, 1804-1809

Only five Marin Peninsula Coast Miwoks were baptized in all of 1804, the year in which the Tatcan Bay Miwoks moved *en masse* to Mission Dolores from the interior East Bay. During the next year of 1805 over 50 Olema Tamals from Olema Creek did go down to Mission Dolores, and with them went the last Guaulens from Bolinas Bay (Appendix F:Table 4). A measles epidemic struck Mission Dolores in the spring of 1806, leading to a slowdown in baptisms from all directions in late 1806 and 1807. However, a group of 32 Olemaloque and Libantone people did go to Mission Dolores from the Olema Creek area just south of Point Reyes in July of 1807. Their arrival at San Francisco coincided with the appearance of Alaskan sea otter hunters on the Marin Peninsula, brought there by United States and Russian ships (Milliken 1995:200-201).

In 1808, the last large group of Tamal Aguastos, probably from Miller Creek north of San Rafael, emigrated from the central Marin Peninsula to Mission Dolores. With them were the majority of interior peninsula Tamals from Echatamal and some Omiomis from the Novato Creek area further north. Altogether, 139 Marin Peninsula people joined Mission Dolores during 1808 (Appendix F:Table 4).

In the winter of 1808-1809, a veritable Alaskan invasion of the Marin Coast took place. The Russian ship Kodiak arrived at Bodega Bay in the late fall of 1808 with 130 native Alaskan sea otter hunters, 20 native women, and 40 Russians aboard. In late January and early February of 1809, numerous Olema and Olemaloque families migrated to Mission Dolores from just south of Tomales Bay, perhaps the area where the hunters were working.

In early February, 1809, the Alaskan otter hunters brought 50 canoes into San Francisco Bay by way of a portage across the northern headlands of the Golden Gate (Ogden 1941:57-59). Mission Dolores Indians captured a man from "Onolasca or Coudiac" on Angel Island. He told the Spanish authorities that the Russian ship Neva was at Bodega Bay and that construction was going on there. In March Spanish soldiers killed four Alaskan natives and arrested two more at San Bruno (Milliken 1995:201-202).

Novato Creek and South Tomales Bay Groups, 1810-1814

The Omiomis of Novato Creek were one of the largest of the Coast Miwok groups. Omiomi individuals began going down to join Mission Dolores in 1802. The first significant groups of Omiomis were baptized in February, April, and December of 1810, a total of 23 people. In the spring of that year, the Spaniards had reports that fugitive neophytes were being protected in the Omiomi villages. This was during the time that Alaska hunters were establishing themselves at Bodega Bay and the last Olema people were being baptized at Mission Dolores. During the first half of the year the Spaniards turned their attention to the northeast to control the Chupcans and Suisuns who were also hiding fugitive neophytes. Soldiers and auxilliary Mission Indians under Gabriel Moraga burned out the Suisun villages in May of 1810. Then Moraga turned his attention to the Russians and the Omiomis.

Moraga led a party of Spanish soldiers to Bodega Bay to meet with the Russians and Americans in late September of 1810. He is said to have lodged a weak protest regarding their presence, but it did little good. By November, four American contract vessels were anchored at Bodega Bay. A few Omiomi people went down to San Francisco in the late fall, but it was not until 1811 that the majority of the Omiomis migrated to Mission Dolores. In March and April of 1811 170 Omiomis joined the mission (Appendix F:Table 4).

Smaller numbers of Omiomis and a few "Costa" people from south Tomales Bay were baptized in 1812. In 1813 a total of 84 people went to Mission Dolores from three regions across the Marin Peninsula and southernmost Sonoma County: 32 from the Novato region (mainly Geluasibes, a subgroup of the Omiomis), 29 from the South Tomales Bay region ("Costa" people from Echacolom

on Tomales Bay and the small villages on the Point Reyes peninsula), and 23 from the San Antonio Creek region (mainly Chocoaycos of the Olompali group).

The year 1814 witnessed only a small number of Coast Miwok baptisms at Mission Dolores. Most migrants to Mission Dolores in 1814 were Napa and Suisun Patwins from north of the Carquinez Straits, who are discussed in detail in another section of this chapter below. Of the few Coast Miwoks baptized that year, most were from the same south Tomales Bay, Novato Creek, and lower Petaluma River areas as the year before. But the first Chocoime Coast Miwoks from the Sonoma area were also baptized that year.[30] They came in with their eastern neighbors, the Patwin-speaking Napas of the lower Napa River.

North Bay Coast Miwok Migrations, 1815-1817

Another 45 Coast Miwoks, mainly from the Sonoma Valley, were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1815. By the end of 1815, 1,356 tribal Coast Miwoks had been baptized at Mission Dolores. That number represents almost half of the 2,828 Coast Miwoks ever baptized at any mission (Appendix F:Table 4).[31] Coast Miwok speakers made up 42 % of the year-end 1815 Mission Dolores population, nearly the same percentage as back in 1810 (see Table 5).

Over the two years of 1816-1817 another 302 Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission Dolores. While nearly 90 of them were from the Tomales Bay area, and some others were Omiomis from Novato Creek (actually the last of them), the vast majority were Olompalis and Petalumas from the Petaluma River drainage and Alagualis and Chocoimes from the Sonoma Creek area (see Figure 12). Surprisingly, another 379 Coast Miwok from the same Petaluma River and Sonoma Creek groups traveled a much greater distance to be baptized at Mission San Jose during the 1815-1817 period (Appendix F:Table 4).

By the end of the summer of 1817, no Coast Miwok-speaking communities were extant south of a line from Olema to Sonoma (see Figure 12). Fewer than half of the people of the South Tomales Bay/Point Reyes region were still in their villages, the others having gone to Mission Dolores in small groups between 1809 and 1815, and in larger groups in 1816 and 1817. Some Olompalis and Petalumas still lived away from the missions, but as remnant groups of less than 100 people each. By the end of 1817, the only completely intact Coast Miwok communities were those of the north Tomales Bay, Bodega Bay, and Bloomfield/Cotati regions.

FIRST PATWIN MIGRANTS TO MISSION DOLORES, 1809-1817

Members of four Patwin-speaking local tribes moved to Mission Dolores from north of San Pablo Bay during the 1810-1817 period. They were Napas from the lower Napa River, Suisuns and Malacas from the Suisun Plain, and Tolenas from the hills north of the Suisun Plain (see Figure 12; Appendix F:Table 5).

---

[30] The Coast Miwok local tribe, called Chocoimes throughout this text (from the mid-Sonoma Valley), were generally labeled Chucuienes at Mission Dolores. But at Mission San Jose, where most of them were baptized, they were labeled Choquoimes and Chocoimes. In later years at Mission San Francisco Solano, the term Chucuyen came to represent any native Coast Miwok speaker.

[31] A total of 2,828 Coast Miwoks were baptized at the San Francisco Bay Area missions, of which 1,697 were baptized at Mission Dolores, 390 at Mission San Jose, 722 at Mission San Rafael, and 19 at Mission San Francisco Solano between 1824 and 1831.

Suisun Patwin Migration, 1810-1815

The Suisuns of present-day Solano County were the first Patwin-speaking people to move to a mission. They moved to Mission Dolores between 1810 and 1814 (Appendix F:Table 5). We have already referred to the Suisuns in our discussions of the Chupcan Bay Miwoks and Carquin Karkin Costanoans in sections above, because they harbored fugitive neophyte Indians from 1804 until they were attacked and crushed by a Spanish punitive expedition under Gabriel Moraga on May 22, 1810 (Milliken 1995:209-211). As already stated, they had welcomed the Chupcans from Concord onto their lands back in 1804. Then, in 1807, they killed twelve Mission Dolores men during a neophyte raid north of Carquinez Strait. By the spring of 1810, there were no buffer groups between the Suisuns and the Spanish establishments.

In February of 1810, as the Spanish governor and the commander of the San Francisco Presidio were preparing an expedition into Suisun territory, the missionaries at San Francisco allowed new Carquin neophytes to go back home on *paseo*. The result was the third incident involving the murder of Mission Dolores people in six years:

> On February 16 or 19, [1810] in the ranchería of the pagans called *SuyuSuyu*, they killed three neophytes. Seven people had gone on a *paseo* to the ranchería of the *Karquines* and four had remained there. The other three had gone on to said ranchería of *SuyuSuyu*, where they had friends. They were killed just as they were coming near. So swear their companions, who say the pagan *Chupanes* came and told them this (SFR-D 2768).

The three Mission men killed were all Carquins who had just been baptized two months earlier in a mixed baptismal group that included some Huchiun-Aguastos and a Saclan refugee married to a Carquin woman.

The February 1810 incident finally provoked the troops at the San Francisco Presidio to prepare for a major punitive expedition against the Suisuns. On May 22, 1810, the Suisuns with a force of 120 fighting men were attacked by a Spanish party, consisting of seventeen soldiers and an auxiliary force of Christian Indians of unknown size, under the command of Second Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga. A later report reads as follows:

> Said second-lieutenant...took as prisoners eighteen pagans. They were set free because they were gravely wounded and he had no way to transport them. He believes that not one of them could have avoided death. Toward the end of the action the surviving Indians sealed themselves in three brush houses, from which they made a tenacious defense, wounding the corporals and two soldiers. Those were the only injuries sustained by the troop. No one was killed. After having killed the pagans in two of the grass houses, the Christians set fire to the third grass house, as a means to take the pagans prisoner. But they did not achieve that result, since the valiant Indians died enveloped in flames before they could be taken into custody. The second-lieutenant says that he could not reason with the pagans, who died fighting or by burning (Arrillaga [1810] in Milliken 1995:210).

The soldiers returned to San Francisco with six boys and six girls, comprising a mixed group of Suisuns and Chupcans (SFR-B 3992-4001, 4002, 4004). By the end of the year 1810, 21 Suisuns had been baptized.

A larger group of Suisuns, 71 people, moved to Mission Dolores in 1811. Large Suisun groups were also baptized in 1812 and 1814. The largest group of Suisuns, 122 people, were baptized in 1816. The few Suisuns that appear in Mission Dolores baptismal records after 1816 were baptized with groups of more distant Patwin people (Appendix F:Table 5).

Napas, Tolenas, and Malacas at Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose, 1814-1817

The Napa local tribe lived along the marshes at the mouth of the Napa River, upstream from Mare Island, but below the present City of Napa. Napa individuals moved to Mission Dolores between 1809 and 1813 as in-married members of the Carquin Karkins, the Chocuyen Coast Miwoks, and the Suisun Patwins. Sixteen Napas were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1814, but a greater number of them, 26, were baptized at Mission San Jose that year. When the greater part of the Napa local tribe left their lands for the missions in the following year of 1815, Mission San Jose was again the main destination, the new home of another 121 of them. Another 27 went to Mission Dolores that year (Appendix F:Table 5).

Baptized at Mission Dolores in 1814 and 1815, along with the Napas and Suisuns, were a few Wappo-speaking people from local tribes of the middle portion of the Napa Valley and adjacent areas, people who were lumped together under the name Canicaymo at Mission Dolores. The main period of Wappo baptism at Mission Dolores, however, was in 1821 (Appendix F:Table 5). Those later Wappo baptisms will be discussed in the next chapter.

After the Napas and Suisuns had left their lands, by the end of 1815, the Patwin groups nearest to the missions were the Tolenas of the hills north of Fairfield, the Malacas of the plains east of Fairfield, and the Ululatos of the present Vacaville area.[32] Some people from all three of those groups were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1816 and 1817. Almost all of the Malacas were baptized by the end of 1818, and there were so few of them, totaling only 77 people, that it is possible that some of the people identified as Suisuns in the mission records were actually Malacas people. At the close of 1817, many Tolenas and Ululato people still remained in their homelands.

MIXED-LANGUAGE MISSION DOLORES IN 1817

San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speakers and their children represented 95% of the Indian people at Mission Dolores at the close of 1790 and 70% at the end of 1800. By the end of 1817 they represented only 22% of about 1,048 Indians at Mission Dolores, and that is with the Karkin Costanoan speakers included (see Table 5). The Costanoan population fell due to the ravages of disease, while the overall population of the mission grew due to the immigration of Bay Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, and Patwins. This summary section paints an overview of the population change over the 1800-1817 period for key language communities.

The year 1817 was chosen as the time for this summary because in that year the relatively smooth transition of Mission Dolores to a mixed-language community dominated by Coast Miwoks came to an abrupt halt. The outstation (soon to be mission) of San Rafael was founded on the Marin Peninsula in November of 1817. During that winter hundreds of Coast Miwok people were transferred north to the new settlement.

Yelamu Population Decline through 1817

The Yelamu local tribe of San Francisco, brought into Mission Dolores in the late 1770s and early 1780s, still had 80 living members at the end of 1793, representing 11.3% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 6). Their population steadily declined after that. By the end of 1800 they were down to 41 people. At the beginning of 1806 only 32 members were alive; ten of them died

[32] Tolenas and Malacas Patwins were being baptized at Mission Dolores, along with Petaluma Coast Miwoks, when the Russian Kotzebue expedition visited the mission in the autumn of 1816 (see excerpts from the journals of Captain Otto V. Kotzebue, draftsman Louis Choris, and botanist Adelbert von Chamisso in Mahr 1934).

that year, mainly during the measles epidemic of that year. Among the Yelamu people who survived the measles epidemic was headman Guimas, who had been christened Romualdo in 1784. He outlived his ten baptized children to die at Mission Dolores in 1810 (SFR-D 2808).

The death of the last local Yelamu adult was explicitly reported in the Mission Dolores burial register in 1814. The entry was for Captain Guimas' wife, Viridiana Huitenac (at baptism said to have been originally from the east shore of San Francisco Bay). It reads:

> On the 22nd of the same month and year [July of 1814] in the cemetery of this mission I gave ecclesiastical interment to the body of Viridiana, an adult who is the last of the adults who saw the first founding Fathers, as it is now more than 25 years since the founding of the mission. From this site of the mission and the lands within a 15 mile radius, all who witnessed the arrival of the first Fathers have died, and of those who were born since, few have lived (SFR-D 3516 [Abella]).

Actually, Viridiana, who was approximately 70 when she died, was the last of the "mature" adults who witnessed the founding of the mission. Three Yelamu men were still alive by the end of 1814 who had been adolescents when the mission had been settled. All three men died in 1815 (SFR-B 45, 69, 116).

At the end of 1817, the Yelamu contingent at Mission Dolores included 2 tribally-born people who had been young children at the time of the Spanish settlement, 3 mission-born children of Yelamu couples, and 12 mission-born children who had one Yelamu parent. When each of the 12 children with one Yelamu parent is counted as a half, the entire Yelamu group represented 11 people or 1% of the overall 1817 year-end mission population (Appendix F:Table 6).

Mission Decline of Bay Shore Peninsula and San Mateo Coast People

At the end of 1793, the largest segment of the Mission Dolores population consisted of Peninsula bay shore San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin, Puichon, and Olpen groups. Their 327 people represented nearly half of the 711 Indian people at Mission Dolores at the end of 1793. After that peak year their total numbers fell rapidly, as did their percentage representation in the mission population. By 1800 they had dropped to 164 people, 26% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 7).

By the end of 1806, the year of a measles epidemic, the Peninsula bay shore population was down to 81 (9% of the mission population), one quarter of their early 1794 population. At the end of 1817 there were still 31 tribally-born Peninsula bay shore people alive at the mission, along with 2 mission-born children of Peninsula bay shore parents and another 11 mission-born children with one Peninsula bay shore parent. Altogether they represented 3.6% of the mission population of 1817 (Appendix F:Table 7).

The remaining San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the Peninsula, the San Mateo County coast local tribes—Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, and Oljon—totaled 197 people at Mission Dolores at the end of 1793, 28% of the overall mission population (Appendix F:Table 8). In the year 1794 alone, 54 of them died. The Mission Dolores death registers are silent regarding the causes of those deaths. By the year 1800, they were down to 81 people, or 13% of the population. When 1806 (the year of the measles epidemic) closed, the San Mateo coast and descendent population had fallen to 47 (5.3% of the mission population).

At the end of 1817 there were still 19 tribally-born San Mateo coast people alive, as well as 5 mission-born descendants of San Mateo coast parents and another 5 children with one San Mateo coast parent. The total, 26.5 people, represented 2.5% of the Mission Dolores population (Appendix F:Table 8).

Migration and Decline of the Last East Bay Costanoans

The majority of San Francisco Bay Costanoans at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817 were from the east side of the San Francisco Bay estuary (see Table 5). The East Bay Costanoan speakers went to Mission Dolores in four waves, so that they achieved four successive population peaks at the mission between 1794 and 1810 (Appendix F:Table 9):

- The first large wave, 187 Huchiuns in 1794, when added to small groups that had gone to the mission in earlier years, brought the East Bay Costanoan contingent up to 269 at the end of 1794 (29% of the 913 Indian people at the mission).
- The second wave occurred in 1803, when the bilingual Jalquins brought a declining population back up to 261 people; the Jalquins are discussed in more detail in the next subsection.
- The third wave brought the last Huchiuns and the main group of Huchiun-Aguastos in, producing another East Bay Costanoan population high at the mission of 293 people at the end of 1805.
- The final wave occurred in 1810, when the final Huchiun-Aguasto and Carquin migration brought the rapidly dropping East Bay Costanoan mission community back up to 288 people.

Despite the successive waves of migration, the East Bay Costanoans remained at only about one quarter of the overall Mission Dolores Indian community throughout the period between 1794 and 1810 (see Table 5 and Appendix F:Table 8). By the end of 1817, 144 East Bay Costanoans (excluding bilingual Jalquins) were alive at Mission Dolores, half as many as there had been at the end of 1810. They included 11 mission-born children descended from two East Bay Costanoan parents and another 19 (counted as 9.5 half persons on Appendix F:Table 9) with one East Bay Costanoan parent and one parent from other groups.

Bay Miwok Population Decline to 1817

The Bay Miwok-speaking population at Mission Dolores (Saclans, Tatcans, Volvons, and Chupcans) was down to 84 people by the end of 1817, 8% of the overall population (Appendix F:Table 10). The Bay Miwoks reached their mission population peak, in numbers, in 1805 (226.5 people, including seven mission-born half-Bay Miwoks counted as 0.5 persons each). They reached their highest proportion of the mission population in 1806 (20.3%). The measles epidemic of 1806 hit them fairly hard; they lost 58 of 263 tribally-born people. Decline was continual after that.

The 84 Bay Miwoks at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817 included 72 tribally-born people, 4 mission-born descendants with two Bay Miwok parents and 16 mission-born children with one Bay Miwok parent (the latter counted as eight half persons on Appendix F:Table 10). The tribal survivors included 19 Saclans, 13 Tatcans, 10 Volvons, and 30 Chupcans.

Many Bay Miwoks, but not all, were reaggregated to Mission San Jose during the late teens or early 1820s, where they show up as parents in baptismal records, as spouses in marriage records, and as the subjects of death records. A small number of surviving Saclans later moved to Mission San Francisco Solano. Transfers will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Decline of the Bi-lingual Jalquins of San Leandro

Only nine members of the bilingual (San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok) Jalquin local tribe were still alive at the end of 1817. None of them were mission-born children. They represented less than one percent of the Mission Dolores population at the end of 1817 (Appendix F:Table 11). Also, a single member of the Seunen group of the distant Livermore Valley, who had gone to Mission Dolores with the Jalquins, was still alive at Mission Dolores. (Because the great majority of Seunens

were baptized at Mission San Jose, the few that went to Mission Dolores have been included in the Jalquin population statistics for this report.)

Those nine Jalquins and one Seunen transferred to Mission San Jose between 1818 and 1822, mission baptismal, marriage, and death register entries indicate. One of the Jalquin men who transferred to Mission San Jose, Liberato Eulpecse (SFR-B 2322, Saclan Bay Miwok on his father's side), was an ancestor of a large Ohlone Indian family that is active in cultural preservation affairs in the San Francisco Bay Area in the year 2006.[33]

Rise of the Coast Miwoks and Patwins

Coast Miwok was the largest language group among the 1,060 Indian people in the Mission Dolores community at the end of 1817, consisting of 517 people or 49% of the Mission Dolores population (Appendix F:Table 12). The Coast Miwoks had grown from 7.5% of the mission population in 1799 to 30% by the end of 1802. They had continued to keep a high mission population percentage up through 1817 by immigration of large groups, despite having a death rate as high as every other language group at the mission.

The Patwin speakers had not even started moving to Mission Dolores until 1809, yet by the end of 1817 they represented 20% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 13). They included the Suisuns and Malacas of the Suisun Plain, the Tolenas of the hills north of the Suisun Plain, and the Napas of the lower Napa Valley (see Figure 12).

Summary View of Costanoans at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817

Surviving Costanoan speakers made up 22% of the Coast Miwok-dominated Mission Dolores year-end 1817 population. Most of the remaining Costanoans were tribally-born Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans (71 people) and Carquin Karkin Costanoans (49 people) from the East Bay. However, more than 60 tribally-born San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the Peninsula remained, including bay shore Peninsula people (33 people, plus 11 mission-born people who were half Peninsula bay shore), San Mateo coast people (24, plus five mission-born people with one San Mateo coast parent), and Yelamu people (5, plus 12 mission-born half-Yelamus).

[33] Liberato Eulpecse was the grandfather of three sisters , Avelina, Annieta, and Susanna (Milliken 2008:94-95). The sisters were themselves the ancestors of twentieth- and twentyfirst-century San Francisco Bay Area Ohlone Indian activists from the Alvarez, Cambra, Galvan, Marine, and Orta families, among others (Cambra 1991, Leventhal 2003).

Chapter 6. The Multi-Ethnic Doloreños of Mission Dolores, 1817-1834

This chapter describes the closing years of Mission Dolores as a Franciscan mission, beginning when large numbers of Coast Miwoks returned north to San Rafael in the winter of 1817-1818, and ending in 1834, the year that Mission Dolores was secularized (closed as a church-run Indian neophyte commune). Over that 1817-1834 period, Costanoan speakers regained their initial predominance in the mixed-language Mission Dolores Indian community.

The five chapter sections trace a succession of upheavals in the population of Mission Dolores between 1817 and 1824, followed by a long period of low population and poor management up to the mission secularization in 1834.

- The first section discusses the founding of Mission San Rafael with an accompanying transfer of many Coast Miwoks north.
- The second section documents the migration of hundreds of Patwin and Wappo speakers to Mission Dolores from the interior North Bay.
- The third section explains the founding of Mission San Francisco Solano and the accompanying movement of more than 500 people to it from Mission Dolores.
- The fourth section depicts disintegrating Mission Dolores and its outstations in the 1820s as viewed through the eyes of visiting commentators.
- The fifth and final section portrays the Indian families that lived at Mission Dolores in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

COAST MIWOK TRANSFERS TO SAN RAFAEL, 1817-1822

Mission San Rafael was founded in late 1817, ostensibly as a Mission Dolores outstation where sick Coast Miwok people could recuperate from their illnesses. Bancroft describes its founding concisely:

> Father Gil was accompanied by Duran, Abella, and Sarría, the latter of whom … with the same ceremonies that usually attended the dedication of a regular mission, founded the asistencia of San Rafael Arcángel, on the spot called by the natives Nanaguani. Though the establishment was at first only a branch of San Francisco, an asistencia and not a mission, with a chapel instead of a church, under a supernumerary friar of San Francisco; yet there was no real difference between its management and that of the

> other missions. The number of neophytes transferred at first I suppose to have been about 230, but there is very little evidence on the subject, and subsequent transfers, if any were made in either direction, are not recorded (Bancroft 1886: II:330).

We say that San Rafael was "ostensibly" founded as an asistencia because there is every reason to believe that the California missionaries intended from the start for it to become a mission on its own. They may initially have been unable to do so due to unsettled political conditions in New Spain; Mexican insurgency had precluded the Spanish government from supplementing the California garrison or paying its soldiers there since 1810. In 1817 San Rafael was the logical place to found the next mission to the north, in order to reach out and proselytize the large non-Christian Pomo populations of the Santa Rosa plain, and to compete with the Russians for the patronage of the Coast Miwok villagers at Bodega Bay. From the very start Mission San Rafael had its own baptismal, marriage, and death registers.

No direct census is available that lists the Indian people transferred north to help found Mission San Rafael. However, we have reconstructed the final mission of residence of hundreds of Mission Dolores converts by cross-reference to all other Bay Area mission registers, using the survivors at the end of 1823 as a benchmark population (Table 6). We find information in the Mission San Rafael registers regarding 155 Mission Dolores Indians listed as parents of baptized children, brides, grooms, godparents or witness by that year, or deceased by that year or in later years; 98% of them were Coast Miwok speakers born on the Marin Peninsula. Another 99 Mission Dolores Coast Miwoks are not accounted for at any mission after 1817; they too probably moved north to San Rafael, even though they do not appear in the later records. Our sum of 254 transferees to Mission San Rafael from Mission Dolores is not far from Bancroft's estimate of 230.

Table 6. Counts of Mission Dolores Neophytes Living at Various Missions at the End of 1823, by Language and Local Tribe.

LANGUAGE/TRIBE	FR	CL/CR/CA	JO	RA	FS	N/A	TOTAL ALIVE
BAY COSTANOAN—PENINSULA GROUPS							
Lamchin	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Puichon	5	1	0	0	0	0	6
Oljon	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Olpen	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ssalson	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Cotegen	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Chiguan	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Quiroste	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Aramai	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mission-born	13	1	0	0	1	7	22
BAY COSTANOAN—EAST BAY GROUPS							
Huchiun	27	0	0	0	0	0	27
Huchiun-Aguasto	17	0	0	1	0	3	21
Jalquin/Irgin [a]	1	0	7	0	1	0	9
Mission-born	9	0	2	0	0	12	23
KARKIN COSTANOAN							
Carquin	17	0	1	0	10	0	28
Mission-born	4	0	0	0	3	0	7

(continued)

Table 6. Counts of Mission Dolores Neophytes Living at Various Missions at the End of 1823, by Language and Local Tribe *continued*.

LANGUAGE/TRIBE	FR	CL/CR/CA	JO	RA	FS	N/A	TOTAL ALIVE
BAY MIWOK GROUPS							
Saclan	10	0	1	0	1	0	12
Chupcan	6	0	10	0	3	5	24
Tatcan	5	0	3	0	0	0	8
Volvon [b]	1	0	7	0	0	0	8
Mission-born	4	0	2	0	1	4	11
COAST MIWOK GROUPS							
Olema	12	0	0	13	1	15	41
Tamal-Aguasto	11	0	0	14	0	2	27
Omiomi/Geluasibe	9	1	0	25	6	17	58
Costa/Echajuti	7	0	1	27	2	16	53
Echatamal	7	0	0	11	0	11	29
Olompali/Puscuy	2	0	3	24	6	14	49
Huimen	2	0	0	6	1	2	11
Petaluma	1	0	1	8	4	2	16
Alaguali	4	0	5	11	1	1	22
Guaulen	0	1	0	12	0	3	16
Chocoime (Sonomas)	0	0	5	1	3	1	10
Mission-born	6	0	2	0	0	15	23
PATWIN GROUPS							
Ululato/Puttoy	16	1	19	0	72	100	208
Suisun/Malacas	4	3	18	0	53	37	115
Napa	1	0	10	1	6	3	21
Tolena/Puttato	0	0	0	0	15	3	18
Mission-born	1	0	1	0	0	2	4
Wappo Groups							
Canicaymos	3	0	1	1	119	58	182
Mission-born	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
TOTAL FOR EACH LOCATION	224[c]	10	99	155	309	335	1,132

Notes: **Mission codes are like those for mission register citations, as shown in Table 1, but with the lead "S" removed.** [a] The only Seunen at Mission Dolores in 1823 is counted with the Jalquins; [b] the only Julpun at Mission Dolores in 1823 is counted with the Volvons; [c] the Annual Report for 1823 gives a year-end Mission Dolores population of 208 (Bowman 1958) but our database tracks evidence for 224 living people who can be shown to have been in San Francisco during the 1820s.

Not all of the Coast Miwoks baptized at Mission Dolores returned north to Mission San Rafael. Of those who stayed in San Francisco, most were women who had married into San Francisco Bay Costanoan or Bay Miwok families. Among the Coast Miwok women who appear in Mission Dolores records in the 1820s are Lucia Moyenac (SFR-B 3409) and Atanasia Pispigetit (SFR-B 3702) from Olema; Barbara Motus (SFR-B 4051) and Lamberta Joboc (SFR-B 4267) from Omiomi; and Antusa Huyungetit (SFR-B 4265) and Tecla Yencos (SFR-B 4487) from south Tomales Bay.

In addition, at least five Coast Miwok men had families at San Francisco in the 1820s, although some of them also appear as witnesses and godparents at San Rafael in those years. They included Eudosio Guacaya (SFR-B 2613) and Sabel Jumayuva (SFR-B 2729) from the Tamal

Aguastos (San Rafael locality); Nestor Moyo (SFR-B 2661) and Marino Jose Tuyume (SFR-B 3906) from Olema; and Pacomio Uniela (SFR-B 4240) from Omiomi (Novato area).

NEW PATWIN AND WAPPO MIGRATIONS, 1819-1822

Replacements of missionary priests were probably traumatic experiences for the Mission Indian people. The missionaries were the religious and secular leaders of the communities. Father Abella served as pastor at Mission Dolores from 1798 until the spring of 1819, when he was replaced by Juan Cabot, newly arrived from Spain. Father Luis Gil moved down from San Rafael to join Cabot. Father Juan Amoros, also newly arrived from Spain, was assigned to San Rafael in Gil's place.

Gil and Cabot ran Mission Dolores with little change through most of 1819 and 1820. During their short tenure, only 17 tribal people were baptized. All were Patwin speakers—Malacas, Suisun, Tolenas, and Ululato adults—from the present Solano County area (SFR-B 5830, 5831, 5838, 5846-5858, 5873). Jose Altimira and Blas Ordaz replaced Gil and Cabot as missionariers at Mission Dolores in the fall of 1820. Over the first nine months of their tenure at Mission Dolores, through the spring of 1821, they baptized only a few mission-born children.

Then, over the five days of June 15-19, 1821, Altimira and Ordaz baptized 387 people, an unprecedented number (Appendix F:Table 5). Their new converts were listed as Ululatos and Canicaymos in the Mission Dolores baptismal register. By the end of 1821, after another 36 Ululatos had been baptized, the Mission Dolores population was up to 1,106, from 884 the previous year (Appendix F:Table 1).

It turns out that the terms "Ululato" and "Canicaymo" were utilized by the Mission Dolores priests in 1821 as cover terms for language groups. The Ululato group included members of three Patwin-speaking local tribes from the lower Sacramento Valley (Ululato, Libayto, Puttoy). The Canicaymos were Wappo-speakers from the Caymus, Huilic, Canijolmano and Mayacma local tribes of the upper Sonoma and Napa valleys. Later Mission San Francisco Solano transfer registers record their actual local tribe names.

The addition of these large groups of Patwin and Wappo speakers resulted in another major shift in the language mixture of the Mission Dolores community. A few more Ululatos and Canicaymos were baptized in 1822. By the end of 1822, Patwin was the dominant language at the mission; it was spoken by 34% of the mission population (see Table 5). Coast Miwok was second in importance (27%), Wappo was third (19%) and the combined Costanoan languages fell to fourth in importance (16%, mainly Carquin Karkins and Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans).

SWITCH TO MEXICAN RULE, 1821-1822

Mexico achieved independence from Spain in 1821 after ten years of insurgent warfare. The early days of Mexican history were marked by political struggles between large landholding classes and populist enterpreneurial classes, struggles that had implications for control of Indian lands in Old Mexico and New California. The first government of Mexico, under the leadership of Agustín de Iturbide, was supported by the landed aristocracy.

News of Mexican independence reached Upper California in March of 1822. Under the new Mexican governmental structure, the *gente de razon* (people of reason, i.e., Hispanic settlers of various genetic backgrounds) of California were directed to set up their own territorial *diputacíon* or legislature. In November of 1822, the California diputacíon elected Lieutenant Luis Arguello, commander of the San Francisco Presidio, as governor of California.

Mexican leader Iturbide was driven from power in March of 1823, months after he declared himself Emperor of Mexico. An elected Mexican congress declared a republic in 1824, modeling its

constitution after that of the United States. The progressives and conservatives alternated in power in Mexico throughout the 1820s and 1830s. Both factions claimed to defend the rights of Indians, but each faction maneuvered to improve its chances of acquiring the lands under control of Catholic missions.

The mission secularization process that began in 1834, one outcome of early Mexican political struggles over Indian land rights, is addressed in Chapter 8. Specific Mexican period events pertinent to the Mission Dolores Indians prior to 1834 are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

TRANSFERS TO MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO, 1823-1824

Altimira's Attempt to Close Mission Dolores

In 1823, Mission Dolores was 50 miles to the south of its only source of future converts. Mission Prefect Mariano Payeras discussed with Governor Arguello the possibility of moving the mission to the "northeastern contra costa [opposite shore] on the gentile frontier" in late 1822 (Bancroft 1886:II:496). Father Altimira of Mission Dolores recommended the transfer to the *diputacíon territorial* (hereafter "territorial legislature") in March of 1823 without seeking explicit permission from Payeras, who was on his death bed at the time. The territorial legislature decreed on April 9, 1823 that missions Dolores and San Rafael should be consolidated and moved further north. A note to that effect was sent to the new mission prefect, Father Jose Señan. But Señan was also sick, and did not initially respond to the notice.

Father Altimira and 21citizens toured the North Bay valleys in late June of 1823 in search of a new mission site. Crossing the lower valleys of Sonoma Creek, the Napa River, and Suisun Creek, on June 29, Altimira showed insight into the future of the area: "We observe on the plains and hills great white oaks. We crossed long stretches of land very appropriate for vineyards" (Altimira 1823). All of the lands of the near North Bay were empty at the time. Their tribal people were at missions Dolores and San Jose. The surveyors recommended the Sonoma Valley for the new mission site. Altimira went north again in late August of 1823 with a group of Indians and soldiers under Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez to begin construction on the new mission in the Sonoma Valley. Martinez stopped along the way to confiscate Mission San Rafael properties, against the protests of Father Amoros of that mission.

On August 23, 1823, Mission Prefect Señan, in Monterey, signed a letter declaring the transfer of Mission Dolores and closure of Mission San Rafael to be illegal actions. In September a compromise was reached between Governor Arguello and the new Prefect, Father Sarria. Missions Dolores and San Rafael were to remain open. The new mission in Sonoma Valley would be allowed to go forward under a new name (eventually San Francisco Solano), and Father Altimira would be its pastor.

Mission Dolores Land Losses prior to 1824

By the end of 1823, two of seven San Francisco Peninsula tribal land tracts and two of four East Bay tribal land tracts had been taken out of mission hands, and thus were placed out of reach for possible future ownership by Mission Dolores tribal descendants. Lamchin and Urebure lands on the San Francisco Peninsula were confiscated as government stock ranches, Las Pulgas and Buri Buri respectively, before the year 1800. The Las Pulgas Ranch was transferred into the private hands of Luis Arguello some time before 1824 (Bancroft 1886:II:592). In 1820 Luis Peralta received the southern Huchiun lands along the East Bay shore facing San Francisco, as Rancho San Antonio.

Mission Dolores established a livestock ranch and outstation on San Pablo Creek on the east side of San Francisco Bay by 1820, if not earlier. Nine births and five deaths of Mission Dolores Indians at the site were recorded between April of 1820 and June of 1823. In 1823 the outstation included a living quarters and a storehouse, both probably constructed of adobe (Hendry and Bowman 1940:488).

The San Pablo outstation was given up into private hands in 1823, without protest by Father Altimira, as part of the arrangement to found the new mission in the Sonoma Valley. The San Pablo land and buildings were granted that year to Francisco Castro, alcalde of the Pueblo of San Jose and one of the individuals who had encouraged Father Altimira to move the mission to the North Bay. Castro's new ranch was named "San Pablo, alias Los Cuchigunes" after the Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans who had once held that land and who still formed part of the Mission Dolores community (Hendry and Bowman 1940:489).

Transfers to Mission San Francisco Solano in 1823

The Mission Dolores population was down to 208 at the end of 1823 from 958 the year before (Appendix F:Table 1). It had been approximately 1,228 at the beginning of 1822. Deaths during the year do not account for the precipitous population drop. It was clearly the result of population transfer. Many hundreds of Indian people were transferred north to the future site of Mission San Francisco Solano over the fall of 1823. The question arises, who were the 208 people who were still at Mission Dolores at the end of 1823? The answer is a complicated one. If any census was taken that listed the remaining 208 individuals, it has not survived.

In order to determine who the 208 people were that remained at Mission Dolores, we looked for evidence accounting for them as parents, godparents, spouses, witnesses, and deceased individuals in post-1823 Mission Dolores register entries. By the same token, many people could be identified as having transferred by their appearance as parents, godparents, spouses, witnesses, or deceased persons in the registers of other missions. Evidence for transfer or on-going residence at Mission Dolores was tracked for each baptized Bay Area individual, using the computer database that was enhanced for this study. Resultant Table 6 shows the aggregate numbers of people baptized at Mission Dolores, and known to be alive in 1823,that could confidently be assigned to one mission or another. During that tracking effort, we specifically identified 206 individuals active at Mission Dolores, almost all of the 208 aggregate total reported Mission Dolores end-of-year 1823 population.

The language background of the 206 Mission Dolores people was mixed, as Table 6 indicates. Some "Old Christian" San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Karkin Costanoans still lived at the mission or at its outstations, as did some Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, Patwin, and Wappo people. Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans had the highest number of survivors (27 people), followed by Huchiun-Aguasto San Francisco Bay Costanoans (17 people), Carquin Karkins (17 people), and recent migrant Ululato Patwins (16 people). Coast Miwoks continued to be well-represented, even though it was now six years after Mission San Rafael opened; Olema (12 people), Tamal-Aguasto (11 people) and Omiomi (9 people) were the most highly represented. Some Bay Miwoks were still at Mission Dolores as well, primarily Saclans (10 people).

Some back-and-forth population flow occurred between missions Dolores, San Jose, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano in 1824. Bancroft reports that the compromise agreement allowing the establishment of San Francisco Solano provided for the Indians of the involved missions to determine where they wanted to stay.

> Neophytes might go voluntarily from Old San Francisco to the new establishment, and also from San Jose and San Rafael, provided they came originally from the Sonoma region, and provided also that in the case of San Rafael they might return if they wished at any time within a year (Bancroft 1886:II:503-504).

With that in mind, we point out that the Mission Dolores population jumped back up to 265 at the end of 1824 (Appendix F:Table 1). This was an increase of 54, despite that fact that only ten Indian people were baptized at Mission Dolores during 1824, while 39 people were buried. Clearly, some of

the transfers of 1823 returned to Mission Dolores during 1824, but we can only identify a few specific individuals that are mentioned in subsequent records.

We have been able to document ten Mission Dolores people who moved south to either Mission Santa Clara, Mission Santa Cruz, or Mission San Carlos and were still alive in 1823, through cross-reference to their appearances in the marriage registers of those missions (see Table 6, column 3). Four of them were San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the early Peninsula cohort (mainly men), four were Patwin women, and two were Coast Miwok women.

Mission Dolores sent 99 transferees to Mission San Jose who were still alive in 1823 and whom we can identify from their appearance in subsequent baptismal (as parents or godparents), marriage, and death records of the latter mission (see Table 6, column 4). Most were Patwin-speakers, including 19 Ululatos, 18 Suisuns, and 10 Napas. Many others were Bay Miwoks, including 10 Chupcans, 7 Volvons, and 3 Tatcans. Also 7 bi-lingual Bay Miwok/San Francisco Bay Costanoan Jalquins from Mission Dolores were alive at Mission San Jose after 1824. Five Alaguali, five Chocoime, and three Olompali Coast Miwoks also went to Mission San Jose and remained there during the 1820s and 1830s, rather than transfer north to Mission San Rafael.

Mission San Rafael was the new home, by the end of 1823, and perhaps for many years prior, of 155 people converted at Mission Dolores (see Table 6, column 5). All but three of them were Coast Miwoks, not a surprising discovery. Additionally, most of the 99 Coast Miwoks that can not be accounted for in subsequent records at any mission (see Table 6, column 7) were probably at Mission San Rafael by the end 1823.

Mission San Francisco Solano was the new home of 482 neophytes from Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose by the end of 1823, according to its year-end report of that first year. We can explicitly document 309 of those who went north from Mission Dolores (see Table 6, column 6). The largest groups were from the Patwin and Wappo-speaking local tribes that had just arrived at Mission Dolores in 1821 and 1822. Of interest, 10 Carquins, speakers of a Costanoan language, moved north to the new mission in Sonoma Valley, as did 3 Chupcan Bay Miwoks and 1 Saclan Bay Miwok.

The home mission of 335 individuals alive at the end of 1823 could not be documented for the present study (see Table 6, column 7). Of 16 unaccounted San Francisco Peninsula Costanoans, ten were mission-born people who were probably living at Mission Dolores but not appearing in vital records. The unaccounted Coast Miwoks were almost certainly at San Rafael. The large groups of unaccounted Patwins were probably at Mission San Francisco Solano at the end of 1823. The unaccounted Wappos certainly went to Mission San Francisco Solano as well. Of 227 Wappos baptized at Mission Dolores (Canicaymos on Appendix F:Table 1), only four can be shown to have remained in San Francisco after Mission San Francisco Solano opened in 1823.

Language Mix at Mission Dolores after the 1823 Transfers

San Francisco Bay Costanoan returned to predominance at Mission Dolores at the end of 1823, following the removal of so many Coast Miwoks, Patwins, and Wappos back to the north. Of 206 people surely in the Mission Dolores community, 93 (45%) were San Francisco Bay Costanoans (39 people from East Bay groups and 21 people from Peninsula groups). Another 21 people (10%) were Karkin speakers. However, Coast Miwok was still an important language at the mission; it was the native or ancestral language of 61 of the 206 probable mission inhabitants (30%). No major changes occurred in the language community mix over the next year, although a few people returned south from Mission San Francisco Solano (see Table 6).

Many "Old Christian" Costanoan-speaking widowers found wives among the newer immigrant Coast Miwok and Patwin groups before and during the 1820s. There were always a large number of widowers seeking wives because the death rate of women at Mission Dolores was much

higher than that of men. The disparity in death rates was probably due to gender contrasts in daily life—the close confinement of women in the mission village versus the diverse outdoors work assignments for most men (Cook 1943a).

It would be of interest to carry out a quantitative study of contrasting language backgrounds of women and men in the mission population at the end of 1823. Future research will probably substantiate that far more than 50% of the men alive at San Francisco in 1823 spoke either San Francisco Bay Costanoan, Bay Miwok, or Karkin Costanoan, while half or more of the women at the mission that year were either native Coast Miwok or Patwin speakers, but such a study is beyond the scope of the present investigation.

BACKWATER MISSON DOLORES, 1824-1833

This section brings together information about Mission Dolores and its outstations from comments in diaries of the 1820s and from statements in mission register entries.

Mission Dolores Outstations in the 1820s

By the 1820s, Mission Dolores had lost some important tracts of land along the San Francisco Peninsula bay shore, specifically, the Las Pulgas and Buri Buri tracts (discussed above in this chapter). Mission Dolores continued to use its two main outstations, one at San Mateo on the bay shore and the other in the San Pedro Valley along the Pacific Coast. Franciscan Prefect Mariano Payeras described the San Francisco Peninsula ranches, including the San Mateo ranch, during a trip north from Mission Santa Clara to Mission Dolores in late 1821:

> We visited the Holy Church [Santa Clara] and other places and at 1 P.M. [sic] took the road to the northwest. After five leagues, we passed through San Francisquito, a sheep ranch of that mission, and after eight leagues through Las Pulgas, a stock ranch of the Presidio of San Francisco, and after 10 leagues we found ourselves in San Mateo, a ranch of field crops and sheep belonging to the Mission of Our Father San Francisco. Here there are houses and storage bins for what the place produces in the way of grains (Payeras [1821] 1995:330).

An 1828 report of mission holdings listed 28 Indian people (six Indian men, eight women, ten boys, and four girls) living at "Rancho San Mateo, to the south 9 leagues, for small livestock and crops" (Anonymous 1828, see also Estenaga 1828).

Mission Dolores baptismal and death register entries provide very little evidence regarding the specific Indian families at San Mateo in the 1820s. Two children baptized at Mission Dolores during the decade were explicitly noted as having been born at San Mateo. One child was Andrea, daughter of Pantaleon and Caridad (Appendix F:Table 14, Family 2), who was baptized on March 20, 1827. The other child was Maria Antonia, daughter of Nestor and Maxima (Appendix F:Table 14, Family 10), baptized on August 8, 1826. The first pair of parents were San Pablo Bay Huchiun/Carquins, while the second were Marin Peninsula Coast Miwoks. Mission Dolores's death register mentions only one death at San Mateo during the 1820s, that of 23-year-old Teodoro, a Huchiun Bay Costanoan, in January of 1825 (SFR-D 5134, SFR-B 2429). Altogether, these references may underestimate the actual number of births and deaths at San Mateo in the 1820s and early 1830s, because the missionary, Father Estenega, was not a systematic record keeper.

Agricultural activity continued at the Pacific Coast outstation of San Pedro y San Pablo, in present day Pacifica, down into the 1820s, even though baptisms at its chapel had been curtailed in 1792. Father Estenega reported in 1828, "To the south, over the mountains on the coast, the mission has a ranch named San Pedro, with cultivation, the pastures for horned stock" (Estenega 1828). A separate

1828 report on Mission Dolores holdings listed 26 Indian people (8 men, 8 women, 6 boys, 4 girls) living at "Rancho San Pedro to the southwest seven leagues, for livestock and crops" (Anonymous 1828).

Beechey's British View of Mission Dolores in the 1820s

British naval officer Frederick W. Beechey wrote extensive commentaries about the Indian people of central California during his visit to San Francisco Bay as captain of the Blossom in November and December of 1826. Beechey's descriptions of conditions at the various San Francisco Bay Area missions reveal his negative biases against Indians and Hispanic enterprises, but also contain valuable information.

> In some of the mission much misery prevails, while in others there is a degree of cheerfulness and cleanliness which shows that many of the Indians require only care and proper management to make them as happy as their dull senses will admit of under a life of constraint (Beechey [1826] 1831:20).

Mission Dolores, it seems, was one of the poorly run missions.

> The two missions of Sán Francisco and Sán José are examples of the contrast alluded to. The former in 1817 contained a thousand converts, who were housed in small huts around the mission; but at present only two hundred and sixty remain—some have been sent, it is true, to the new mission of San Francisco Solano, but sickness and death have dealt with an unsparing hand among the others. The huts of the absentees, at the time of our visit, had all fallen to decay, and presented heaps of filth and rubbish; while the remaining inmates of the mission were in as miserable a condition as it was possible to conceive, and were entirely regardless of their own comfort. Their hovels afforded scarcely any protection against the weather, and were black with smoke: some of the Indians were sleeping on the greasy floor; others were grinding baked acorns to make into cakes, which constitute a large portion of their food (Beechey [1826] 1831:20-21).

A party from the Blossom borrowed horses and made a land trip south to Monterey via missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista. On the first day they stopped at a hut at the government stock ranch of Buri Buri, at the San Mateo Ranch building, and at the small house on the Las Pulgas Ranch. Beechey's description of San Mateo is repeated here:

> Herds of cattle and horse were grazing upon the rich pasture.… Instead of a noble mansion, in character with so fine a country, the party arrived at a miserable mud dwelling, before the door of which a number of half-naked Indians were basking in the sun. Several dead geese, deprived of their entrails, were fixed upon pegs around a large pole, for the purpose of decoying the living game into snares, which were placed for them in favourable situations. Heaps of bones also of various animals were lying about the place, and sadly disgraced the park-like scenery around. This spot is named Sán Matheo, and belongs to the mission of Sán Francisco (Beechey [1826] 1831:44).

Beechey wrote extensively on the use of force by the missionaries and their Mission Indian allies against non-Christian tribal people of the interior. While he was in San Francisco Bay, the San Francisco Presidio soldiers and a large group of Mission San Jose Indian auxiliaries went out into the Sacramento Valley to punish the Cosomne Plains Miwoks for harboring Mission San Jose Christian Plains Miwok Indian people who had decided they did not like mission life. The expedition was successful from the point of view of the troops, in that it sacked the Cosomne village, killed many people, and returned to the Presidio with numerous prisoners. Beechey ([1826] 1831:29) described the incident and recorded his distaste for the comportment of the troops under Alferez Jose Antonio Sanchez.

Duhaut-Cilly's French View of Mission Dolores in the 1820s

French trader Eugene Duhaut-Cilly visited San Francisco Bay on the ship *Héros* in January of 1827, and again in October of that year. He met with Father Estenega at Mission Dolores on January 27, reporting that the mission buildings, including a large church, storehouses, and the living quarters of people, formed a quadrangle around an open square.

> Beyond this group of buildings, and separated from it by a large court where runs a stream of fresh water, are the habitations of the Indians attached to the mission. These are arranged in an orderly way and divided by straight streets at regular intervals. Some years ago this establishment had become one of the most considerable in California, both for the wealth of its products and for the number of its Indians. But in 1827 there remained of this splendor only the many structures that had once been needed, most of which were now falling into ruin (Duhaut-Cilly [1827]1999:54).

Duhaut-Cilly learned from Father Estenega that there were 260 Indian people attached to the mission, and that it was one of the poorest missions in the system.

The Frenchman traveled down the Peninsula to San Jose in October of 1827. On the way he stopped for the night at the ranch house of the government ranch of Buri Buri, which was manned by a son-in-law of Ignacio Martinez, then provisional commander at the Presidio of San Francisco. A dinner was followed by "a fine basket of strawberries gathered in the mountains by the Indians" (Duhaut-Cilly [1827] 1999:127).

Duhaut-Cilly noted that Mission Dolores, with only 260 Indians, was one of the least productive missions along the coast.

> All that was needed to bring about the decline was the successive administrations of two missionaries without talent or energy. Fray Tomás succeeded them, and under him the establishment was not likely to recover. He was an excellent man, but poor health made him indifferent to the conduct of affairs, and he left the management to stewards while he enjoyed the peaceful life he needed (Duhaut-Cilly [1827] 1999:55).

By comparison, he was impressed with Mission Santa Clara, which in 1827 had, he reported, an Indian community of 1,200.

Duhaut-Cilly saw the missions through the eyes of the new commercial class that was roving the world in the 1820s. He was on the California coast in hopes of joining the trade of goods to the missionaries, in return for cash. But the cash-poor missionaries offered him hides and tallow for merchandise. The tallow could be sold in Lima, Peru for cash, and the hides could be sold to American vessels. Thus Duhaut-Cilly joined the short-lived hide-and-tallow trade of the mid-1820s to the mid-1840s.

DOLOREÑOS AND HISPANICS, 1824-1833

This section focuses on the individual Indian people who lived at Mission Dolores and its outstations between 1824 and 1833, as well as the overtaking of Indian infant baptisms by Hispanic infant baptisms on the San Francisco Peninsula during that period.

Indian Families at Mission Dolores, 1824-1833

A good snapshot of the Indian families of Mission Dolores in the 1820s, and of their diverse tribal heritage, is acquired through reconstruction of the mission couples who were having children during the period. Between the beginning of 1824 and the end of 1833, 36 Mission Dolores women gave birth to 72 baptized children. Of the 36 women, 27 had more than one child during the period

with a single husband, and thus can be shown to have had some continual family presence. Those 27 women, and their families, are listed in Appendix F:Table 14 along with 14 additional families active subsequent to 1833. The families are listed in the table in order of the marriage dates of the parental couple. Although most of the marriage dates are known, some are implied because they do not seem to have been logged in any marriage register.

The first 27 families listed in Appendix F:Table 14—those that had children prior to 1834, represent numerous language backgrounds. The 54 spouses in the 27 marriages include 20 Coast Miwoks, 16 East Bay San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoans, 7 Peninsula San Francisco Bay Costanoans, 6 Patwins, and 5 Bay Miwoks. One might write an entire research paper examining the inter-tribal and inter-language marriage patterns illustrated by the couples. However, we bullet below only highlights and we present them separately for San Francisco Peninsula Costanoans, East Bay Costanoans, and Coast Miwoks.

San Francisco Peninsula Costanoans or their descendents were represented by seven of the spouses having children between 1824 and 1833 (Appendix F:Table 14):

- A Yelamu man was married to a Suisun Patwin woman.
- A Cotegen/Yelamu man was married a Suisun woman.
- Two Yelamu men were married to Omiomi Coast Miwok women.
- A Puichon man was married to a Saclan Bay Miwok woman .
- A Puichon man was married to a Tatcan Bay Miwok woman.
- An Acsaggis (Olpen) man was married to a Huchiun-Aguasto woman.

All were men and all were married to women whom they probably would not have met or married in tribal times. Note that the descendents of the Cotegen/Yelamu-Suisun couple, Pedro Alcantara and Crisanta (Family 19) can be traced into the twentieth centurey, as can the descendents of a Puichon-Saclan couple, Evencio and Geronima (Family 25). Those two extended families will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

East Bay San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoans speakers or their descendants represented 16 of the 54 spouses in the first 27 marriages shown on Appendix F:Table 14. They included seven Carquins, seven Huchiuns, and two Huchiun-Aguastos:

- Ten of the East Bay Costanoan speakers were married to one another.
- Three were Huchiuns married to Coast Miwok speakers (one to Omiomi, two to Tamales Bay area people).
- One was a Carquin married to a Saclan Bay Miwok.
- Two San Pablo Bay spouses made atypical marriages, one to an Acsaggis (Olpen) San Francisco Bay Costanoan from far south on the Peninsula (Family 9), the other to a Tolena Patwin from far to the north (Family 21).

The majority of the East Bay Costanoan speakers at the mission were married in traditional patterns, to people from nearby groups. But the marriage to an Acsaggis San Francisco Bay Costanoan from far to the south and the one to a Tolena Patwin from far to the north is of greater distance than expected for a traditional link.

Coast Miwok speakers or their descendants represented 20 of the 54 spouses having multiple children during the 1824-1833 period (the most highly represented of the three key language groups). Highlights of their marriage patterns are:

- Fourteen Coast Miwoks were involved in seven endogamous Coast Miwok marriages, in expected traditional patterns.

- Three Coast Miwoks were married to Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans; the Huchiuns came from the San Pablo Creek vicinity just across the bay from the lands of Coast Miwok groups on the Marin Peninsula.
- Two Coast Miwoks were Omiomi women married to Yelamu Bay Costanoan descendants. In tribal times the Yelamu had lived directly adjacent to a Coast Miwok group across the Golden Gate, but they had been separated from the Omiomi by two intervening groups, so these ties must be considered atypical in relation to traditional patterns.
- Another atypical Coast Miwok marriage at Mission Dolores in the 1820s involved the Olema widower Teofilo and the Chupcan Bay Miwok widow Teotima (Family 24).

Some of these Coast Miwoks would return to the Marin Peninsula after Mission Dolores was closed in the 1830s. For instance, Teodorico of Family 18 was probably the man who was later the lead person of the group that temporarily received the Nicasio land grant west of San Rafael on the Marin Peninsula (see Dietz 1976).

In summary, the patterns of inter-group marriages at Mission Dolores in the 1820s varied, depending upon the language group under investigation. The few remaining San Francisco Bay Costanoans from Peninsula local tribes were all men who were married to women from distant local tribes with whom they would not have married in earlier times. Most of the San Francisco Bay Costanoans from East Bay local tribes, on the other hand, had spouses from nearby local tribes, as did most of the Coast Miwoks at the mission. We suggest that the individuals who engaged in non-traditional long-distance marriages did so because spouses from traditional neighbors were no longer available.[34]

Mission Dolores Costanoans and Bay Miwoks at other Missions, 1824-1833

Former Mission Dolores neophytes lived at many other central California missions as secularization approached. We have already discussed the wholesale transfers of people among the San Francisco Bay Area missions in a section above. The other reason for the appearance of Mission Dolores people at distant missions was the emancipation program initiated in the mid-1820s. In 1826 Governor Echeandía issued the *Decree of Emancipation in Favor of the Neophytes*. The decree allowed a limited group of Indians to leave their missions and find work and lodging in the civil community "provided they had been Christians from childhood or for fifteen years, were married, or at least not minors, and had some means of gaining a livelihood" and provided they had the approval of their Franciscan priest and the local presidial commander (Hackel 2005:376).

Appendix F:Table 15 lists San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks who were originally baptized at Mission Dolores and were living during the 1820s and early 1830s at missions San Carlos Borromeo, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Jose, and San Francisco Solano. The only people on the table likely to have been emancipated were Respicio and Tiburcio at Mission Carmel and

[34] Godparent listings in baptismal records are another information source regarding families and individuals who were participating in communal life at Mission Dolores in the 1820s. Among the godparents are individuals who did not appear as parents. Among them were two Coast Miwok men who played roles in the history of Marin County to the north. One was Marino (SFR-B 2182), a Huimen Coast Miwok who was a godparent at a conditional baptism at the San Mateo outstation in 1826 (SFR-B 6493) and a Mission Dolores baptism in 1827 (SFR-B 6500). The other was Quintino (SFR-B 2038), an Habasto Coast Miwok who served as a godparent at Mission Dolores in 1826 (SFR-B 6492). Additionally, an 1828 godparent was Dimas, the alcalde of Mission Dolores (in SFR-B 6513). Dimas (SFR-B 1172), a 35-year-old Ssalson San Francisco Bay Costanoan, did not have children during the 1820s.

Josefa Patrocinio at Mission Santa Cruz. Other Mission Dolores people were probably emancipated and living in many parts of California, even on ranches on the San Francisco Peninsula, prior to secularization. However, the post-1827 ecclesiastical records of the San Francisco Bay Area missions do not differentiate emancipated and non-emancipated Mission Indians.

Quite a few San Francisco Bay Costanoan, Karkin Costanoan, and Bay Miwok descendants from Mission Dolores who were living at Mission San Jose and Mission San Francisco Solano during the late 1820s and 1830s are listed on Appendix F:Table 15. Of note:

- The 19 Mission Dolores adults at Mission San Jose were all Bay Miwoks or bilingual Costanoan/Bay Miwok Jalquins.
- The nine Mission Dolores adults at Mission San Francisco Solano included four adult Carquin Karkin Costanoans, one Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan, one Huchiun-Aguasto San Francisco Bay Costanoan, one bilingual Jalquin, and two Saclan Bay Miwoks.

As stated in an earlier section, the transfer of Bay Miwoks and bilingual Jalquins to Mission San Jose from Mission Dolores in the 1820s seems to have been programmatic. The presence of San Pablo Bay Costanoans (Carquins, Huchiun-Aguastos, Huchiuns) at Mission San Francisco Solano, on the other hand, was surprising to us. It should not be surprising, in retrospect, since the east shore of San Pablo Bay and Carquinez Strait area was geographically between the San Francisco Peninsula and the North Bay area of Mission San Francisco Solano and its outstations.

Demographic Shift to Hispanic Predominance, 1824-1833

There came a time in most mission vicinities when the population of Hispanic immigrants became greater than that of the indigenous California Indian population. On the San Francisco Peninsula, that time was the mid-1820s, soon after the vast majority of Patwin and Wappo neophytes went back north to found Mission San Francisco Solano. In the absence of any good census of Hispanics in San Francisco in the 1820s and 1830s, we determine the time of the shift to Hispanic predominance indirectly, through a comparison of yearly counts of Indian baptisms and Hispanic *gente de razon* (people of reason) baptisms.

The overall Hispanic population at the San Francisco Presidio, the Mission, and the few nearby ranchos fluctuated between 200 and 280 over the years 1817 to 1830, according to Hubert Howe Bancroft. His sources, a large number of Mexican-era censuses, contained no reliable statistics for the area as a whole. The sources suggest, however, that the 1817 Hispanic population was 380, that it dropped to 280 by 1828, and perhaps was as low as 200 in 1830 (Bancroft 1886:II, 371, 586). By comparison, the overall Indian population of Mission Dolores ranged between 219 and 265 from 1822 to 1830 (Appendix F:Table 1). It seems, therefore, that the overall Hispanic and Indian populations were essentially equivalent on the Peninsula during the 1820s.

To illuminate the dynamics of population change, it is useful to compare the Hispanic and Indian birthrates at Mission Dolores in the 1820s. Table 7 presents baptism counts for Indian and Hispanic infants, as well as tribal converts, during the 1820s and 1830s at Mission Dolores and the other San Francisco Bay Area missions. Between 1823 and 1825 Hispanic infant baptisms averaged 12.2 per year, while Indian infant baptisms averaged 9 per year. Then, between 1826 and 1830, Hispanic infant baptisms averaged 11 per year, and Indian infant baptisms averaged ten per year.

During the 1831-1835 period, the birthrate shifted significantly in faver of Hispanics, with an aveage of 15 reported births per year, in contrast to four reported births per year in the Indian community (Table 7). By the end of the mission era, more Hispanic women than Indian women on the San Francisco Peninsula were bringing babies to Mission Dolores for baptism, an indication that the overall growing Hispanic population would soon surpass the still-shrinking Indian population.

Table 7. Yearly Baptismal Counts for Tribally-born Indians, Mission-born Indian Infants, and Hispanic Infants at Five Bay Area Missions between 1818 and 1848.

	Santa Clara			San Jose			Dolores			San Rafael[c]		
	All	Infants		All	Infants		All	Infants		All	Infants	
	Tribal	Mission	Razon	Tribal	Mission	Razon	Tribal	Mission[a]	Razon[b]	Tribal	Mission	Razon
1818	52	34	18	246	55	1	22	36	13	168	13	0
1819	72	34	19	105	56	0	3	32	12	129	18	0
1820	87	44	30	188	46	0	14	37	8	102	12	0
1821	87	32	15	109	59	0	449	27	14	144	12	0
1822	115	40	23	16	42	1	57	28	6	181	18	0
1823	81	37	20	220	48	0	2	10	13	94	24	0
1824	114	34	33	300	33	2	0	11	20	208	20	0
1825	63	37	31	157	42	1	0	7	8	137	22	0
1826	99	42	21	168	48	5	0	13	10	120	18	1
1827	118	31	34	154	38	3	0	8	6	32	15	0
1828	91	33	27	186	28	3	0	12	19	69	16	0
1829	8	20	30	28	35	2	0	8	11	2	15	0
1830	12	19	36	185	35	4	0	8	7	4	19	0
1831	19	21	41	304	32	1	0	6	11	143	15	2
1832	0	15	46	4	26	5	0	1	3	5	15	0
1833	2	21	41	43	48	4	0	4	13	0	15	0
1834	51	18	32	510	37	7	0	6	14	3	7	0
1835	67	29	40	56	47	6	0	3	19	0	13	1
1836	62	36	45	68	44	15	0	5	16	0	11	3
1837	27	29	42	8	55	10	0	1	16	2	8	2
1838	8	29	35	15	39	18	12	5	20	2	10	3
1839	11	31	42	9	40	14	0	1	9	8	11	4
1840	9	27	49	178	56	14	0	3	10	-	-	-
1841	21	36	57	36	30	16	5	3	6	-	-	-
1842	5	20	45	28	43	21	0	1	11	-	-	-
1843	34	35	55	29	30	13	0	2	5	-	-	-
1844	8	27	57	18	26	14	5	2	8	-	-	-
1845	3	14	59	9	14	11	3	1	12	-	-	-
1846	9	21	75	3	12	9	5	2	7	-	-	-
1847	13	37	81	5	8	2	3	6	16	-	-	-
1848	12	22	72	6	11	5	3	2	7	-	-	-

Notes: [a] Mission count at Mission Dolores includes 15 children listed only in death register; [b] *Razon* count at Mission Dolores includes 19 children listed only in death register; [c] Mission San Rafael baptismal data continued past 1839 with a second baptismal register; it was not examined for this project.

Chapter 7. Ohlone/Costanoan Missions South of Mission Dolores, 1770-1834

An understanding of the historic and cultural roots of the modern Ohlone/ Costanoans must be based upon an understanding of the speakers of Costanoan languages who moved not only to Mission Dolores, but to six other Franciscan missions as well. Each mission had a unique history of establishment, outreach, and population growth. Appendix F:Table 1, to which we referred in chapters 4, 5, and 6 to track population changes over time at Mission Dolores, provides yearly population figures for all seven missions. From it, one sees that the populations of missions Soledad, Carmel, and Santa Cruz seldom climbed above 500, while those of missions San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, and San Jose were often above 1,100. Mission Dolores was similar in size to the latter missions in its most active years prior to 1824, then fell to become one of the smallest of the seven by 1834.

The seven missions came to have differing mixtures of native language groups due to their differing outreach areas, as Figure 2 illustrates. The total number of tribal converts from each major language group at each of the seven Costanoan language area missions is shown in Table 8. Note that Mission Santa Clara was by far the major center of Costanoan language family prosyletization; it took in more than twice the number of Costanoan speakers as Mission Dolores. Three of the missions, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, and Santa Clara, came to have similar mixes of Yokuts and Costanoan speakers. Mission Carmel absorbed Rumsen Costanoan and Esselen speakers. Mission San Jose and Mission Dolores were similar to one another in having very diverse language communities; unlike Mission Dolores, Mission San Jose took in thousands of Plains Miwok speakers.

Mission Dolores itself was the second-largest Costanoan mission in terms of overall numbers of baptisms. Yet by 1834 it retained fewer Costanoan language family members than any of the other missions, with the possible exception of Mission Santa Cruz (see the concluding section of this chapter).

The varying histories of the six missions south of San Francisco will be discussed below in the chronological order of their founding, following a brief section recounting the first documented contacts between the Spaniards and Costanoan-speaking groups south of San Francisco Bay.

FIRST CONTACTS IN COSTANOAN LANDS

The first documented interaction between Costanoan-speaking people and European explorers took place in 1603, when Sebastian Viscaino landed at

Table 8. Language Representation of Tribal Converts at the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-speaking Populations.

Language Group	Mission Baptismal Counts [a]							Total
	Dolores	San Jose	Santa Clara	Santa Cruz	San Juan Bautista	Carmel	Soledad	
SF Bay Costanoan/Karkin [b]	1,772	1,316	4,452	0	0	0	0	7,540
Southern Costanoan [c]	0	0	0	1,154	1,504	1,062	791	4,511
Coast Miwok	1,696	390	0	0	0	0	0	2,086
Wappo	240	11	0	0	0	0	0	251
Patwin	747	387	1	0	0	0	0	1,135
Bay Miwok	479	380	0	0	0	0	0	859
Plains Miwok	1	2,492	0	0	0	0	0	2,493
Delta and North Valley Yokuts	2	1,181	1,463	539	1,209	38	582	5,014
Esselen	0	0	0	0	0	464	320	784
Other or Undocumented [d]	20	270	453	66	68	2	36	915
Total [e]	4,957	6,427	6,369	1,759	2,781	1,566	1,729	25,588

Notes: [a] These counts go up to the year 1845, although only missions San Jose and Santa Clara took in large numbers of tribal people after the year 1835; [b] Karkin Costanoans were limited to members of the Carquin local tribe, baptized only at Mission Dolores; [c] Southern Costanoans in this row include the Awaswas, Mutsun, and Rumsen languages, all recognized as members of the southern branch of the Costanoan family, as well as Chalon, which some linguists include in the northern branch of the family (see Table 2); [d] The "Other or Undocumented" counts for Mission Dolores are late baptisms of people brought in by Spanish soldiers from many places along the mission frontier, while the counts for the other missions include some of those individuals as well as large numbers of people from the east side of the San Joaquin Valley who may have spoken either a Yokuts language or a Sierra Miwok dialect; [e] Three of the language groups listed here also had members baptized at Mission San Rafael (727 Coast Miwoks; 58 Wappos; 4 Patwins) and Mission San Francisco Solano (17 Coast Miwoks, 535 Wappos, 590 Patwins).

Monterey Bay. Pertinent excerpts from various diaries of the Viscaino expedition have been published by Broadbent (1972:47) and Culleton (1950:11-12). The entries suggest that the interaction was brief and without incident. For example:

> The port is all surrounded with rancherias of affable Indians, good natives and well-disposed, who like to give what they have, here they brought us skins of bears and lions and deer. They use the bow and arrow and have their form of government. They were very pleased that we should have settled in their country. They go naked at this port (Ascención [1603] in Broadbent 1972:47).

After the 1603 visit, no documented interaction occurred between Costanoan speakers and Spaniards for another 166 years.

On September 29, 1769, the Spanish exploratory expedition of Gaspar de Portola passed north up the Salinas Valley from the lands of an Esselen-speaking local tribe in the present Soledad vicinity into the land of a Rumsen Costanoan-speaking group in the vicinity of the present town of Gonzales. There they surprised a large group of Ensens, the local tribe of the vicinity:

> Coming to this spot, we heard a great deal of shouting and uproar in the woods on the river from a throng of heathens, all of whom had their bows and arrows with them, seemingly hunting. They were signaled to, to come over to the camp, but not one showed himself near by; instead all of them vanished at once (Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:533).

The Portola party was in search of Viscaino's Monterey Bay. They camped that night near present Salinas and sent scouts to explore the Monterey Peninsula, without writing further about local Indian people.

When the Portola party arrived at Monterey Bay, they were uncertain whether or not they had found the location described by the early Spanish sea captains. They decided to continue north. On October 5, their scouts came to a village of the Calendaruc, a Rumsen or Mutsun-speaking local tribe on the Pajaro River:

> These Indians had no notice of our coming to their lands, as was seen by the consternation and terror [the scouts'] presence caused among them: for some, amazed and confounded, scarce knowing what they did, ran to their weapons; others shouted and cried out; the women dissolved into tears. Our people did all they could to quiet them, and the sergeant of Loreto Presidio, who was in charge of the party, managed it with great difficulty by getting down from his mount and approaching them with signs of peace (Costansó [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:73).

The full Portolá party came up to that Calendaruc village three days later, on October 8. They found it abandoned, burned and surrounded by poles and arrows set in the ground. A large stuffed bird, a condor or eagle, hung from one set of the poles (Costansó [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:75; Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:553). The Portola party next proceeded north to Point Año Nuevo and on up the coast, arriving at the San Pedro Valley on October 31, 1769.

Portola party interactions with San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers in early November were described in Chapter 5. Suffice to say that scouts of the party were the first Spaniards to see San Francisco Bay when they climbed Sweeney Ridge on November 1, 1769. After a short stay in the modern Palo Alto area, the Spaniards retraced their steps back to San Diego. They arrived back at the abandoned Calendaruc town on the Pajaro River by November 24, from whence they traveled to the Monterey Peninsula and explored until December 10. They arrived at San Diego, with the aid of food from Indians along the way, on January 24, 1770.

The Spaniards returned north from San Diego in June of 1770 to found the Monterey Presidio and the initial Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Mission Carmel) location, their first settlements in Costanoan lands. (Mission Carmel was moved from Monterey a few miles south to Carmel in the summer of 1771.) The next Ohlone/Costanoan mission was Mission Dolores, founded in 1776. Mission Santa Clara followed shortly thereafter, in 1777. Then came four missions in the 1790s—Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791, followed by San Juan Bautista and San Jose in 1797. The stories of those missions (excluding Mission Dolores) up through 1834 are presented below in order of their establishment.

MISSION CARMEL, FOUNDED IN 1770

A total of 1,564 tribal Indian people were baptized at Mission San Carlos Borromeo, more commonly known as Mission Carmel (see Table 8). The majority of its converts came from surrounding local tribes that spoke the Rumsen Costanoan language (Figure 13).[35] Another significant portion of Mission Carmel converts came from nearby local tribes that spoke the Esselen language. A small number of people came from the local tribes of the interior Coast Ranges that spoke the Mutsun and Chalon Costanoan languages. In addition, a handful of Northern Valley Yokuts speakers from the San Joaquin Valley, brought in by soldiers after punitive raids, were baptized at Carmel. The intermarried descendants of the four language groups came to be known as the *Carmeleño* Indians.

[35] The Rumsen language takes its name from that of one of its original local tribes, the Rumsens of Carmel Valley (see Levy 1978a). Although some descendents of people from local tribes that spoke the language prefer the spelling "Runsien," others do not. We follow the spelling accepted in linguistic publications.

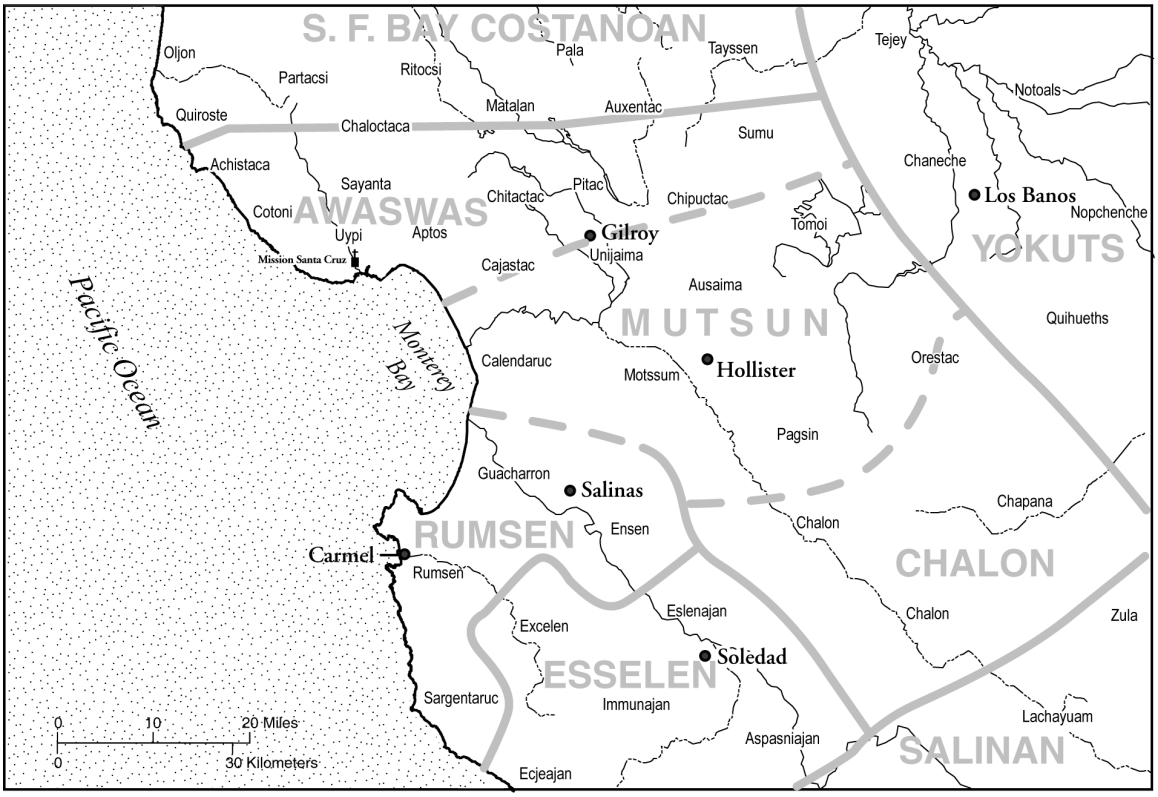

Figure 13. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas of the Monterey Bay Area at the Time of Spanish Entry.

Baptisms of Villagers of the Rumsen Local Tribe, 1770-1780

Father Junipero Serra founded Mission San Carlos Borromeo at a temporary location adjoining the Monterey Presidio in June of 1770. Early Spanish correspondence indicates that the native people were friendly and that their closest permanent villages were a few miles away in the Carmel River Valley. The first baptism of a Costanoan speaker occurred at the temporary mission site on December 26, 1770. The baptized person was a five-year old child whose father had recently died (SCA-B 1). The next day, December 27, two children whose mothers had recently died were baptized (SCA-B 2, 3). All three children were from Achasta, probably the nearest permanent village to the Presidio.

In August of 1771 Father Serra began construction of the present site of Mission Carmel overlooking the Carmel River. By that time 22 people had been baptized, all children from Carmel Valley villages of the Rumsen local tribe (Culleton 1950, Milliken 1987:15-16). Tribal baptisms proceeded slowly but steadily over 1772, 1773, and 1774. By November of 1774, when the Rivera-Palou expedition went north from Monterey to explore the San Francisco Peninsula for a possible mission site, 247 Rumsen speakers had been baptized and six Rumsen women had married newcomers (three married Baja California Indian men and three married Hispanic soldiers).

The Rumsen captain, Tathlun of Ichxenta, was baptized on September 10, 1775. The entry reads, "Captain of his own rancheria of Ichxenta, alias San Jose, and of the surrounding neighborhood of the Carmel River" (SCA-B 358). Most members of the Rumsen local tribe joined the mission over the next three years. By the end of 1778 the five Rumsen villages had been abandoned. In 1779 Baltazar, one of the alcaldes (native mayors), fled the mission and organized a limited opposition movement among the people of Sargentaruc on the Big Sur coast. Baltazar's death

was reported in the fall of 1780. Most of the members of his group trickled back into the mission over the next few years (Milliken 1987:28).

Rumsen-speaking and Esselen-speaking Local Tribes, 1782-1808

By the end of the 1770s the missionaries were reaching out to the Excelens, Esselen-speaking people of the rugged upper Carmel River watershed. Only a few Excelens were baptized earlier than 1783. One of them, their headman, was baptized in his village, while sick, on May 9, 1775. In the baptismal entry, Father Serra wrote:

> I privately baptized … the Captain of the territory of Excelen and its villages, named Pach-hepis. He took the name of Miguel Gregorio. The rest of the pagans of the village, of both sexes, were present, giving us pleasure in seeing their Captain now a Christian, and giving us hope that they will imitate him" (SCA-B 350).

The first large group of Esselen speakers, 68 Excelen local tribe members, joined Mission Carmel in 1783. This was a year after 53 people from the Sargentaruc local tribe of the Big Sur coast went to the mission. The Sargentaruc local tribe seems to have spoken a dialect of the same language as the Rumsen local tribe of the Carmel Valley, the language now called Rumsen Costanoan (see Chapter 2).

Large groups from all the surrounding local tribes went to Mission Carmel during the remainder of the 1780s and up through 1791, including Calendarucs from the present Castroville area, Ensens from the Salinas area, Sargentarucs from down the coast, Excelens from the mountains, and Eslenajans from the Soledad area down the Salinas River Valley. Both Excelen speakers and Rumsen Costanoan speakers were well represented. By the beginning of 1794, the mission language mix was approximately three-fourths Rumsen Costanoan and one fourth Esselen. The Indian population at the mission, 835, was greater than Mission Dolores (population 711), and only twenty percent smaller than Mission Santa Clara (population 1,062) at that time.

The Mission Carmel population reached its peak of 876 in 1795, surpassing the previous year mainly through baptisms of infants born to baptized parents. After 1795, baptisms of the few remaining people from adjacent local tribes slowed to a trickle, and the mission population began to fall (Culleton 1950:231). Mission Carmel was cut off from new tribal groups, first by Mission Soledad, which opened in 1792 to the southeast, and then, beginning in 1798, by Mission San Juan Bautista to the northeast (see Figure 2). By the end of 1803 the Mission Carmel population was down to 591.

A last short surge of tribal baptisms took place at Mission Carmel between 1804 and 1808. The 127 tribal converts over those years included the last Esselen speakers from the mountains, the last Sargentaruc people (Rumsen Costanoan) from the Big Sur coast, and the last Ensen and Calendaruc people (also Rumsen Costanoan) from the mouth of the Salinas River and the lower Salinas Valley. A measles epidemic struck Mission Carmel in 1806, as it did all the other central California missions. By the end of 1806 only 550 Indian people lived at Mission San Carlos, despite the new baptisms of the recent past. Two thirds of the population spoke Rumsen Costanoan, while the other third spoke Esselen. A large portion of the year-end 1806 Indian population, 160 people, was mission-born. Of that group, 11 were children of mixed Costanoan-Esselen marriages.

Carmel Mission as Administrative Center, 1809-1834

Mission Carmel stopped receiving tribal converts after the 1804-1808 flurry. While large groups of Yokuts speakers moved to missions Soledad, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, and San Jose during the 1809-1834 period, Mission Carmel's role became limited to that of administrative center for the California missions as a whole. Thus its Indian population fell every year from 1807 through 1833. During those years a few Yokuts-speaking individuals who had been brought to the Monterey Presidio after military actions in the San Joaquin Valley were baptized at the mission (SCA-B 2920. 2951,

2982, 3007). In addition, scores of descendants of Rumsen Costanoan women and Spanish men were integrated into the *gente de razon* community at Monterey and at surrounding ranches, among them people with surnames Altamirano, Butron, Espinosa, Garcia, Lugo, Higuera, Rodriguez, and Villela.

Only 188 Carmeleños were associated with Mission Carmel at the time of secularization. At that time, the end of 1834, there were still probably two Costanoan speakers to every one Esselen speaker in the mission community. Additionally, there were numerous bilingual Rumsen Costanoan/ Esselen descendants. Due to the absence of intensive Yokuts migration, Carmel was the only mission in historic Costanoan-speaking territory to retain a predominately Costanoan-speaking population throughout its existence.

MISSION SANTA CLARA, FOUNDED IN 1777

Mission Santa Clara, the third mission in the Costanoan language family area, was founded in 1777 in lands of people who spoke the Tamyen dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan (see discussion of dialects in Chapter 2). A total of 6,369 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1777 and 1840, more than at any other Costanoan area mission (see Table 8). Over those years Northern Valley Yokuts (1,463 people) and Sierra Miwoks (453 people), as well as Tamyen Costanoans (4,452 people), were baptized. Over time the members of the various language groups intermarried and came to be known as the *Clareños*.

Initial Santa Clara Valley Baptisms

Tamien was the name of the local tribe in the portion of the Santa Clara Valley where Mission Santa Clara was founded. The group seems to have held the central and western portion of lands now within the cities of San Jose and Santa Clara. Its name has been applied as "Tamyen" to the language inferred to have been spoken by all of the Ohlone/Costanoan local tribes surrounding Mission Santa Clara (see discussion Chapter 2). The mission was founded in January of 1777, seven months after Mission Dolores. The first baptisms took place in the summer of 1777 among children in local villages who were sick and dying from an unknown disease (Milliken 1995:67-68).

The Mission Santa Clara population grew slowly in its first years. The first significant group of local adults was baptized in 1780, 29 people in all. Small groups of adults from all surrounding areas were baptized through 1789. Much of the mission's growth in that era was due to unbaptized adults bringing their children to the mission for baptism. The resistance of local adults to baptism may reflect the presence of the Spanish settlement of San Jose nearby. Local villagers had an alternative to the mission for acquiring Hispanic items and skills (Milliken 2002a:48).

In 1790, 304 tribal people were baptized from surrounding areas, predominately from the south, labeled the San Carlos district by the missionaries, as far as the eventual Mission Santa Cruz area (82 people) and from the west, the San Bernardino district (119 people); 98 of the 1790 converts were adults, more than double any previous year. Mission Santa Clara surpassed Mission Carmel in 1789 to become the largest of the seven Costanoan area missions, and held that position until 1816, when Mission San Jose surpassed it.

Mass Migration and Change at Santa Clara, 1794-1798

The year 1794 was a watershed period in the Indian history of Mission Santa Clara. At the end of 1793 villages in the Santa Clara Valley and Santa Cruz Mountains were still partially populated by tribal people. The Mission Santa Clara population stood at 1,062 people, all Tamyen Costanoan speakers and their children. In 1794 entire village groups of adults appeared for baptism, rather than the infants and occasional young people and elders of earlier years. The new converts arrived at Santa Clara from all four directions, the Santa Cruz Mountains and Point Año Nuevo areas to the west, the Fremont Plain to

the north, the foothills of the Coast Ranges to the east, and the Santa Clara Valley itself. During 1794 a total 382 adults were baptized and during 1795 another 160 adults were baptized. This was part of the same mass migration movement that had caused a major jump in the Mission Dolores population over the winter of 1794-1795. The Mission Santa Clara population jumped by nearly one half over the two years from the end of 1793 to the end of 1795, from 1,062 to 1,541 (Appendix F:Table 1).

The huge growth of the Mission Santa Clara adult population in 1794 and 1795 could only have been the result of a social movement. There is no evidence that Spanish soldiers marched the people into the mission, nor that drought drove them in. Whatever caused the movement, it broke the logjam of adult resistance to Franciscan religious authority that had kept many people away from the mission since its establishment 17 years earlier (Milliken 1995:129-134). By the end of the 1790s all of the Santa Cruz Mountains people south of the Pescadero Creek watershed had moved either to Mission Santa Clara or Mission Santa Cruz. Mission Santa Clara was competing with Santa Cruz for tribal recruits in the Morgan Hill vicinity of the southern Santa Clara Valley.

Eastern Hill Country Costanoan Baptisms, 1799-1810

In 1799 Mission Santa Clara began to bring in people from the hill country east of the Santa Clara Valley and west of the San Joaquin Valley. The missionaries identified everyone from the hills east of the present San Jose locality into their arbitrary San Antonio district. Only 42 San Antonio district adults were baptized at Mission Santa Clara over 20 years between 1778 and 1798. It then took only three years, from 1799 through 1801, for the next 47 adults from the area to be baptized. Also between 1799 and 1801, hill people from southeast of Mission Santa Clara, east of the towns of Coyote and San Martin, went to Mission Santa Clara from the San Carlos district and to Mission Santa Cruz from the San Juan district.

After a large number of San Carlos district (southern) people went to Santa Clara in 1802 (83 adults), a two year cooling off period ensued. Then, between 1805 and 1810, the last of the Costanoan speakers from the hill country went to Mission Santa Clara, including the Juñas of the San Antonio Valley (67 adults), the Luechas of Corral Hollow (72 adults) and the Tayssenes of a large area far to the southeast in the upper Coyote River and Orestimba Creek watersheds (194 adults). Mission Santa Clara reached its peak as a purely Costanoan mission in 1808, with a population of 1,410 people (Appendix F:Table 1).

Yokuts Migration to Santa Clara

Mission Santa Clara was one of the three central California missions to bring in over 1,100 Yokuts speakers, along with missions San Jose and San Juan Bautista. Of the three, Santa Clara brought in the largest number of Yokuts speakers (1,462 people). So far, it has been impossible to identify the first Yokuts-speaking converts at Mission Santa Clara. They may have been the Bolbons, who were baptized with San Antonio district and Luecha people between 1806 and 1813 (74 adults). But the Bolbons may alternatively have been an east Coast Range Costanoan-speaking group. The first definite Yokuts speakers at Mission Santa Clara were the Lamam and Tugite local tribes of the San Joaquin River, west, respectively, of Turlock and Modesto in present Stanislaus county. This began a 14 year period, from 1811 to 1821, during which an average of 71 Yokuts speakers per year were baptized from homelands on the San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced rivers in the San Joaquin Valley (Milliken 2002a:59). At the end of 1817 the Mission Santa Clara Indian population was 1,336, including 128 mission-born people. Of its 1,208 tribally-born inhabitants at the time, 816 (68%) were San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and 392 (32%) were Yokuts speakers.

By 1822 some people were appearing at Mission Santa Clara from a noteworthy set of local tribes that seem to have lived along a band of territory at the edge of the foothills in eastern Stanislaus county. They were the Chuguea, Sunomna, Tinelame, and Tonul, and they are

noteworthy because the women and girls had a mix of identifiable Yokuts and Sierra Miwok names. They came to the mission with people from pure Yokuts local tribes, such as the Laquisemnes of Ripon and the Tauhalamnes of Modesto. By the late 1820s, the Gualensemnes and Totootes, pure Sierra Miwok speakers from the lowest Sierra foothills, were appearing in the mission's baptismal records. Yokuts speakers from Mission Santa Clara fled to the San Joaquin Valley to join the ill-fated Estanislao revolt during 1828-1829 (see the Mission San Jose section below). Sierra Miwoks and Yokuts speakers continued to go to Mission Santa Clara in small numbers throughout the 1830s, both before and after the beginning of secularization in 1834.

In 1834, at the time of secularization, Yokuts speakers and their children predominated in the Mission Santa Clara community. Yokuts speakers represented 55% of the mission's 1,108 members. Bay Costanoans and their descendants represented 31% of the people, while Sierra Miwok migrants represented 11% of the population. Another 3% of the population was represented by 37 children of Costanoan-Yokuts intermarriages (Milliken 2002a:61). Many of the Yokuts speakers returned to the San Joaquin Valley after secularization, but others remained in the Santa Clara Valley. The Clareños of the mid-1830s were a mix of pure Costanoans, pure Yokuts, and individuals of mixed language background.

MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD, FOUNDED IN 1791

Mission Soledad was founded in the Salinas River Valley in October of 1791. The date was 21 years after the founding of Mission Carmel 32 miles to the northwest, and 20 years after the founding of Mission San Antonio 28 miles to the south. A total of 1,729 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1791 and 1840 (see Table 8 and Figure 2). Deriving from three language groups, Esselen (320 people), Chalon Costanoan (791 people), and Northern Valley Yokuts (582 people), they and their intermarried descendants came to be known as the *Soledeños*.

Early Era of Esselen Predominance at Soledad

Mission Soledad was founded in the territory of the Esselen-speaking Eslenajan local tribe (cf. Kroeber 1925:465, 548). At the time it was founded in 1791, other missions had already reached into the area from the north and south. From the south, Mission San Antonio had taken in perhaps half of the members of the Esselen-speaking Tesmaymanil (alias Aspasniajan) local tribe from the Greenfield vicinity, just south of Soledad (see Figure 13). From the north, Mission Carmel had absorbed approximately 20% of the local Esselen-speaking Eslenajan people of the Soledad area. Those Carmeleño and Antoniano Esselen speakers appear as parents, god-parents, brides, grooms, and wedding witnesses in the early Mission Soledad ecclesiastical records.

Esselen speakers and Costanoan speakers seem to have been baptized in almost equal numbers at Mission Soledad through the 1790s, although we cannot give precise figures because it is hard to sort out the local tribe affiliations of the baptized individuals. The first missionaries at Mission Soledad did not record the multi-village local tribe homelands of their converts. Instead, they listed 74 separate home villages and hamlets for the first 391 converts at the mission, from 1791 through 1798. The Soledad vicinity is indentified as the homeland of the Esselen-speaking Eslenajan local tribe through study of family ties between people baptized as Eslenajan at Mission Carmel and the earliest Mission Soledad converts (Milliken 1990).

Short Period of Costanoan Predominance

Esselen speakers from Eslenajan and neighboring local tribes to the west (Ecgeajan and Ymunajan) and south (Aspasniajan) were baptized more often during the 1791-1797 period than Chalon Costanoan speakers from villages affiliated with the large "Chalon" district in the hills to the

east of the Salinas Valley. In 1798, however, the percentages changed in favor of the Costanoan speakers. Between 1798 and 1806, by far the greater number of converts were people from various small villages in the eastern hills, most in the direction of the region called Chalon or directly associated with the region called Chalon.

At the close of 1806, 775 Chalon Costanoan speakers and 318 Esselen speakers had been baptized at Mission Soledad. The last 35 Costanoans, from groups labeled Chapana and Chalon, were baptized between 1807 and 1815 in mixed groups with the earliest Yokuts speakers.

Era of Yokuts Migration to Soledad

The first significant group of Yokuts speakers at Mission Soledad were baptized in 1806. They were merely identified as "Tulares" people, but their family links to people baptized elsewhere indicate that they were Quihueths (from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley just south of Los Banos) and Cutochos (from the plains due east of Soledad and west of Tranquility and Mendota).

From 1807 to 1817 small groups of Yokuts speakers went to Mission Soledad. Most were from the local tribes in the Mendota-Tranquility region, but a few were Tachis from Tulare Lake. Quite a few others were from Bear Creek to the northeast, indicating that Soledad's outreach area extended north in those years into the expected outreach area of Mission San Juan Bautista. Yokuts baptisms at San Juan Bautista increased greatly from 1817 forward and Soledad baptisms tailed off until 1822. In that year 124 Yokuts speakers were baptized at Mission Soledad. Most were identified as Pitcaches and Cassous. The Pitcache homeland is documented in later ethnography as the San Joaquin Valley land just west of Fresno, while Cassous is probably equivalent to the ethnographic Gashou of lands within Fresno and east of Fresno (Kroeber 1925, Latta 1949).

Yokuts people were a significant portion of the Mission Soledad community from 1822 forward, but we cannot be sure just how significant because the death registers of Mission Soledad have yet to be cross-referenced to the baptismal registers. A lull in baptisms occurred during the late 1820s. Between 1830 and 1836 scores of Yokuts people were baptized at Mission Soledad from east of present day Fresno, including Oyimas, Dalinches and Tolteches.

At the end of 1834, the population of Mission Soledad was down to 350 people. Many of the most recently baptized Yokuts speakers from areas east of Tranquility probably returned to their tribal lands at the time of secularization. The long-time Soledeños who remained in the Coast Ranges (intermarried Esselens, Chalon Costanoans, and Yokuts) presumably went to work on Mexican ranchos in the Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and Monterey vicinities.

MISSION SANTA CRUZ, FOUNDED IN 1791

Mission Santa Cruz was founded in August of 1791, 14 years after Mission Santa Clara opened some 26 miles to the north, and 20 years after Mission Carmel was founded 30 miles to the south. The 1,759 tribal Indian people baptized at the mission between 1791 and 1840 represented three language groups, Awaswas Costanoan (1,154 people), Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts (539 people), and Sierra Miwok (38 people) (see Table 8 and Figure 2). They and their intermarried descendants came to be known as the *Cruzeños*.

Awaswas Costanoan Baptisms at Santa Cruz

The coastal and mountain lands around Mission Santa Cruz were lightly populated when the Spanish settled in central California. Each small local band had a territory as large as a local tribe on San Francisco Bay, but a population the size of only one large Bay Area village (Milliken 2002b). They spoke a Costanoan dialect that has some structural affiliation to San Francisco Bay Costanoan and some affiliation to Mutsun Costanoan; Awaswas Costanoan continues to be considered a

separate language, but the degree to which it originally extended to the east of present Santa Cruz county is completely unknown (see Chapter 2).

Mission Santa Cruz was founded in the territory of the Uypi local tribe (or mobile band) of the lower San Lorenzo River and Soquel Creek. The first new neophyte baptized at Mission Santa Cruz was an eight-year-old girl who was not from Uypi. She was brought down to Santa Cruz by her parents from Achistaca, somewhere up the coast or up the San Lorenzo River. Four days later, on October 13, 1791, Uypi headman Suquer (probable namesake of Soquel) and his wife Rosuem became the second and third people baptized at Mission Santa Cruz (SCR-B 2,3). Their children had already been baptized at Santa Clara in early 1791 (SCL-B 1894,1907).

By the end of 1793 the mission had been in existence a little over two years and had reached a population of 233. The mission neophytes were from the small local coastal and Santa Cruz Mountains Costanoan-speaking groups, including Uypi, Apto, Chaloctaca, Sayanta, Cotoni, and Achistaca (see Figure 12 and Figure 13).[36] The mission was attacked in December of 1793 by Quirostes from the Point Año Nuevo area who were resisting attempts by the missionaries to force people to stay at the mission and keep their Christian wedding vows. Spanish soldiers, with help from local Indian auxiliaries staged counter-raids, captured the Quiroste leaders and jailed them (Milliken 1995:118-119). Awaswas baptisms peaked in 1795 at 235, when scores of Chitac and Pitac people from the Gilroy area joined people from the groups closer to the mission. The last local Santa Cruz vicinity people to move to the mission, the Aptos of Aptos Creek east of Santa Cruz, were baptized in 1796.

East Coast Range Costanoans at Santa Cruz

During the entire 1797-1808 period the outreach area of Mission Santa Cruz overlapped with that of Mission Santa Clara to the north and that of Mission San Juan Bautista to the south. Chitac people from the San Martin/Gilroy area continued to be baptized at Santa Cruz in 1797 and 1798. The Pitacs of Gilroy were probably the same people as the Unijaima who began to be baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in 1797. They probably spoke Mutsun Costanoan, rather than Awaswas Costanoan, but we do not know because no vocabularies are available today.

Between 1799 and 1805, small groups of people moved to Mission Santa Cruz from the Coast Range in the present Coyote Reservoir area and the upper Pacheco Creek drainage further east, in what is now far southeastern Santa Clara County. One of the groups baptized at this time, Chipuctac, had so many kinship links to the Ausaimas at Mission San Juan Bautista that they must be considered a single community. These southeastern Santa Clara county Costanoans may have spoken dialects intermediate between the Tamyen dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language and the Mutsun Costanoan language, rather than Awaswas Costanoan.

Mission Santa Cruz outreach in the 1806-1808 period was east of the Coast Range crest in the San Luis Creek watershed. The main group from that area was Tomoi, a Costanoan group that also appeared in small numbers at Mission Santa Clara at that time. Another group baptized in the 1806-1808 period, called Locobo, seems to have been from the valley lands on San Luis Creek; they were probably Yokuts speakers (Milliken 1994).

---

[36] Levy (2002) argued that scores of children were taken from their tribal parents in these villages and brought to Mission Santa Cruz, but that the parents were never baptized. This conclusion is incorrect. The parents were baptized, usually two or three weeks later, following their catechism training. The incorrect conclusion was reached because the missionary scribes at Santa Cruz did not explicitly cross-refer parents to children. The parents are identifiable by their personal names, recorded in the children's baptismal entries and their own.

Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley at Santa Cruz

The year 1810 saw the largest wave of tribal baptisms at Mission Santa Cruz since 1795. The baptized people were Yokuts-speakers, Tejeys (alias Mayems) from the Gustine vicinity and Yeuratas (alias Chaneches) from the Los Banos area. These two groups also sent some members to other missions, Mayems to Santa Clara, and Chaneches to San Juan Bautista and Soledad. All baptisms slowed down during 1811-1816, due to hostility between the Spaniards and some unidentified San Joaquin River local tribes (Milliken 1993).

Fairly large groups of Yokuts speakers moved to Mission Santa Cruz between 1817 and 1821. They represented local tribes along the San Joaquin River, from the Merced River south to Fresno River. During the same years, Mission Santa Clara was also recruiting on the Merced River, while Mission San Juan Bautista was bringing in people from the more southerly portion of that area. Some of the Yokuts groups from this wide overlap area were labeled by completely different tribal names in the Mission Santa Cruz registers than in the registers of the other missions. Group name synonymy is recognized only by kinship linkages for people who later moved from one mission to another.

Mission Santa Cruz Yokuts baptisms reached their second peak in 1820. Of 93 tribal baptisms that year, the majority were from the lower Merced River Huocons (alias Apelamene at Santa Clara). Another group, Hupnis, seems to be a splinter group, but its alias at other missions has not been established. Remnant Mayems and Chaneches were also baptized that year, along with a few Sagims (alias and location unknown). Another 78 tribal Yokuts speakers were baptized in 1821, the last year of significant conversions at Mission Santa Cruz.

The Indian population of Mission Santa Cruz slowly shrank from 479 at the end of 1821 to 152 at the end of the year secularization was initiated, 1834. We cannot report the ratio of Costanoan-speaking survivors to Yokuts-speaking survivors among those 152 people, because Mission Santa Cruz death records have only been cross-referenced to baptismal records up through the end of 1825. By the end of 1825, tribally-born Yokuts speakers already outnumbered tribally-born Costanoan speakers by 234 to 161. Of the 161 tribally-born Costanoan speakers, 118 were males and 43 were females. Many Costanoan men were married to Yokuts women. Thus, the Cruzeño population at secularization was a mixed Costanoan-Yokuts group, similar to San Juan Bautista to the southeast and Santa Clara to the north.

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, FOUNDED IN 1797

Mission San Juan Bautista was founded in 1797 in the territory of the Motssum, the local tribe from which the name of the Mutsun Costanoan language derives. Between 1797 and 1840, a total of 2,781 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission (see Table 8 and Figure 2). The tribal people who went to the mission represented three language groups, predominately Mutsun Costanoan (1,504 people) and Northern Valley Yokuts (1,209 people), with a small number of Sierra Miwok (33 people) and people not identifiable to language (35 people). The members of these language families intermarried at the mission and came to be known as the *Juaneños*.

Years of Ohlone/Costanoan Proselytization

The local Motssum people were familiar with Spaniards by 1797. Mission Carmel had been in existence for 27 years some 28 miles to the south. Mission Santa Clara had been in place for 20 years 42 miles to the north and Mission Santa Cruz had been in place since 1791 some 27 miles to the west. Spanish post-riders often spent the night at Carnadero (near modern Gilroy) on their passage between the pueblo of San Jose and the Monterey Presidio. Spanish soldiers quelled a near-uprising along the Pajaro River, caused by the high pressure proselytizing of missionary Manuel Fernandez of Mission Santa Cruz, by making a few arrests in local villages in May of 1796. A few Motssums left their home

area and joined Mission Carmel between 1791 and 1797, as did some Pagsins and Ausaimes (see Figure 13). Most of them returned to help found San Juan Bautista, where they appear in the records as parents, godparents, spouses, and wedding witnesses (Milliken 1993:68-73).

Mission San Juan Bautista was established adjacent to the Mutsun town of Xisca in June of 1797. Large numbers of people were baptized during the mission's first six months, including 48 Motssums, 19 Ausaimas, 12 Pagsins, 12 Unijaimas, one Calendaruc and one Guacharron. The mission population grew steadily until September of 1798, when some Orestac men from the east side of the Coast Ranges killed a Christian Indian. A month later they killed some inhabitants of a non-Christian village near San Juan Bautista. Spanish troops raided the Orestac village in November, arresting some and killing the Orestac headman. New baptisms continued without pause over the remainder of 1798 and through 1799 (Milliken 1993:74).

The year 1800 witnessed the conversion of more Mutsun Costanoan speakers at Mission San Juan Bautista than any other year, 275 people. Among them were the last large groups of local Motssums, a very large segment of the Ausaimas just to the east, and the first large group of Pagsins to the south. In 1801 the direction of mission outreach changed to the west. Calendarucs from the Castroville and Moss Landing areas to the west, 88 strong, went to Mission San Juan Bautista. In 1802, with the non-Christian populations of local villages greatly reduced, the mission turned its attention to people east of the Coast Range crest, the Orestacs, Tamarox, and Ochentacs.

Kroeber (1925) mapped the hills east of the Coast Range crest as Yokuts territory, as did Latta (1949), and Chester King (1973). More recently Milliken (1994) has shown that all of the hill people east of Mission San Juan Bautisa, as far as the edge of the San Joaquin Valley, were Costanoan speakers. They were the Orestacs, Tamarox, and Ochentacs of the Mission San Juan Bautista baptismal register, and the Chabant (also spelled Chapana) people who went to both San Juan Bautista and Soledad missions. Mission San Juan Bautista reached its first peak population in 1805, at which time it had 1,112 inhabitants (Appendix F:Table 1).

Measles Epidemic and Period of Falling Population

Measles struck the mission in 1806, but it was not as deadly at Mission San Juan Bautista as it was at the Bay Area missions. The reported population dropped to 1,068 by the end of that year (Appendix F:Table 1). That figure might be inflated because many deaths during the year were not recorded. By the end of 1807, ten years after Mission San Juan Bautista's founding, all tribal villages as far as the edge of the San Joaquin Valley were empty. At the time, Mission San Juan Bautista was a Mutsun Costanoan and Spanish-speaking community (Milliken 1993, 1994).

The Mission San Juan Bautista population continued to drop steadily between 1808 and 1816 due to endemic high death rates and lack of immigration, to a low of 575 people (Appendix A:Table 1). During those years many Yokuts people from the San Joaquin River were moving to missions in Costanoan language family territory. Cholvon and Tamcan Yokuts were moving to Mission San Jose. Lamames and Tugites Yokuts were moving to Mission Santa Clara. Chaneches (Yeuratas) and Mayemas Yokuts were moving to Mission Santa Cruz. Chanech, Quihueth, and the unlocated Yesuas Yokuts were moving to Mission Soledad. Yet only a few Nupchenche and Chanech Yokuts appeared for baptism at San Juan Bautista between 1808 and 1816.

Era of Yokuts Population Predominance at San Juan Bautista

The migration of Yokuts speakers to Mission San Juan Bautista, which would involve many hundreds of people in later years, began in 1817. In that year 29 Yokuts speakers were baptized, most from the Eyulahua group of the Firebaugh vicinity in present Fresno County. Only seven tribal people, all from the Eyulaluas, were baptized in 1818. Among them was their headman, Bartolome Thregiae (SJB-B 2225). At the close of 1818 the reported Indian population of San Juan Bautista was

582, the great majority still being Mutsun Costanoans from the Pajaro River watershed and valleys of the inner Coast Ranges.

Really large groups of Yokuts speakers finally began arriving at Mission San Juan Bautista in the summer of 1819. Nopchenches from the heart of the marshlands east of Lost Banos predominated, but more Eyulahuas also came in, together with their southern neighbors the Copchas from Mendota, some Pitcaches and some Huechis. By the end of 1819 there were 110 new Yokuts members of the San Juan Bautista community. Another 176 were baptized in 1820, 299 in 1821, and 209 in 1822. The Yokuts people baptized over the 1819-1822 period came from a wide swath of San Joaquin Valley lands, from the Merced River on the north to the Fresno River on the south, and eastward all the way to the beginning of the Sierra foothills. Valley floor Yokuts-speaking villages in that vicinity were empty by the end of 1822, and the Mission San Juan Bautista population was 1,222 (Appendix F:Table 1).

Some people from the Sierra foothills in present Madera and Mariposa counties were baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in the summer of 1823. They included Chequisinthre (Chukchanci Yokuts), Potoyanthre, Nutunsthro, Sutununthro, and Thrayapthre. The latter four groups are unknown to later ethnography; their women and girls had Sierra Miwok personal name endings. One member of the Thrayapthres, Sexto Huoniths, later became the "interpreter of the third language" at San Juan Bautista, presumably Southern Sierra Miwok (SJB-B 3352, 3597). Small numbers of people from the foothill Yokuts and Miwok groups continued to go to the mission through the year 1828.

The Oyima were the last group to send significant numbers of people to Mission San Juan Bautista. They were Yokuts speakers from the Herndon area of the San Joaquin River, at the break of the foothills southeast of Madera. Including some inmarried people from neighboring groups, among them Chausila (Chowchillas), the Oyima sent over 50 people for baptism in 1828, 12 in 1829, 20 in 1830, and 19 in 1832.

At the beginning of secularization, the end of 1834, the population of living people at the mission who had been born in tribal villages included 463 Yokuts speakers, 354 Mutsun Costanoan speakers, and 9 Sierra Miwok speakers. No local Indian people had married any *gente de razon*. The parental languages of mission-born children at San Juan Bautista that year have not yet been identified. It is certain, however, that there were large numbers of multi-lingual Mutsun Costanoan/ Yokuts young people among the Juaneños when the mission was secularized.

MISSION SAN JOSE, FOUNDED IN 1797

Mission San Jose was founded in June of 1797 a few miles inland from the southeast shore of San Francisco Bay, 12 miles north of Mission Santa Clara, and 35 miles southeast of Mission Dolores. A total of 6,427 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1797 and 1840; they represented nine language groups, predominately Plains Miwok (2,492 people), San Francisco Bay Costanoans (1,316 people) and Northern Valley Yokuts (1,181 people), and smaller numbers of Coast Miwoks, Bay Miwoks, Patwins, Wappos, and Nisenans (see Table 8; see Figure 2). The Mission San Jose Indians and their early descendants came to be known colloquially as *Chocheños*.

Coast Range Baptisms and Anti-Mission Sentiment, 1797-1809

The first mission church at Mission San Jose was dedicated on June 11, 1797. It was founded at the location of Oroysom in the territory of the Alson local tribe of San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers (see Figure 12). Most of the Alsons had already moved to Mission Santa Clara between 1786 and 1796. Individuals from other nearby local tribes had also moved to Mission Santa Clara prior to the founding of Mission San Jose, including some Tuibuns of the Coyote Hills and some Causens of the Sunol region further inland. Most of these previously baptized individuals were

brought back north from Santa Clara to help found the new mission in their homeland (Milliken 1995:153, 235).

The distance between Mission San Jose and pre-existing Mission Santa Clara, at only 12 miles, was much shorter than the typical distance between Franciscan California missions. In 1797 Mission San Jose could not be built further north, say on San Leandro Creek or further inland in the Livermore Valley, because of the threat from the Saclan Bay Miwoks who had fled Mission Dolores in 1795 (see the "Migrations from Across the Bay" section of Chapter 4). In fact, no tribal people were baptized at Mission San Jose until the end of the summer, after a Spanish party attacked and overran the Saclan villages in July of 1797.

The first convert at Mission San Jose was Josefa Gilpae from the Jalquin/Irgins, the bilingual Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok group on San Leandro Creek. They had supplied fighters on the side of the Saclans in 1795. Josefa, baptized on September 2, 1797, immediately married a re-assigned Mission Santa Clara man from the present east San Jose area. It is possible that she was sent to the mission by the head families of the Jalquin/Irgins to signify their submission to the Spaniards. Be that as it may, another 32 tribal people were baptized before the end of 1797, including children and young adult Tuibuns, Souyens, Causens, and remnant Alsons.

The Mission San Jose population reached 460 by the end of 1801 (Appendix F:Table 1). The great majority of those first converts were local Tuibuns from the Fremont Plain/Coyote Hills and Jalquin/Irgins. Speakers of San Francisco Bay Costanoan from the interior Livermore Valley—Pelnans, Ssaoams, Souyens, and Taunans—made up most of the converts in 1802-1804. The mission population continued to grow through early 1806, as most of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan Ssaoams moved there, along with those Bay Miwok Volvons and Chupcans who did not go to Mission Dolores (see Figure 12).

In early 1805 another resistance to Spanish outreach was initiated in the East Bay, this time by the Luechas, San Francisco Costanoan speakers of the Corral Hollow area on the east side of the Coast Ranges. On January 14 some Luechas encountered a small Spanish party, ostensibly lost in the deep fog, in their territory. They attacked, killing Mission San Jose mayordomo Ygnacio Higuera and three Christian Indians, as well as wounding missionary Father Cueva. Higuera, one of only a handful of Hispanics married to a local Indian woman at the time, also became the first of the *gente de razon* to be killed by tribal people in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Luecha attack was countered by another Spanish military raid; the Luechas were attacked and crushed in the summer of 1805 (Milliken 1995:185-191).

Measles struck Mission San Jose in the spring of 1806, just as the first groups of Yokuts-speaking Cholbons were arriving from the San Joaquin River Delta area. The Cholbons fled and no new tribal people were baptized for the remainder of the year. Due to the epidemic, the 1806 year end population was almost 150 people lower than a year before (Appendix F:Table 1). Because only a few remaining elders from East Bay villages were baptized over the next few years, the Mission San Jose population continued to fall, dropping to 545 at the end of 1810. But Cholbon Yokuts again began coming for baptism in 1809, this time with their neighbors the Tamcan Yokuts.

Shift to Yokuts, Patwin, and Coast Miwok Baptisms, 1810-1822

In 1810 tribal people went to Mission San Jose from two directions. Cholbon, Tamcan, and Josmite Yokuts arrived from the San Joaquin River, and Chupcan, Julpun, and Ompin Bay Miwok speakers came down to Mission San Jose from the Diablo Valley and the western Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. Another new language group, Plains Miwok, appeared with the arrival of the Anizumne of the lower Sacramento River in 1812. Meanwhile, the original San Francisco Bay Costanoan population at the mission was shrinking. The mixed-language Mission San Jose population

topped 1,000 in 1812, reaching 1,172 by the end of the year. Also by the end of 1812, Delta Yokuts had surpassed San Francisco Bay Costanoan as the most common native language at the mission.

Small numbers of Yokuts speakers were baptized in 1813. Then, in an atypical pattern of mission outreach, in 1814 and 1815 people began to appear for baptism at Mission San Jose from local tribes north of San Pablo Bay. They were Chocoime (alias Sonoma) and Alaguali Coast Miwoks of the lower Sonoma Valley, as well as Napa Patwins of the lower Napa Valley. People from all three groups also appeared at Mission Dolores in the same time period. This unexpected split of Coast Miwoks and Patwins between Mission San Jose and Mission Dolores continued during 1816 and 1817, with Petaluma and Olompali Coast Miwoks, as well as Napa and Tolenas Patwins, moving to both missions. Also in 1816 and 1817, Anizumne and Chucumne Plains Miwoks moved to Mission San Jose from the Sacramento River to the northeast, and Nototomne and Pasasime Delta Yokuts arrived at the mission in large numbers from the San Joaquin River to the east.

The ethnic population of Mission San Jose rapidly changed during the 1815-1822 period, driven not only by immigration of new groups, but also by the continuous high mission death rate among infants and young women. At the close of 1817, the Mission San Jose population was 1,576. Of the native language speakers, 29% spoke Yokuts, 23% spoke Coast Miwok, 23% spoke Costanoan, 11% spoke Patwin, 11% spoke Plains Miwok, and 10% spoke Bay Miwok. With so many people amalgamated at Mission San Jose, the landscape was empty north as far as the Suisun Plain, northeast as far as Rio Vista, and east to the San Joaquin River. From 1818 through 1822, Mission San Jose outreach efforts were directed solely to the Yokuts groups in the present Stockton and Manteca areas. Among the Yokuts converts of 1821 was Estanislao Cucunuchi, age 28, of the Laquisemnes (SJO-B 4471), a man who would lead the next overt resistance to Hispanic control of central California. The Mission San Jose population at the end of 1822 was over 50% Yokuts.

Plains Miwok Predominance and Estanislao Revolt, 1823-1829

Mission San Jose switched its attention back to the Plains Miwok local tribes along the Sacramento River in 1823. During the very months that Father Altimira was setting up Mission San Francisco Solano in the North Bay, November of 1823 to August of 1824, nearly 400 Chucumne, Quenemsia, and Musupum Plains Miwoks were baptized at Mission San Jose (see Figure 12). A good portion of Mission San Jose's Coast Miwok and Patwin neophytes were transferred north to newly opened Mission San Francisco Solano in 1824. However, many Napas, Tolenas, Ululatos, Petalumas, Alagualis, Olompalis, and Choquoimes remained at Mission San Jose, where they show up in marriage and death records through the 1840s and beyond.

By the end of 1824, Mission San Jose had reached its peak population for the 1820s, at 1,806. The Delta Yokuts and Plains Miwok languages predominated, but significant numbers of Bay Costanoan, Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, and Patwin speakers were also present in the mixed language pool at the mission. At about this time, Mission San Jose stopped taking in remaining Yokuts speakers from the Staninslaus River area directly to the east, giving over that responsibility to Mission Santa Clara. Mission San Jose concentrated instead on the Plains Miwok groups, bringing in Quenemsias, Guaypems, Cosomnes, and Chilamnes from the northern Delta and the upper Calaveras River in 1825-1828.

The Estanislao revolt began in November of 1828, when the Laquisemnes of the lower Stanislaus River failed to return to Mission San Jose from their holiday trip to their homeland. The Laquisemnes, led by Estanislao Cucunuchi, were joined that winter by Christian Indian people from a number of other Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and San Joaquin River Delta Yokuts groups, fugitives from both Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara. Quickly branded rebels, they repulsed initial attempts of the Mexican military to force them back to the missions. The revolt ended in June of 1829 with a significant Mexican military victory on the Stanislaus River by Mariano Guadalupe

Vallejo (Cook 1962:168-180; Phillips 1993). Tribal baptisms in 1829 were limited to small numbers of Chilamne, Unisumne, and Guaypem Plains Miwoks.

Plains and Sierra Miwok Baptisms at Mission San Jose, 1830-1834

Plains Miwok migration to Mission San Jose continued from 1830 right up through the beginning of secularization and beyond, to the year 1840. In 1830 and early 1831 the largest of all the Plains Miwok groups, the Ochejamnes from north of Walnut Grove on the Sacramento, were baptized at Mission San Jose, 385 people in all (see Figure 12). The Ochejamnes had resisted the expansion of mission control throughout the 1820s. Because they harbored fugitive Christian Indians, Mexican soldiers attacked them in July of 1830 and defeated them with the aid of some neighboring tribes and American soldiers (Cook 1962:187). It was four months after that defeat that they began to be baptized in such large numbers at Mission San Jose.

Few tribal people were baptized at Mission San Jose in 1831 or 1832. A small, but diverse cohort of 37 tribal individuals were baptized in the summer of 1833; they were from a number of groups on the Sacramento River south of the American River, and the plains to its west. By the end of 1833 only one major valley group south of the American River remained intact, the Muquelemnes of the Lodi region. Spanish authorities had identified them as horse thieves and adversaries since 1819 (Cook 1960:280).

The next large wave of tribal baptisms at Mission San Jose began in the fall of 1834 and continued into 1835. The first mixed groups included remnant Ochejamnes and their Unisumne neighbors from the Sacramento River, as well as Seuamnes, Chilamnes, and Tihuechemnes from the Calaveras River vicinity. But the largest local tribe represented in the 1834-1835 wave of baptisms was the Muquelemne of the present Lodi region on the lower Mokelumne River. All in all, 163 Muquelemnes were baptized in late 1834 and early 1835.

Mission San Jose was largely a Plains Miwok mission at the end of 1834. Of a year-end population of 1,795, 59% spoke Plains Miwok. Another 18% spoke Delta Yokuts and 7% spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Smaller percentages spoke Patwin (5%), Coast Miwok (4%), Bay Miwok (3%), and Sierra Miwok (3%).[37] However, of children at the mission with parents from two different language groups, by far the greatest number had one San Francisco Bay Costanoan parent (35 people); 15 were children of Costanoan-Yokuts marriages, 12 were children of Costanoan-Bay Miwok parents, and 8 were children of Costanoan-Coast Miwok marriages. Only 21 children of all other language mixes were alive at the end of 1834.

SUMMARY: SEVEN PART-COSTANOAN COMMUNITIES IN 1834

This chapter has presented brief histories of six out of the seven missions that recruited speakers of Costanoan languages, their times of establishment, their population changes, and their native language make-up at the time of secularization. (Earlier chapters 5 and 6 provided more detailed information about the establishment of Mission Dolores, its San Francisco Peninsula

[37] The language representation at Mission San Jose reported here for the end of 1834 was determined using a subset of individuals in the missions database filtered to include all people baptized at Mission San Jose before the end of 1834 who could not be shown to have died or moved to another mission by the end of 1834, together with people shown to be living at Mission San Jose at the end of 1834 who had been baptized at missions Santa Clara (26 people), San Francisco (34 people), San Francisco Solano (2 people), or San Rafael (2 people). The filter resulted in a total of 1,886 people, 91 more than the official year-end report of 1,795.

converts, and its subsequent rapidly changing language makeup.) Comparative points about the size and language mixes of the six populations, and that of Mission Dolores, in 1834 are reiterated here. The missions are discussed in geographic order, from north to south.

- Mission Dolores reported a tiny population of 136 in 1834. Its language mix was approximatley 46% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (n = 63), 25% Coast Miwok, 12% Bay Miwok, 9% Patwin, 2% Wappo, and 1% Southern Pomo. Its native language diversity was second only to Mission San Jose.
- Mission San Jose reported a very large population of 1,795 in 1834, but its Costanoan-speaking subgroup was not large. Its language mix, based on a slightly larger population that included transfers from other missions, was approximately 59% Plains Miwok, 18% Delta Yokuts, 7% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (139 people), 5% Pawin, 4% Coast Miwok, 3% Bay Miwok, and 3% Sierra Miwok. This was the most diverse language mix of any mission community in our study area in 1834.
- Mission Santa Clara reported a large population of 1,108 in 1834, including the largest surviving Costanoan-speaking population. Its language mix was 55% Yokuts, 31% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (343 people), 11% Sierra Miwok, and 3% mixed Yokuts-San Francisco Bay Costanoan.
- Mission Santa Cruz reported a tiny population of 152 in 1834. Its language mix was approximately 60% Yokuts and 39% Awaswas Costanoan (58 people). Yokuts-Costanoan intermarriage was high, but specific figures have not been developed.
- Mission San Juan Bautista reported a mid-size population of 875 in 1834. Its language mix was approximately 58% Yokuts, 39% Mutsun Costanoan (about 340 people), 1% Sierra Miwok, and 2% mixed Yokuts-Mutsun Costanoan (18 people). The Costanoan-speaking segment was second only to that of Mission Santa Clara.
- Mission Carmel (San Carlos Borromeo) reported a tiny population of 188 in 1834. Its language mix at the time has yet to be quantified. Excluding a small number of Yokuts youths who seem to have been living with Hispanic families (14 people), the language mix was approximately 74% Rumsen Costanoan (140 people) and 26% Esselen.
- Mission Soledad reported a small population of 350 in 1834. The mission's 1834 language mix cannot be precisely reconstructed because its burial register is lost. Yokuts speakers, the most recent migrants, may have made up 50% of the population, while the earlier converted Chalon Costanoans may have made up about 37% (about 130 people), and the still-earlier baptized Esselens 13% of the population.

Missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista had the largest number of Costanoan language family speakers alive in 1834, in the neighborhood of 360 people each (if part-Costanoan offspring are included). The smallest Costanoan language family populations, on the other hand, were at missions Dolores and Santa Cruz; each had about 60 Costanoan speakers and descendents.

By 1834 the native Indian people of west-central California had developed a mission-based identity. The Doloreños of Mission Dolores were the product of a fusion of local San Francisco Bay Costanoans with large numbers of Bay Miwoks and Coast Miwoks, as well as smaller numbers of Karkin Costanoans and Patwins. This made them a somewhat different kind of people than the Chocheños of Mission San Jose, who were predominately Plains Miwoks intermarried with old San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Patwins and Delta Yokuts. Further south, each mission group in 1834 represented a distinct language mix. And each mission group had an identity built around its unique local mission experience (see also Lightfoot 2005:202).

Chapter 8. Secularization and the Rancho Era, 1834-1846

This chapter on the secularization and Rancho Era contains sections with a wide central California perspective and sections with a narrow San Francisco Peninsula perspective. The initial section follows the mission secularization process whereby Mission Indians lost legal title to their lands and became a servant class within the Hispanic community. The second section describes land grants received by Indian people in the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas. The third section examines various themes pertinent to the San Francisco Bay Area and the larger central California area. The fourth section documents secularization at Mission Dolores and the family groups of the San Francisco Peninsula Indian community up to 1840. The fifth and final section describes the Mission Dolores Indians and the San Francisco Peninsula landscape during the early and mid-1840s.

SECULARIZATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The first Spanish Franciscans to enter Upper California had intended to turn the local hunter-gatherer people into farmers, ranchers, craftsmen, and faithful practicing Catholic Christians. From the Franciscan point of view, mission lands and other secular properties were being held in trust until such time as the Indians became "people of reason" and full citizens of the Spanish Empire. The promise that mission lands would be returned to the Indians was codified by decree of the Spanish Cortes in 1813. That promise was also implied in a number of laws passed by the Mexican government in the 1820s and 1830s. Below, the subsections of this report section summarize the Mexican laws and statutes and describe the practical events that left the Indians of the California missions landless by 1846.

Prelude to Secularization

The first policy by the Mexican government that allowed some Mission Indians to break away from the mission communes was Governor Echendía's partial emancipation decree of 1826 that was referenced in the concluding section of Chapter 6. The policy allowed a limited number of latinized Indians to find work with Hispanic settlers. British visitor Frederick Beechey described his own understanding of the results of the partial emancipation in late 1826:

> Having served ten years in the mission, an Indian may claim his liberty, provided any respectable settler will become surety for his future good conduct. A piece of ground is then allotted for his support, but he is never wholly free from the establishment, as part of his earnings must still be given to them. We heard of very few to

> whom this reward for servitude and good conduct had been granted (Beechey [1826] 1831:22-23).

The partial emancipation policy was first applied only to the Monterey district and not other districts. It was extended to the other districts in 1828, but did not include Mission San Rafael or Mission San Francisco Solano on the northern frontier (Bancroft 1886:III:102).

On July 2, 1833 southern Mission Prefect Narciso Duran wrote Figueroa with regard to the difference of life quality of the Indians who were living at the missions and those who were emancipated and living in the pueblo of Los Angeles:

> I have seen with the greatest amazement that [the Indians who dwell in the pueblo of Los Angeles] . . . live far more wretched and oppressed than those in the missions. There is not one who has a garden of his own, or a yoke of oxen, a horse, or a house fit for a rational being. The equality with the white people, which is preached to them, consists in this, that these Indians are subject to a white comisionado, and are the only ones who do the menial work . . . All in reality are slaves, or servants of white men who know well the manner of securing their services by binding them a whole year for an advanced trifle . . . The benevolent ideas of the Government will never be realized, because the Indian evinces no other ambition than to possess a little more savage license, even though it involved a thousand oppressions of servitude (Duran [1833] in Geary 1934:137).

Duran's negative analysis of Indian ambition aside, it is clear that the mission system had not prepared emancipated Indians to live as small landholders or private entrepreneurs.

Secularization Law of 1833 and Regulations of 1834

The secularization law directing the closure of the California missions was passed by the Congress of Mexico on August 17, 1833. It was called the "Decree of the Congress of Mexico Secularizing the Missions." The law implied that each Indian mission community would become a town with its own government, much as the Indian pueblos of New Mexico were self-governing entities. Its 15 sections provided detailed directions for the establishment of parish churches, for the support of parish priests, and for the assignment of selected mission buildings "as an ayuntamiento-house, primary schools, public establishments, and work-shops" (Bancroft 1886:III:336-337). But it was silent regarding rules for the distribution of other mission property.

Regulations guiding implementation of secularization were passed by the California departmental legislature and signed by Governor Figueroa on August 9, 1834. The regulations were set in the "Provisional Ordinance for the Secularization of the Missions of Upper California," referred to hereafter as the "*Reglamento*. [Regulations]" It was a surprisingly balanced document that, had it been followed, would have guided the development of ejidos—communal land-holding pueblos—for the Catholic Indians around each mission. Below we quote some of the key directives from Bancroft's (1886:III:342-344) translation. Concepts regarding the distribution of property are found in directives 5, 6, and 7 as follows:

> Directive 5. To each head of a family, and to all over 20 years old, will be given from the mission lands a lot not over 400 nor less than 100 varas square. In common, will be given them enough land to pasture their stock. Ejidos [common lands] shall be assigned for each pueblo, and at the proper time propios [town lands] also.
>
> Directive 6. Among the same individuals there shall be distributed pro rata, according to the judgment of the gefe politico, one half of the live-stock, taking as a basis the latest inventories rendered by the missionaries.
>
> Directive 7. There will also be distributed to them, proportionally, half or less of the

existing chattels, tools, and seed indispensable for the cultivation of the ground.

So the Indians were to receive farm plots, half of the livestock and movable agricultural property, as well as "enough land to pasture their stock," the latter to be held in common. Although the Indians were to be emancipated, they were to continue to devote labor to common projects, according to Directive 16.

> Directive 16. The emancipated will be obliged to aid in the common work which in the judgment of the gefe politico may be deemed necessary for the cultivation of the vineyards, gardens, and fields remaining for the present undistributed.

The *Reglamento* formula, if followed with fairness and under direction of true leaders of the Indian communities, might have led to development of a practical ejido system at each mission pueblo.

What was to become of the other half of the movable wealth and the "unneeded" mission grazing lands under the 1834 *Reglamento*? Directive 8 states that it was to be reserved for disposal by the federal government.

> Directive 8. All the remaining lands and property of every kind will remain the charge and responsibility of the Majordomo or employee named by the gefe politico, at the disposal of the superior government.

Directive 9 called for the government to use this remaining mission wealth to generate revenue for the public good, i.e., to pay the salary of the majordomo [manager of the common property], parish priests, schools, and "other objects of public order and improvement".

It is not clear how the framers of the 1834 *Reglamento* planned to generate capital from the reserved property for "objects of public order." It is possible that the framers expected the recipients of privatized mission lands to be taxed in the future to pay for the parish priests, schools, and majordomo salary listed in Directive 9.

Systematic Hispanic Privitization of Mission Lands

Had the final secularization law and its accompanying enabling regulations been followed to the letter, the Indians of central California would have received large allotments of lands around each mission in accordance with the *ejido* (lands in common) landholding system. Instead, Hispanic families received the land in large private blocks, following the *haciendo* system. The ejido and haciendo landholding systems had developed along two separate paths in Mexico over the centuries of Spanish occupation. Much of Mexico's farm and ranch lands were concentrated in the hands of a few upper-class families as large estates under the hacienda system; under it the landless classes, Indians, mestizo, and mulattos, depended upon the land-owning patrons for tools, supplies, and homes on estate lands. In other parts of Mexico, individual families worked lands assigned by community governments, the lands being held under collective ownership in the ejido system. The communal ejido system developed in many areas where Indians had an agricultural life way, such as among 19 Indian pueblos in New Mexico that are now within the United States.

The distribution of mission lands did not unfold in the way that the 1834 *Reglamento* foresaw. After the death of Governor Figueroa in September of 1835, a series of commissioners worked with a series of governors and provincial legislatures up through 1846 to distribute most mission lands to well-placed Mexican citizens. Some Indian people did receive land titles in a few parts of California, but they were the exception and they seldom retained title for more than a few years.

Most San Francisco Peninsula lands were divided among private families during the 1838-1840 period (Figure 14). Governor Alvarado, who oversaw much of the redistribution of mission land, justified his distribution of vast mission ranch lands to non-Indians with the claim that the number of Indians at the missions had decreased, while the number of Hispanic inhabitants in need

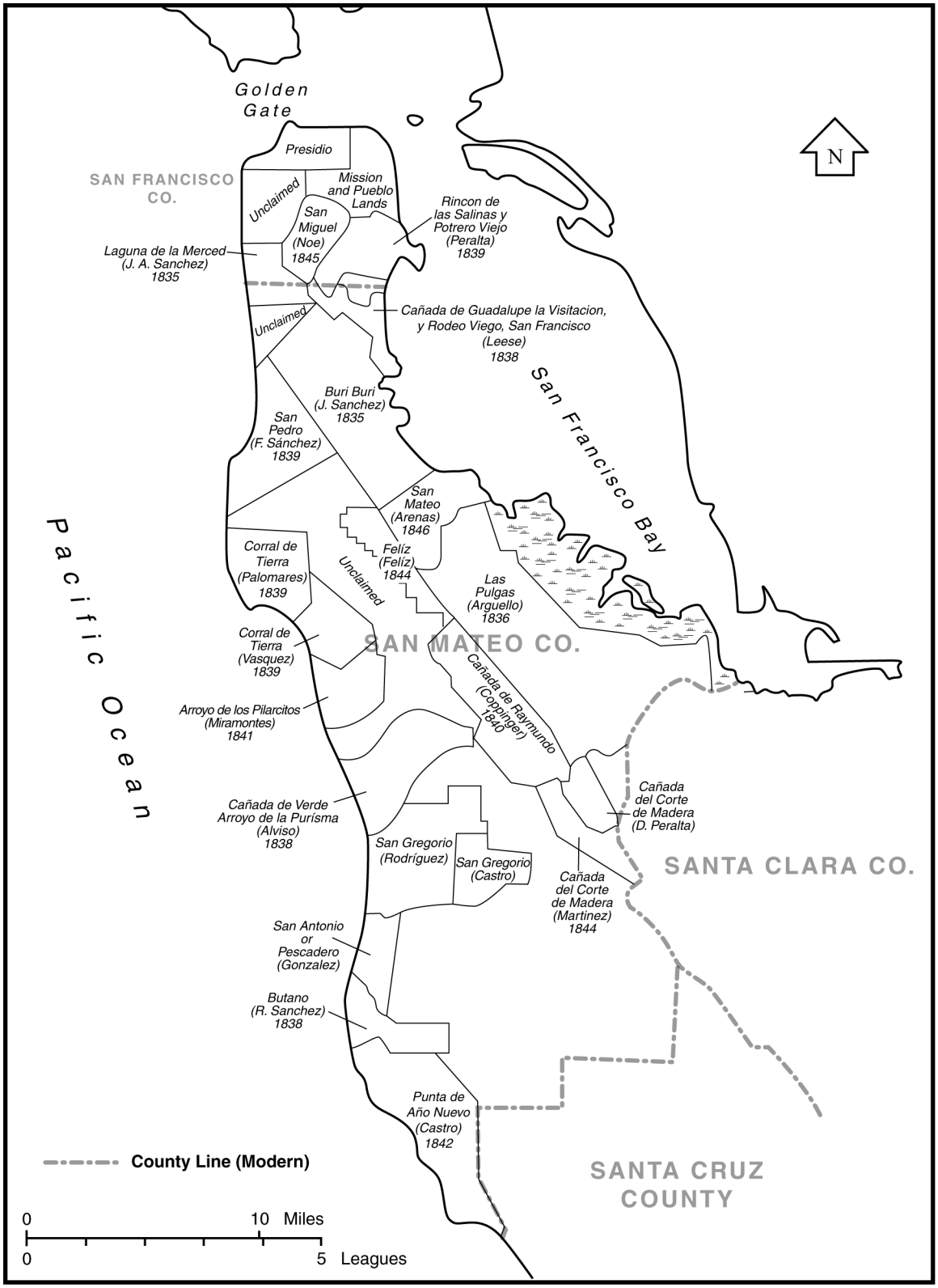

Figure 14. Spanish and Mexican Period Ranchos of San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.

had vastly increased. "It was a simple act of justice, made imperative by the circumstances, to take away lands from those who had too much and grant them to industrious persons who needed them for their horses and cattle" (Alvarado in Miller 1998:84).

The expropriation of mission lands and property accelerated the spread of the rancho system that had begun under Spanish rule, the socioeconomic structure in place when the United States took over California in 1846. The actual process of inventorying and distributing the properties was carried out at each individual mission by officials appointed by the governor. The process involved insider dealing and untruthful reports about the needs of the mission Indians. As one scholar later wrote:

> The great mass of the commissioners and other officials, whose duty it became to administer the properties of the missions and especially their great numbers of horses, cattle, sheep and other animals, thought of little else and accomplished little else than enriching themselves. It cannot be said that the spoliation was immediate; but it was certainly very rapid. A few years sufficed to strip the establishments of everything of value and leave the Indians, who were, in contemplation of law the beneficiaries of secularization, a shivering crowd of naked and, so to speak, homeless wanderers...the mission properties...soon began to find their way into the hands of private individuals; and the commissioners and officials in general began to grow rich (Hittell 1885 II:206-207, 209).

The list of people that obtained lands reads like a *Who's Who* of Hispanic California history. The largest San Francisco Bay Area land parcels, totalling 300,000 acres, were carved out of Mission San Francisco Solano lands north of the bay by Mariano G. Vallejo, one of the commissioners for the closure of that mission. In California at large, the largest land acreage, over 532,000 acres, was obtained by Pio and Andres Pico. Next in order of size were the grants to the de la Guerra family (at least 326,000 acres), the Yorba family (235,000 acres), Abel Stearns (200,000 acres), the Carrillo family (over 165,000 acres), Juan Bandini (over 130,000 acres), the Castro family (0ver 120,000 acres), the Arguello family (over 116,000 acres), the Lugos (over 100,000 acres), the Estradas (over 66,000 acres), the Ortegas (over 44,000 acres), and the Estudillos (over 35,000 acres).[38] Scores of other *Californio* families received smaller ranchos. The new landowners also took most of the tools and livestock of the missions.

Hispanic Rancheros and Mission Indian Peons

The emergent rancho system was unique to its place and time—California during the 1830s and 1840s. Since the large estates, whose key product was cattle, were the dominant economic and social units, the labor system typical on these ranchos defined social relations in society as a whole. Native people, whose labor had originally supported just the missionaries and soldiers stationed at the missions, became the labor source for all of the growing Hispanic population. As one contemporary later wrote:

> Some of the great ranchos of the country were baronial in their extent and surroundings. Their proprietors being great dignitaries, maintaining large numbers of vassals—for such they were, mostly Indians who, under Mexican majordomos, did all of the labor for the ranch (Bell 1881:288).

[38] The list of acreages per family has been gathered from Cowan (1956:20-112), Dunlap (1982:192), Hittell (1885 II:209, 753), and Monroy (1998:182).

The leading landowning families had large numbers of female Indian house servants. Francisca Carillo, wife of Mariano Vallejo, recounted servants in her home:

> Each child (of whom there were sixteen) has a personal attendant, while I have two for my own needs; four or five are occupied in grinding corn for tortillas, for so many visitors come here that three grinders do not suffice; six or seven serve in the kitchen, and five or six are always washing clothes for the children or other servants; and finally, nearly a dozen are employed at sewing and spinning (quoted in Caughey and Caughey 1976:105).

The most common relationship between patrons and working Indians was a type of peonage, personal dependence on a master, although there were small numbers of both Indian wage laborers and Indian slaves (Cook 1943b:48-52; Pitt 1966:15-16; Castillo 1978a:105; Hurtado 1988:55-71; Phillips 1981:37-38; Hackel 1998:134). Reciprocal obligations were central to the peonage system. The Indian peon typically received food, clothing, some land use rights and basic supplies from the master in exchange for his labor. Ranchero Salvador Vallejo, brother of Mariano Vallejo, described the relationship:

> Many of the rich men of the country had from twenty to sixty Indian servants whom they dressed and fed... Our friendly Indians tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for our homes, ground our grain, slaughtered our cattle, dressed their hides for market, and made our unburnt bricks; while the Indian women made excellent servants, took good care of our children, made every one of our meals... Those people we considered as members of our families. We loved them and they loved us (Salvador Vallejo in Cook 1943b:51).

In many cases, emancipated mission Indians who had lived in an area all their lives simply transferred allegiance at secularization from the mission to the new local ranch owner. The new hierarchy replaced the missionaries with the head of a Californio family. In the new system, however, the paternalism of the master was a key factor, since the Indian peons were not tied to the institution in the same way that they had been tied to the mission system.

As the missions disintegrated after the fall of 1834, the Indians at each one were cast adrift. They had to find ways to survive. In the new rancho world, where land and goods were owned by the Hispanic patrons, local Old Christian Indians and those new neophytes who did not want to return to the Central Valley saw the patrons as necessary for their survival, and thus became willing participants in their own exploitation. If the Indian family was originally from a rancho location, an added incentive tied them to the patron, the sense that they belonged to that specific place. Becoming a peon on a Californio's rancho was often the only viable option.

Final Secularization Act of 1845

Pio Pico, who succeeded Manuel Micheltorena as Upper California governor in February of 1845, oversaw the final conversion of all mission lands to non-church properties and conversion of some church buildings to diocesan parish churches, and the sale of others as abandoned property. Bancroft (1886:IV:546-547) writes, "The remnants of property were small and unequally distributed; many of the estates were burdened with ever increasing debts; the Indians fit for work were few and unmanageable; and the friars were old, worn-out, discouraged men, utterly incompetent to overcome the obstacles that beset their path as administrators."

Creditors and citizens desirous of property pushed Pico for final secularization. Pico sent two emissaries to the prefects of the missions, to secure support for some orderly plan to close them or rent them to provide resources for impoverished Indians. Bancroft describes Pico's motives as follows:

> He saw in the mission estates a source of possible revenue to be utilized by the government in emergencies; while the padres, representing the Indians, opposed a change, if at all, only because of fear that their wards might be cheated out of their rights (Bancroft 1886:IV:547).

Southern mission Prefect Narciso Duran refused to cooperate with Pico. The following quote from Bancroft paraphrases Duran's response.

> [Duran] was surprised that a governor ad interim should dare to undertake such innovations, and declared the real motive to be clear—"the master-key which opens all windows to see, not through a screen, but the clearest crystal, the mystery lurking behind the absolute liberty of the Indians." Their ideas of liberty were those of school-boys glad when the master is sick and school closed. The 'new masters' will have use only for the strong and well; what is to become of the rest? He would never consent to a sale of the missions, which belong, not to the nation, but to the Indians (Bancroft 1886:IV:548).

Nevertheless, Pico pressed forward toward full secularization/privatization. The California legislature passed the following resolution regarding complete secularizaton/privatization on May 28, 1845:

1. The Indians of San Rafael, Dolores, Soledad, San Miguel, and Purísima are warned to reunite and occupy those mission within a month, or they will be declared mostrencas (ownerless, i.e., abandoned) and disposed of for the general good of the department.
2. Carmelo, San Juan Bautista, San Juan Capistrano, and Solano are to be considered pueblos at present; and after reserving a curate's house, church, and courthouse, remaining property shall be sold at auction for the payment of debts, the surplus being devoted to the support of divine worship.
3. The rest of the missions may be rented at the option of the government; and the Indians shall be free to work for the renters, on the lands to be assigned them, or for other persons.
4. The principal building of Santa Bárbara is reserved for the bishop and the padres, and the rent of this mission is to be equally divided between the church and the Indians.
5. The product of the rents [of all missions] shall be divided into three equal parts, one for the support of the minister and of worship, one for the Indians, and one for the government, to be devoted to education and the public welfare, after the payment of debts.
6. The first part shall be placed at the disposal of the prelates for equitable distribution (Bancroft 1886:IV:549-550).

This resolution of 1845, allowing the government to rent some remaining mission lands with benefit to the Indians, contained an echo of the positive principals of the Secularization Act of 1833 and Figeroa's 1834 *Reglamento*. While retention of some lands as rentals gave no land control to Indians, it suggested a possible future in which Indians would find themselves free citizens in towns with enough ejido lands to provide a decent communal living. The resolution led, however, to the October 1845 decree ordering the final sale of Mission Dolores property, which will be discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter.

SHORT-LIVED INDIAN LAND GRANTS

While vast tracks of former Indian lands were divided among the Hispanic citizenry, a small number of Indians did receive land grants in former Costanoan lands during the 1840s. Two rancho

grants were given to Indians who had been baptized at Mission Dolores but had moved north to their homelands in the Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano areas. Another four rancho grants were given to Mission Santa Clara Indians. And one small plot of land near Mission San Jose was granted, ejido style, to a group of Mission San Jose Indians.

Five of the seven San Francisco Bay Area Indian land grants were recognized later by the U.S. Land Commission, while two were not. None of the San Francisco Bay Area grantees still held their land in the 1850s. Land grants of various kinds to Indians in the Monterey Bay Area were also lost to non-Indians by the 1850s.

North Bay Grants to ex-Mission Dolores Indians

One of the two Mission Dolores Indians who received a grant was Teodorico Quilaguequi, a Huimen Coast Miwok man who had been baptized at San Francisco at age 8 back in 1798 (SFR-B 3310). Teodorico was the son of Quilajuque, a Huimen who had been baptized Juan Antonio (SFR-B 4859). He had raised a family at Mission Dolores in the 1820s (Appendix F:Table 14, Family 18) and when his wife died, had returned north to Mission San Rafael to have a second family with Micaelina Chuguimen (SRA-B 921), a Pomo-speaking woman from the mouth of the Russian River.

Teodorico was the leader of a group that received Rancho Nicasio by order of Governor Figueroa in 1835. Documents indicate that Mariano Vallejo took control of the land "in trust" for them in 1837, then returned only one square league to them in 1840 as "Tinicasia." In 1844, Governor Micheltorena assigned the entire Nicasio grant to Pablo de la Guerra and Juan Cooper, with no reference to the Indian title. Timothy Murphy brought a claim before the U.S. Land Commission for the Tinicasia grant on behalf of Teodorico and his Indian associates, but that claim was rejected in 1855 (Dietz 1976).

The other Mission Dolores Indian who received a land grant in the North Bay was Francisco Solano, commonly called Solano. Solano is celebrated in California history as an ally of Mariano Vallejo in conquering the tribal Indians north of the Sonoma frontier. Solano was a Suisun Patwin who had been baptized at San Francisco at age 11 in 1810 (SFR-B 4024). He was one of the people sent back north in 1823 to help found Mission San Francisco Solano. By 1826 he was one of the alcaldes of Mission San Francisco Solano, as documented in a baptismal record noting him as a godparent (SFS-B 194).

Mariano Vallejo petitioned Governor Alvarado, in January of 1837, to give Solano title to Rancho Suisun, the former Mission San Francisco Solano outstation of Santa Eulalia.

> Being a free man and working a sufficient number of cattle and horses to establish a Rancho, he solicits from the strict justice and goodness of Your Honor, that you please grant him the land of "Suisun" together with its known appurtenances ... Said land belongs to him by hereditary right from his ancestors, and he is actually in possession of it (Land Case 2 ND).

Vallejo petitioned as the Mission San Francisco Solano commissioner for secularization. He stated in a later memoir that Francisco Solano had earned the grant by leading Christian Indian auxiliaries to help Vallejo defeat hostile northern tribes in 1835 (Vallejo 1850).

Francisco Solano received title to Rancho Suisun on January 28, 1842 (Land Case 2 ND, page 2). Just four months later, in May of 1842, Vallejo bought the land from him. Jesús Molino, one of Vallejo's North Bay associates, controlled Rancho Suisun during the mid-1840s (Rensch and Rensch 1938:21-22). One might question, in retrospect, whether Vallejo ever intended for Solano to retain ownership of the land.

Santa Clara Valley Indian Grants

In the Santa Clara Valley, four tracts of Mission Santa Clara land were granted to Indian people, all during the 1840s.

- Rancho La Purisima Concepcion, in the Los Altos area on the west side of the valley, was granted to Jose Gorgonio, who had come to Mission Santa Clara from the "San Bernardino" district with his father in 1790, when he was two years old (SCL-B 1721).
- Rancho Los Coches, in the present south San Jose area, was granted in 1844 to Roberto, who had been born at a tribal village in that precise area back in 1782, and baptized at Santa Clara in 1785 (SCL-B 791).
- Rancho Posolmi, north of the present San Jose airport, was granted in 1844 to another long-time Christian Indian of Mission Santa Clara, Inigo (SCL-B 1501).
- Rancho Ulistac, a large tract along the lower Guadalupe River, was granted in 1845 to Marcelo, son of the former headman of Mission Santa Clara's "San Francisco Solano" district in that very area (SCL-B 1360; SCL-B 4577).

By the time of the U.S. land case investigations in the 1850s, these lands were in control of Juan Briones, Antonio Suñol, Robert Walkinshaw, and J. D. Hoppe, respectively (see Shoup and Milliken 1995).

A Mission San Jose Parcel License

No formal ranchos were granted to any Mission San Jose Indians. However, a written license was written in 1844 by Father Muro to one group of Mission San Jose Indians that gave them the right to farm along Mission Creek:

> I concede a necessary license to Buenaventura, Meliton, Martin, Eusebio, Polycarpo, Lorenzo, and Epifanio and their respective families that they may at a distance about a quarter of a league from this Mission on the road leading to the Arroyo de la Alameda live together working the land they may want for the maintenance of themselves and their families apart from the work of community doing this favor particularly for the three first, Old Christians, for having proved to be constant in the work of the Mission since their childhood, besides their obedience and willingness in the services of their Superiors. And in proof thereof at the request of the same parties interested, I give them this writing at the Mission of San Jose, the 2nd day of the Month of November 1844 (signed) Fr. Miguel Muro (Land Case 290 ND).

The head of the group, Buenaventura, had been baptized in 1798 at age 2 (SJO-B 161). As of 1844 he was one of the few survivors of the original villagers in the immediate Mission San Jose vicinity.

The Buenaventura group's license was purchased as a land title by a North American in 1849 and presented before the U.S. Land Commission in 1855 (Land Case 290 ND). The title was rejected by the Land Commission. The license is important as a possible example of the type of short-term private utilization of common lands that would have arisen if an ejido system had been allowed to develop at Mission San Jose.

Monterey Bay Area Indian Land Grants

Most Indians of Mission Carmel worked on Mexican ranches or in the town of Monterey after secularization. However, a small group of Indian people obtained land. Most received parcels through assignment from the mission secularization commissioner, a means that was not

accompanied by outright land title. Hackel (2005:390-392) found evidence that five Indians successfully petitioned for titled ranches.

> Hints of Indian landownership in the Monterey region surfaced during the inquiry into the title of the very small Rancho el Tucho, located along the banks of the Salinas River, several miles inland from Monterey Bay. In 1843, José Joaquín Buelna had declared that two Carmel Indians were granted land there in 1840. Apparently, though, soon therafter, one grantee had moved to Santa Cruz, the other to San Jose. Similarly, San Carlos Indians also seem to have been granted land they later abandoned on Rancho Los Laureles, located east of the mission up the Carmel Valley. In all of these instances, Carmel Indians at some time held parts, if not all, of these ranchos, but the Indians' identities are lost, as are the circumstances of their use and abandonment of their land (Hackel 2005:390).

Names of some other Mission Indians associated with Mission San Carlos who were successful in obtaining and holding land title are known. One example was Cristina Salgado, a Baja California Indian descendent born at Mission San Luis Obispo who moved to Mission Carmel and married Gaspar Talatis, an Esselen speaker, in 1819. The couple was emancipated and lived in San Jose in the mid-1820s. They then moved to the mission sheep ranch of Las Salinas, west of Castroville, where Talatis died in 1827. After secularization, Cristina Salgado was given title to Rancho Rincón de Las Salinas. She maintained a successful cattle ranch, sold the property to Rafael Estrada in 1844, and continued to live in her house on the property until her death (Hackel 2005:391-407).

Some Mission Carmel Indians who managed to secure pieces of land faced attempts at land theft by unscrupulous Hispanic citizens. Those Indians who were able to hold land did so with the support of influential members of the Hispanic community of the Monterey Bay Area. Most Carmel Indians who obtained land held it for less than a decade. Only one family held land for many decades after secularization, the family of Loreta Onesimo and James Meadows; the husband in that family was an English seaman who jumped ship in Monterey in 1837 (Hackel 2005:404-405).

MISCELLANEOUS THEMES OF THE RANCHO ERA

Three Experiential Classes of Indians

By the 1840s the native people of lands now within the state of California fell into three separate experiential groups, depending upon their degree of experience within the previous Franciscan mission system. The three groups—*Christianos antiguos* (old Christians), *Christianos nuevos* (new Christians), and *gentiles* (non-Christian)—may be defined as follows:

Christianos Antiguos (Old Christians): Church baptismal entries of the 1830s and 1840s label certain parents and godparents as *Chistianos Antiguos*. The old Christian Indians were Spanish speakers who had baptized at a mission during or prior to the early 1820s (or the child of such a person) and were committed to the values that missions had tried to instill. After secularization they worked in the households and on the ranchos of Hispanic citizens.

Christianos Nuevos (New Christians): The new Christians were tribal people who had been baptized during the last ten to 15 years of mission activity. Their proficiency in Spanish and acceptance of Catholicism varied with length of time spent at a mission and individual interest. At secularization, most of them, but not all, went back to their homelands, some to lead the many horse raids against the Coast Range ranchos. Others, however, remained at the Hispanic towns and ranchos as laborers. Some new Christian women married into old Christian families.

Non-Christians: The non-Christians were the tribal Indian people who had never been baptized by the Franciscans (or by Russian priests in the Bodega Bay and Fort Ross areas). The non-

Christians included most Pomoan people from north of the present towns of Cloverdale and Middletown in the North Coast Ranges, Patwins from north of Woodland , Nisenans from north and east of Sacramento, Sierra Miwoks, Western Monos and Foothill Yokuts from the Sierra Nevada, and the many groups of far northern and transmontane eastern California.

During the Rancho Period over half of the modern territory of California was still in the hands of non-Christian Indians, tribal people who had never moved to any mission or learned a non-Indian language. Those groups were not living in pristine conditions, however. Their numbers had been lowered during Hispanic times, reduced by new diseases that were constantly spreading by indirect contact with Western populations.

Hispanic Intermarriage with Central California Indians

Very few marriages occurred between Hispanic people and California Indian people at the seven Costanoan area missions. A total of 11,355 marriages are documented at the missions from Soledad north to San Francisco Solano prior to 1841, with the following ethnic breakdown:

- Both spouses were California Indians in 10,649 marriages.
- Both spouses were *gente de razon* (mostly Hispanic, occasionally North American or English after 1820) in 636 cases.
- One spouse was a California Indian, the other a *gente de razon* in 43 cases.
- One spouse was a Baja California Indian, the other a California Indian in 25 cases.
- Both spouses were Baja California Indians in one case.
- One spouse was a *gente de razon*, the other a Baja California Indian, in one case.

Of the 43 cross cultural California Indian-Hispanic marriages at missions from Soledad north to San Francisco Solano, Hispanic men married Indian women in 38 cases, and Indian men married Hispanic women in 5 cases (Appendix F:Table 16).

Seven of the cross cultural Indian-Hispanic marriages occurred at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 16). No offspring resulted from five of the marriages, all of which took place between 1779 and 1806. One of the marriages that did produce offspring was between Mexican blacksmith Jose Ramos and local woman Francisca Maria of the Aramai village of Timigtac (present-day Rockaway Beach, San Mateo County). Ramos died soon after their son Pablo Antonio (SFR-B 410) was born. Pablo Antonio, who was not himself considered *gente de razon* in the records, had many children with three successive wives. The other Indian-Hispanic marriage at Mission Dolores was between a Mission San Jose Indian woman, Maria Ygnacia (a Souyen San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and Hispanic Felipe Garcia of Monterey (SCA-B 659). After a wedding at Mission Dolores in 1813 they had three daughters, one of whom, Maria Francisca Trinidad (SFR-B 5198), later married an Hispanic man with the surname German. Their children survived to have descendants into the twentieth century, some with the Buelna surname.

Among the 25 central California marriages involving Baja California mission Indians and California mission Indians, three took place at Mission Dolores on April 18, 1779 (SFR-M 15-17). Participants and descendants were:

- Raymundo Morante married Maria Inez Puruem of Yelamu (SFR-B 77); one child, Antonio de Padua Morante (SFR-B 160), survived to adulthood.
- Cipriano Agraz married Maria Rosa de Viterbo (SFR-B 61) from Halchis; no children survived to adulthood.
- Joaquin Fabian married Ana Maria from Amuctac in Visitation Valley (SFR-B 22); no children survived to adulthood.

No marriages or offspring have been identified for Antonio Morante, who died at San Mateo in 1845 (SFR-D 5480). Pablo Antonio Ramos, however, married twice and did have children still known to be alive in the 1830s.

San Francisco Bay Costanoans also married Hispanics at two other missions, San Francisco Solano and Santa Clara. At San Francisco Solano a woman who was part Baja Indian, part Saclan Bay Miwok, and part Timigtac San Francisco Bay Costanoan from Mission Dolores named Leandra Ventura (SFR-B 4179) married Hispanic soldier Jose Rafael Robles in 1825 at Mission San Francisco Solano in the North Bay (Appendix F:Table 16). Their possible offspring have not been traced. Five Mission Santa Clara marriages involved Hispanics and San Francisco Bay Costanoans, all late in the Mission Period (1815 and later). All were exceptional for California during the Mission Period, in that they involved Indian men and *gente de razon* women. In three of the cases, the *gente de razon* women in the marriages were themselves part-Costanoan by ancestry (Appendix F:Table 16).

At Mission Carmel, 13 Hispanic men married Rumsen Ohlone women, one Hispanic man married a Yuma Indian women, another married a Tongva Shoshonean woman from Los Angeles, and still another married a Nootka Indian woman from present British Columbia, all prior to the year 1800 (Appendix F:Table 16). The descendants of those 16 marriages were raised as *gente de razon*. By 1846 the descendants of the early Mission Carmel soldier-Indian marriages represented scores of members of the Hispanic community in the Monterey and San Francisco Bay Areas.

We have not studied the effect of part-California Indian ancestry on the ability of *gente de razon* individuals to advance in the military or government, or to eventually secure rancho lands. We note that Lizbeth Haas (1995) studied the varied genetic backgrounds of early Hispanic migrants into California and concluded that lighter-skinned individuals had advantages in securing position and wealth.

Indian Boatmen on San Francisco Bay

The shipping business for the hide-and-tallow trade was important on San Francisco Bay in the mid-to-late 1830s. Historic memoirs emphasize the role of William A. Richardson in that trade. Richardson ran a launch manned by ex-mission neophytes. Baptized at Mission Dolores in July of 1823, Richardson married Maria Antonia Martinez in May of 1825 (SFR-M 2012), thus becoming the son-in-law of Commandante Ignacio Martinez and the brother-in-law of Jose Joaquin Estudillo, the first secularization commissioner of Mission Dolores in 1834-1835. He first hired out as a pilot on the bay between 1827 and 1829. He then moved to San Gabriel Mission in Southern California (Bancroft 1886:IV:694).

Richardson returned to San Francisco Bay in 1835, where he gained access to some launches in order to help move settlers north to found the pueblo of Sonoma. It is not clear when Richardson became a launch owner in his own right. Bancroft described his business and his dependence on Indian boatmen:

> His business was the collection of produce from points about the bay to make up the cargoes of trading vessels by the aid of Indian crews who navigated two or three old launches belonging to himself and the missions. His Indians had a temascal, or bath-house, at the foot of Sacramento Street, the water front being the present Montgomery street (Bancroft 1886:III:709).

Clearly, mission Indian men worked for Richardson in the middle and late 1830s, at a time when the missions were under control of administrators. Were the Indian boatmen hired out by the administrators, or were they emancipated?

Richard Henry Dana, a crewman on a Boston hide-and-tallow trade ship, was under the impression that the launches on San Francisco Bay were still under the control of the missions when he visited in December of 1835. He wrote:

> The mission of San Francisco, near the anchorage, has no trade at all, but those of San José, Santa Clara, and others, situated on large creeks or rivers which run into the bay, and distant between fifteen and forty miles from the anchorage, do a greater business in hides than any in California. Large boats, manned by Indians, and capable of carrying nearly a thousand hides apiece, are attached to the missions, and sent down to the vessels with hides, to bring away goods in return (Dana [1840] 1869:221).

Dana described Richardson's presence at the future site of downtown San Francisco. He noted that "an enterprising Yankee, years in advance of his time, had put up, on the rising ground above the landing, a shanty of rough boards, where he carried on a very small retail trade between the hide ships and the Indians" (Dana 1869:375). Richardson built the first adobe building at the place, then called Yerba Buena, in 1836 (Dana 1869:380). He was named Captain of the Port by M. G. Vallejo in 1837. At that time he obtained Rancho Sausalito at the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula.

William Heath Davis reminisced years later about Richardson's relationship with the Indian boatmen who worked for him.

> The Captain had eight trained Indians, who had become proficient boatmen. They lived on the premises at the Captain's home in Sausalito…. These Indians would do anything to serve and please the Captain. He was kind to them and they loved him (Davis 1929:13).

No list of the names of Richardson's Indian boatmen in the 1830s exists. Earlier Bay Area mission death register entries do occasionally note individual *lancheros* [boatmen]. An 1836 Mission San Francisco Solano census listed Pablo Caguampis, a Carquin from Mission Dolores (SFR-B 3735), as the *Patron de Lanchas* [Boss of the Launches] (Anonymous 1836). It is likely that Richardson drew his boatmen from the ranks of *Christianos Antiguos* who had manned the launches for missions up through the early 1830s. It would not be surprising if many of them were Carquins, given the large number of people from that water-oriented group still alive at missions Dolores and San Francisco Solano in 1834.

Indian Horse Raiders on the Frontier

The Coast Range ranchers of the 1836-1846 period were constantly harassed by Indians from the Central Valley who stole their livestock, primarily horses. Tribal people from the Central Valley had been raiding Coast Range stock ranches long before the missions closed. Yokuts groups from the present Los Banos area raided Mission San Juan Bautista as early as 1812. In 1819 the Spaniards raided the Moquelemne Plains Miwoks in the present Lodi region east of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, to punish them for stock raiding. But stock raiding increased sharply following the partial secularization of the missions in 1834-1836.

Numerous reports of the late 1830s and early 1840s document Indian horse raids into the East Bay and Mexican counter-raids against native villages in the Central Valley (Cook 1960:190). Charles Wilkes, head of the visiting U.S. Navy South Seas Exploring Expedition, was told in 1841 that ex-neophytes were involved in the horse raiding:

> Many of them [displaced Mission Indians] have joined the wild Indians, and are now committing acts of violence on the whites; they are becoming daily more daring, and have rendered a residence in single farm-houses or estancias not without danger... a month previous to the arrival of the squadron, they had driven off three

hundred horses (Wilkes 1845:173).

The main post-secularization horse raiders into the San Francisco Bay Area were members of local tribes that had been partially absorbed into Mission San Jose, then sent home to the Central Valley in 1836-1837. They were Moquelemne, Chilamnes, and Seuamne Plains Miwoks. The Delta Yokuts tribes that had gone to Mission San Jose between 1812 and 1826 were too depleted in numbers to cause much trouble in the late 1830s. Further south, Northern Valley Yokuts groups (Oyima, Chausila, and Geuche) raided the ranches of the San Juan Bautista and Soledad vicinities. None of the Central Valley tribal groups that became horse raiders had been baptized at Mission Dolores.

When the most recent converts from the Central Valley were released from the missions at secularization, they returned home without the items necessary to take traditional life up again, such as cutting tools and baskets, and with their old tribal social and economic networks disrupted. A British exploratory party encountered one such returned tribal group on the Sacramento River near its confluence with the American River in November of 1837. Captain Edward Belcher described the group:

> They appeared as if they had just returned from plundering the dresses of a theatre, being partially clothed in shirts, jackets, trousers, &c; in many instances wearing but half of one of the articles; the effect of which, in the case of trousers, was ridiculous in the extreme. Those who could not sport these grotesque dresses, were fancifully decorated with those pigments which wood fires produce, and which, when nearly dry, was scored off, thus displaying skeletons, tatoos, &c; some indeed exhibited the new patterns of fancy shirts very admirably imitated (Belcher 1843:126).

The people Belcher described were probably a mixture of Gualacomne, Ochejamne, and Chupumne Plains Miwok speakers newly turned out from Mission San Jose.

Slave Trade for Indian Labor

Tribal people living on the margins of the rancho world seem to have been the source groups for a virtual slave trade in captured youths from the North Coast Ranges and the Sierra Nevada that emerged during the late 1830s and continued into the 1850s. The marginal area stretched on an arc from the Russian River Valley and Clear Lake on the north (lands of Pomo speakers), to the present Colusa and Yuba City areas in the mid-Sacramento Valley, then around to the foothills of the Sierra Nevada east of Sacramento and Stockton.

Among those who sold captured children in the 1840s was Augustus Sutter, who sold Indian children to his Hispanic creditors around San Francisco Bay (Bancroft 1886:IV:544). Many others also engaged in the practice, including Hispanic families and some of the North Americans who settled along the northern frontier in Sonoma. Maria Angela Colos, a Mission San Jose Indian woman, remembered young tribal Indians brought in to Mission San Jose during her youth, probably during the late 1840s or early 1850s:

> She saw a wagon filled with Indian children coming from Martinez. Dona [blank] was in the seat. They were bringing them como (like) animals to be bought up by Spanish Californians. After they got out of the wagon [Angela] was watching and listening carefully ... to overhear what they would say. They mentioned water as *mem*, they wanted some water to drink. They were naked (Harrington 1921-29]:III-14).[39]

[39] *Mem* is the Wintu (Northern Wintuan) word for water (Schlichter 1981:386).

Mission San Jose records between 1830 and 1856 show no less than 25 Indian "orphans" of non-Christian parents brought for baptism by the Amadors, Bernals, Higueras, Livermores, and Welches. Nine of the 25 listed children were explicitly stated to be adopted, all between 1841 and 1845.

At Mission Dolores, 14 "orphaned" Indian children (7 boys and 7 girls) between the ages of 3 and 14 were baptized over the 1838-1853 time period. Their godparents included citizens Augustus (Ignacio) Andrews, Francisco Avila, Antonio Cibrian, Nazario Galindo, Juan Prado Mesa, and Toribio Tanferan (or their wives). No proof exists that any of these children had been brought in through capture, but the pattern suggests that many were.

At the close of the Mexican Period, almost every Hispanic household in the San Francisco Bay Area contained Indian servants. There is no way of knowing how many of the house servants were captured orphans from the distant interior and how many were emancipated *Christianos Antiguos*.

PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1830S

Mission Dolores Indians in 1834 had every reason to believe that their traditional lands would be given back to them when the Franciscan missions were closed. The Secularization Act and the succeeding 1834 *Reglamento* suggested, on paper, that mission lands and other property would be turned over to the Indians, minus a small portion necessary to pay for churches, schools, and management of the transition. Yet no lands were ever returned to any surviving descendant of the San Francisco Peninsula people or any other San Francisco Bay Costanoans of Mission Dolores.

In this section we will describe how secularization developed at Mission Dolores, with special attention to the loss of mission lands on the San Francisco Peninsula and the 1839 and 1840 visits of mission inspector William Hartnell to the mission lands. We finish the section with an overview of the Indian families who were living on the Peninsula during the 1830s.

Mission Dolores Secularized and Presidio Deactivated, 1834-1835

Joaquin Estudillo was appointed commissioner in September of 1834 to inventory Mission Dolores and secularize its lands. Missionary control over the land and Indians seems to have ended immediately. Soon after, on October 30, 1834, Governor Figueroa

> issued a resolution of the diputacion [legislature] that although the Indian towns still bore the name of missions, they were not lawfully so, since they ought to have been secularized ere this, and should therefore be considered as towns of the republic, subject to the same laws as other towns" (Bancroft 1886:III:348).

Mission Dolores should have been one of those Indian towns, with its outlying lands controlled in common by an Indian town council. However, the Hispanic Mexican town council of the Mission/ Presidio vicinity, established in January of 1835, had no intention of providing large tracts of lands to the Mission Dolores Indians, either as individual ranch owners or as pueblo land holders in common. The village of Mission Dolores soon developed into a Mexican settler town.

During Estudillo's tenure as Mission Dolores commissioner no mission lands were given to Indians, but none were given to Hispanics either. However, Mission Dolores had already lost 90% of the best bay shore Peninsula lands prior to 1834, as was discussed in the fourth section of Chapter 6. In review, Rancho Las Pulgas, the former Lamchin tract along the bay shore of the Peninsula, had been taken as a military stock ranch prior to the year 1800; its 35,240 acres (the entire southern 60% of the rich bay shore plain between San Bruno Mountain and San Francisquito Creek) were transferred into the private control of the first Mexican governor of California, Luis Arguello, in the early 1820s. Rancho Buri Buri, 14,639 acres of former Urebure and Ssalson lands (the northern 30% of the rich bay shore plain) had also been confiscated before 1800 for the same purpose; it remained a

military ranch in 1834. Of the rich bay shore area, only Rancho San Mateo (itself 10% of the bay shore plain) remained under Franciscan control. And we should not forget the Presidio, taken by the Spanish government back in 1776.

The San Francisco Presidio was deactivated and nearly abandoned in the summer of 1835. Mariano G. Vallejo, then a second liutenant in the army of Mexico, established a new military center for the San Francisco Bay Area at Sonoma that summer, under orders from Governor Figueroa (Bancroft 1886:III:294). Vallejo had already been living in buildings of Mission San Francisco Solano with a number of his San Francisco Presidio troops since the summer of 1834, when he had arrived there as secularization commissioner. The population at the San Francisco Presidio varied between two to six men with their families over the 1836 to 1840 period (Bancroft 1886:III:702)

First Post-Secularization Land Losses at Mission Dolores

Enforcement of the relatively fair secularization regulations at Mission Dolores began to be evaded soon after Governor Figueroa became sick and Gumesindo Flores succeeded Joaquin Estudillo as commissioner on July 28, 1835. Governor Figueroa died on September 29, 1835, leading to a 14 month struggle of succession among factions of the Mexican citizenry. The first post-secularization acts of land privitization on the San Francisco Peninsula occurred during this period.

- Rancho Buri Buri, the military stock ranch just south of San Bruno Mountain, was obtained by Jose Antonio Sanchez, then a junior officer at the presidio, in 1835; he established his headquarters in the present Millbrae area (Hynding 1982:24, 31, 33-34; Beck and Haase 1974:30).
- Rancho Laguna de la Merced, Mission Dolores land in present southwest San Francisco, was granted to Jose Antonio Sanchez's nephew, Jose Antonio Galindo, in late 1835.
- Rancho Las Pulgas, the military stock ranch that took in the rich bay shore plain from San Francisquito Creek north almost to San Mateo, was transferred into the private control of the first Mexican governor of California, Luis Arguello, in 1836. (Arguello had been living on the tract since the early 1820s.)

Although the two military ranches went into private hands, they had been taken from Mission Dolores and its Indians long before. Laguna de la Merced was the first parcel actually lost to Mission Dolores after secularization (Figure 14).

Faxon Atherton provides a picture of desolation at the San Mateo Mission Rancho and Mission Dolores on May 10, 1836, on a trip north from Santa Clara.

> At 11 a.m. arrived at the Rancho of the Mission of San Francisco [San Mateo]. Is now deserted and in ruins, lies about 25 miles from the Mission. Land around looks remarkably well, but no signs of cultivation. Stopped at a Rancho of some Indians, had some dried beef broiled on the coals and, after resting a few moments, started again, and after crossing some sandy hills arrived in sight of the wreck of the M[ission] of S[an] F[rancisco], although it never could have been a M[ission] of any great note as the land around it is not capable of supporting a large population. Still it has been a small but well conducted M[ission] until it was placed under the charge of an Administrator, since which time it has been going to ruins and is now literally a wreck and not an Indian to be seen (Atherton [1836] 1964:11).

The Indian village visited by Atherton may have been located in present Burlingame on the San Mateo Rancho, just north of Oak Grove Boulevard and just south of the Rancho Buri Buri line. At that spot the Indians were on Mission Dolores land, but were available to act as laborers for the Sanchez family on the Rancho Buri Buri.

Sanchez as Commissioner and Extensive Land Losses, 1837-1840

Juan Bautista Alvarado became governor of California in December of 1836. He immediately appointed Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, eldest son of Jose Antonio Sanchez, as Mission Dolores commissioner (Bancroft 1886:III:715). New land grants began to be carved from the remaining Mission Dolores lands by the next year, some of them to Jose Antonio Sanchez's relatives.

- Rancho Laguna de la Merced passed from Jose Antonio Galindo (cousin of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez) to Francisco de Haro (husband of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez's sister), in 1837 (Hoover et al. 1990:371-372, 375-376; Hynding 1982:34).
- Rancho Cañada Verde y Arroyo Purísima, on the San Mateo coast north of San Gregorio Creek, was granted by Governor Alvarado to Jose Maria Alviso in 1838. This was the old Cotegen tribal homeland.

William Heath Davis remembered Mission Dolores as a Mexican town in 1838. His list of citizens does not include the Indian house servants. It does highlight the families who were in real control of the land of the San Francisco peninsula at the time:

> At the Mission Dolores were Francisco de Haro, then alcalde, who was married to the daughter of Don José Sánchez; Francisco Guerrero, who was afterward alcalde and subprefect; Tiburcio Vásquez; Dona Carmen Cibrián; Candelario Valencia, married to a daughter of Don José Sánchez; Jesús Valencia, married to another daughter of Sánchez; Don Jesús Noé. The residence of Don José Sánchez was at Buri-buri, which place he owned. It contained 8,000 head of cattle and a great many horses and mares. His sons, who lived there also, were José de la Cruz, Francisco, Manuel, Chino and Ysidro (Davis 1929:291).

Although non-Indian citizens appear to have been living in buildings at Mission Dolores at this time, evidence is lacking that they had title to their abodes. While many Spanish surnames appear in Davis's list, the evidence from land deals in the period indicate that the extended family of Jose Antonio Sanchez dominated land and society.

In 1839, Governer Alvarado granted the entire coastal strip from Half Moon Bay north to the present San Francisco County border as private ranchos (Figure 14).

- Rancho San Pedro, 8,926 acres of old Pruristac lands in the present Pacifica area, was obtained by the commissioner's brother and son of Jose Antonio Sanchez, ostensible Presidio commander Francisco Sanchez, in 1839. (Francisco Sanchez utilized a surviving portion of the San Pedro outstation as the bottom floor of a two-story home, a site now commonly known as the Sanchez adobe.).
- Rancho Corral de Tierra, the Chiguan homeland along Half Moon Bay, was granted to Tiburcio Vasquez and Francisco Palomares in 1839. (Tiburcio Vasquez succeeded Jose de la Cruz Sanchez as Mission Dolores administrator in May of 1840.)
- Rancho San Gregorio, Oljon land on Pescadero Creek, was granted to the Buelna family in 1839.

By 1839, the best bay shore lands of the Peninsula were already in private hands, with the one exception of the mission ranch of San Mateo. But back country Peninsula tracts and most remaining lands near Mission Dolores were granted by Governor Alvarado in 1839 and 1840.

- Rancho Rincon de Salinas y Potrero Viejo, a large part of the present southeastern San Francisco County, was granted to Juan Antonio Alviso in 1839.
- Rancho Feliz, a 4,448 acre ranch in the San Andreas Valley, the site of today's Crystal Springs Reservoir, was granted to Jose Antonio Sanchez's grandson Domingo Feliz in 1839.

- Rancho Cañada de Raymundo, 12,545 acres inland from Luís Arguello's Rancho Las Pulgas, became a private rancho in 1840.

In addition, the town council of San Francisco granted 17 lots at Yerba Buena between 1836 and 1839, none to Indians.

The Hartnell Investigations, 1839-1840

Just a few months before the major coastal ranches were granted to Hispanic families, Governor Alvarado sent an Inspector General on the first of two tours of the missions to determine the needs of their Indian populations. William Hartnell arrived at Mission Dolores on September 20, 1839, following his inspection of the state of affairs at Mission San Rafael. He wrote on September 23 that the Indian people of Mission Dolores were all living at San Mateo, and that they knew exactly which lands they wished as their portion of the secularized mission lands:

> Within the mission proper there is no Indian community but at San Mateo where all the plantings are, there are 90 souls. All request their freedom and that one Vicente Miramontes continue to care for them. That the place of San Mateo not be taken from them for they cannot subsist without it. Along the coast they want the land extending from los Pilarcitos to La Purísima left to them. Some six or seven old people want the Cañada de Guadalupe bordering on the rancho of Don José Sánchez (Hartnell [1839] 2004:89-90).

Hartnell's note of the next day, September 24, reiterated many points, added some new information, and refined his population count down to 89:

> September 24. I assembled the people and there are 50 men, 19 women, and 20 children (89). The Indians request their freedom and the terrain from San Mateo to Las Salinas adjacent to Don José Sánchez and ask that a certain Vicente Miramontes continue to care for them as mayordomo. Along the coast they want the land from Pilarcitos to Purísima left to them but do not need the Corral de Tierras. Some six or seven Indians who want to be left at the Cañada de Guadalupe, adjacent to Don José Sánchez and want to be subjects of the present Administrator, complain that they work hard and no clothing is given to them (Hartnell [1839] 2004:90).

Rancho San Mateo seems to have been the one Mission Dolores property that was being protected in response to the 1834 *Reglamento's* call for the establishment of separate ranches at each mission "for the support of the padre and for public worship" (Bancroft 1886:III:351).

The mission registers suggest that there should have been 112 Mission Dolores Indians alive in 1839. The year-end population in 1834 had been 136. Over the five years since that time 27 Indians had been baptized and 51 Indians had been reported dead; thus the expected total of 112, 23 more than Hartnell's reported 89. The 23 missing people may be due to the emancipation of individuals who went to work in homes or on ranches around San Francisco Bay. The language representation of the 89 people at San Mateo in 1839, reported by Hartnell, was probably similar to that in 1834, since no major redistributions of population occurred between the two time periods.

Hartnell returned to the San Francisco peninsula on his second tour in May of 1840. At that time he did find a few Indians at Mission Dolores.

> Only nine or ten men were capable of labor... all the others were employed by private persons, and many against their will. In other words, they were held as slaves and not as voluntary servants (Hartnell in Engelhardt 1924:245).

Hartnell recommended that all of the mission's Indians be gathered at San Mateo and organized as a town, according to Hittell (1885:2:304). As it happened, the Mission Dolores Indians were not given any lands, either on the coast or along the bayshore. The Doloreños, who would have owned the

greater portion of San Francisco had the 1834 *Reglamento* been fairly carried to conclusion, were reduced to slavery within six years of secularization.

By the end of 1840, Rancho San Mateo was the only original land still legally the property of Mission Dolores and potentially available for the benefit of the Doloreño Indians. The last large tract given as a rancho, with the exception of San Mateo, was an area of former Lamchin local tribe land (part of which would become the GGNRA Phleger Estate) that was split off from the Arguello family's Rancho Las Pulgas and granted to John Coppinger in that year. Coppinger, an Irish sawyer, had married a granddaughter of key San Jose resident Ygnacio Soto in November of 1839.

Indian Families in Mission Dolores Records, 1834-1840

The total Indian population of Mission Dolores at the outset of the secularization process was reported to be 136 people, according to the year-end report of 1834 (Appendix F:Table 1). Yet positive evidence is found in the Mission Dolores registers for 202 individual Indian people participating in events at the mission during the mid-1830s (Appendix F:Table 17). The extra 66 people, over and above the 136 counted in the year-end report, probably include:

- Emancipated Indians, active in recorded church activities but not counted as Mission Dolores dependents.
- People actually affiliated with other missions, particularly San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, who visited Mission Dolores and participated in recorded activities.
- People who had died prior to 1834, but for whom no death record was ever entered.

Studies of family groups, age structure, and language group mix must be based upon the 202 Indian people listed on Appendix F:Table 17, since the year-end count is merely an aggregate number that does not contain such information. It is clear, of course, that analyses based on the Appendix F:Table 17 list are approximations of a likely reality.

A number of important points about the age, gender, and language structure of the 1834 Mission Dolores population can be drawn from the information about the 202 people listed in Appendix F:Table 17. Four of those points are bulleted here.

- The Costanoan languages together had the highest percentage of speakers (51%) among the 202 people involved with the mission, followed by Coast Miwok (25%), Bay Miwok (12%), and Patwin (8%). There is little difference from the 1824 language distribution, with only a minor relative rise in East Bay Costanoan representation and a minor fall in Coast Miwok representation (see Table 5).
- Males outnumbered females by 114 to 88. Among the Costanoan old Christians the ratio was 76 males to 38 females. Patwin, Wappo, and Pomo females, many married to Costanoan men, greatly outnumbered males of their groups.
- The age structure, marked by 149 individuals who were age 15 or older, and only 15 individuals under age 15, reflects a population in continuing decline.
- A remarkable 35 people, among 202, were over 50 years old. The greatest number of those elders were men from the Peninsula San Francisco Bay Costanoan local tribes (11 people) and men from the East Bay San Francisco Bay Costanoan local tribes (8 people).

The 202 people listed in Appendix F:Table 17 can be grouped into 45 family groups of married couples or a parent and at least one child, a number of bachelors and widowers without any known relatives, and a few widows without relatives. Among the 45 family groups, 17 included at least one member descended from San Francisco Peninsula Costanoan speakers (seven families include a "Yelamu" person or descendent; ten families include a bay shore or San Mateo coast person or descendant). A larger contingent, 20 family groups, contained at least one member from the chain

of East Bay San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Karkin speaking local tribes. Only eight of the 45 family groups associated with Mission Dolores in 1834 had no Costanoan-speaking members (two of them were headed by Bay Miwoks and six were headed by Coast Miwoks).

The ten most prominent Indian families at Mission Dolores in the 1830s, those that had a series of children baptized at the mission, are shown on Appendix F:Table 14 as families 7, 8, 11, 12, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, and 30. The husbands were San Francisco Bay Costanoans in five of the ten cases (three from the East Bay, one Puichon of the Peninsula, one Yelamu of the Peninsula), Karkin Costanoans in two cases, Coast Miwok in two cases, and Suisun Patwin in one case. The contrast between the ethnic backgrounds of the wives and husbands is startling. None of the wives were from San Francisco Bay Costanoan lineages. Four were from Coast Miwok local groups, three were Saclan Bay Miwoks, two were from Patwin local groups, and one was a Carquin Karkin.

The Mission Dolores population was hit by smallpox between September 13 and December 22, 1838. However, only ten Indian people are reported to have died. They were all older adults, between 35 and 63 years of age. The low number of deaths suggests that the Indian population had been inoculated for small pox, a procedure that had become common by that time in parts of California.

PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1840S

Mission Dolores Indian Families in the 1840s

In 1841 78 Indians were on the roles at Mission Dolores, according to administrator Tiburcio Vasquez, who noted that they were "scattered over the peninsula" (Englehardt 1924:248). An 1842 census of the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula counted 127 people of Spanish blood, 23 English and North Americans, and 46 Indians and Hawaiians, not including the Indians attached to Mission Dolores (Bancroft 1886:IV:664). Some of the Indians in that unattached group of 46 were probably old Christians who had been emancipated from one mission or the other over the years since 1826. Others, however, were probably recently baptized "orphans" from distant tribal lands. They were probably living as house servants and laborers on ranchos and in the tiny communities of Mission Dolores and Yerba Buena.

Mission Dolores Indian couples continued to bring children for baptism in the 1840s. Example families that had two or more baptized children can be divided into two groups, the older couples and the younger couples, as follows:

- Three older couples who had been having children at the mission in the 1830s continued to do so in the 1840s. In all three cases, the wife was a Saclan Bay Miwok descendent, while two of the husbands were San Francisco Bay Costanoans and one was a Suisun Patwin (Appendix F:Table 14, families 8, 25, 30).
- Three younger couples married at Mission Dolores between 1840 and 1844 brought two or more children for baptism at the mission. They included two Huchiun husbands and one Habasto Coast Miwok husband, with wives who were Huchiun, Suisun, and unidentifiable to ancestral group, respectively (Appendix F:Table 14, families 31, 32, 33).

Some Indian families moved among missions Dolores, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz during the 1840s, the ecclesiastical records show. Three such families that spent time at Mission Dolores are listed here:

- Prudencio (Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and Faustina (Suisun Patwin) were Mission Dolores Indians who married there in 1840. Their first child was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1842, and a subsequent child was baptized back at Mission Dolores in 1847 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 31).

- Bernardino Alcantara, Mission Dolores-born son of Cotegen/Yelamu San Francisco Bay Costanoan Pedro Alcantara and Suisun Patwin Crisanta (Appendix F:Table 14, family 19), married Mariana of Mission Santa Clara ("Tulares," probably Yokuts) at Mission Santa Clara in 1843. Their first child was baptized at Santa Clara in 1843. Another was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 34).
- Francisco Borja (Tomoi Mutsun Costanoan) and Maria Concepcion (Tejey Northern Valley Yokuts) were Cruzeños who married at Santa Cruz in 1833 and had their first child at that mission. One of their children was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1843, another back at Santa Cruz in 1844, then three of their children were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1847 and 1855 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 29).

Such movement of established nuclear families from one mission to another had been rare in earlier decades. It is possible that old Christian Indian families were moving from place to place with their Hispanic patrons.

Obliterated Social Safety Net

Under the traditional local tribe system and the Franciscan mission system, the community took care of enfeebled elders. Such was not the case in the rancho system. The poor condition of the elder Doloreños is documented by Hittell for mid-1843:

> A melancholy picture was presented by a plaint of the old Indians of San Francisco in July, 1843, and what they had to say applied very generally to all the missions. They represented themselves as the remnant, eight in number, of the former large congregation of neophytes, as plunged into the very depths of indigence, nakedness and hunger, without property of any kind for their support, far advanced in age, and worn out with a life-time of labor (Hittell 1885:2:382).

Some of those elders may formerly have been the boatmen who maintained communications around San Francisco Bay from 1812 through the 1830s. Because the Rancho Era social structure included no institution dedicated to taking care of old Indian people without families, they languished in poverty.

Final Mission Dolores and Rancho San Mateo Sale, 1845-1846

A decree was issued on October 28, 1845 providing for the sale at public auction of the lands under immediate control of Mission Dolores and eight other missions, excluding the churches themselves and adjacent buildings for a curate's house, town house, and school. The decree responded to a May of 1845 resolution by the provincial legislature directing the final secularization and sale of all mission properties (see general discussion of final secularization in the first section of this chapter). Money from the sale was to be used to pay the debts of the missions, although some money was to be reserved to support the priest and Indians until the next harvest. Any surplus was to be used by the church for support of public worship (Bancroft 1886:IV:552).

The decree of October 1845 called for self-rule for the Indians of ex-mission communities. There is no indication in the historic record, however, that the Mission Dolores or San Mateo Indians were recognized as such a community. The property at the Mission Dolores site was to be sold by the provincial government on January 2-4, 1846 (Bancroft 1886:IV:552). A decree arrived from Mexico suspending all such sales and the immediate Mission Dolores property was spared. Mission Dolores and its nearest buildings were eventually confirmed to the Catholic Church by courts of the United States (Bancroft 1886:V:564).

Rancho San Mateo was still Mission Dolores property at the time the impending sale of the mission site was suspended. Jose de la Cruz Sanchez had petitioned for that land in December of 1836, in May of 1840, and again in April of 1844, but his petitions had been rejected by three governors.

Despite the fact that they could not gain ownership of Rancho San Mateo, the Sanchez family seem to have run it as their own personal fief from adjacent Rancho Buri Buri to the north during the 1840s.

Finally, Governor Pico granted Rancho San Mateo to his secretary, Cayetano Arenas of Los Angeles, in May of 1846.[40] With that action, the last possible chance was lost, under Mexican law, for a San Francisco Bay Costanoan land base on the San Francisco Peninsula.

[40] Jose de la Cruz Sanchez later claimed prior ownership in the U.S. court system. He testified in an 1855 land case hearing that Rancho San Mateo belonged to him and that the Indians "went there with my permission;" the Sanchez case was dismissed (Land Case 409 ND).

Chapter 9. Ohlone/Costanoans in the United States, 1847-1927

This chapter examines the time period that began with the U.S. takeover of California during the Mexican-American War and ended in the 1920s, the decade during which many of today's Ohlone/Costanoan elders were born. The U.S. takeover of California marked the end of the 75 year long process of missionization and subsequent secularization that had caused the catastrophic decline of the native peoples of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas. But it also marked the beginning of new negative processes that removed the ex-mission Indians to the nearly invisible edges of society.

The first section of this chapter contextualizes the American cultural practices and governmental decisions that forced the Indians of our maximal study area to the edges of society. (The larger context of marginalization and racialization, even genocide, of Indians across California during the 1847-1900 period, is discussed in Appendix D.) The second section covers the specific history of Indians on the San Francisco Peninsula from 1847 to 1900. In the third section we follow the histories of the Evencio and Alcantara families, the last documented native families of the San Francisco Peninsula. The fourth section discusses the ex-mission Indians in Ohlone/Costanoan areas east and south of the San Francisco Peninsula. The final section returns to contextual issues, those that pertain to the 1900-1927 period.

CONTEXT: MARGINALIZATION AND CONTINUING DECLINE, 1846-1900

U.S. Military Rule and the Gold Rush

The Mexican-American War began on May 13, 1846. Although it was triggered by a border dispute in Texas, the ultimate cause was the United States' drive for more land, under the banner of Manifest Destiny. The U.S. Navy took control of Monterey on July 7, 1846 and San Francisco (Yerba Buena and the Presidio) on July 9. Although central California came quickly under general United States military control, Mexican forces resisted in southern California.

John Fremont, leader of a U.S. military exploring expedition that had been in the Sacramento Valley at the outbreak of hostilities, recruited 40 Indian men from the Mokelumne and Stanislaus River tribes to fight with the United States against the Mexican forces. The Indian group included a number of ex-Mission San Jose new Christians who gave their Spanish names upon enrollment (Bryant 1849:340-342). They served with the U.S. forces in a number of minor skirmishes in

southern California and were present when Fremont signed a treaty with Mexican provincial forces to end hostilities in San Fernando on January 12, 1847. Their battalion was disbanded in April of 1847. By that time, U.S. military forces were in control of southern California as well as central California.

The military governor of occupied California appointed three Indian agents in the spring of 1847 to give advice and solve problems between Indians and settlers. Mariano Vallejo was agent for the North Bay area and John Sutter for the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. A third agent was reponsible for the lands east of Los Angeles and San Diego. No Indian agents were considered necessary for the latinized ex-mission Indians living in the homes and on the ranchos of west-central California.

Gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada foothills in early 1848. It was soon announced in newspapers worldwide. By the spring of 1849 people were streaming into California from points around the world. The population of San Francisco, less than 600 at the beginning of 1849, swelled to an estimated 100,000 by the end of the year. Meanwhile, Mexican rancheros sent ex-mission Indian crews into the Sierra in search of gold. Unattached ex-mission Indians may also have gone to the gold fields. Entrepreneurial activity by ex-mission Indians in the gold fields was described in late 1849 or 1850:

> Mission Indians, with scarlet bandanas round their heads, a richly colored *zarape* over their shoulders, a pair of cotton drawers, and bare-footed, would push their way through the crowd, carrying pails of iced liquor on their heads, crying … *agua fresca, cuatro reales* (Perkins 1964:106).

The role of Indians in the mines, either ex-mission Indians or local tribal people, diminished quickly because newcomers, primarily North Americans with strong racist attitudes towards both Indians and Latin Americans, took control of the mining areas in 1850.

Statehood, Racialization, and Institutionalized Racism

California was admitted to the United States on September 9, 1850. It was admitted as a free (non-slave holding) state in the midst of debates in the U.S. Senate over the free state-slave state balance. Most Americans newly arrived in California, from free or slave states, treated California Indians at least as badly as black slaves were treated in the south. As Laurence Shoup discusses in Appendix D, Americans "racialized" the Indians, classified them as inferior human beings worthy neither of respect nor protection of the law. Peter Burnett, California's first governor, stated in his 1851 message to the state legislature that a war of extermination would be waged "until the Indian race should become extinct" and that it was "beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert the inevitable destiny" (in Heizer and Almquist 1971:26). While the governor was speaking primarily about the non-Christian tribal Indians of the northern and eastern portions of the state, most white citizens lumped together latinized and tribal Indians as a single class of marginal people.

Beginning in 1850, the California state legislature passed a series of laws that codified the marginalization of the Indians. One such law allowed Indians without jobs to be arrested for vagrancy and auctioned out as laborers for periods of four months at a time. Another law provided that orphaned Indian children could be bound over to white citizens as wards until adulthood (a practice already in place in Mexican California). Other laws eliminated the right of Indians to testify in court, serve on juries, or be recognized as citizens (Heizer and Almquist 1971, Castillo 1978a).

The lack of legal protections for Indians led to abuses that some American citizens did find appalling. In 1853, the District Attorney of Contra Costa County authored a report complaining of the sale of Indian slaves by Hispanic men in his county:

> Ramon Briones, Mesa, Quiera, and Beryessa of Napa County, are in the habit of kidnapping Indians in the mountains near Clear Lake, and in their capture several

> have been murdered in cold blood. There have been Indians to the number of one hundred and thirty-six thus captured and brought into this county, and held here in servitude adverse to their will. These Indians are now to be in the possession of Briones, Mesa, and sundry other persons who have purchased them in this county. It is also a notorious fact that these Indians are treated inhumanly, being neither fed nor clothed; and from such treatment many have already died (Heizer and Almquist 1971:40).

Old Mexican families were not the only ones to continue the practice of stealing tribal Indian children into the American era. Some North Americans also engaged in the practice. But most newly arrived Americans despised Indians so strongly that they did not want to have them as laborers at all.

A federal official in charge of Indian affairs wrote about the abuse of Indian laborers at Rancho San Pablo in the East Bay area in a report of January of 1853:

> I went over to the San Pablo rancho, in Contra Costa county, to investigate the matter of alleged cruel treatment of Indians there. I found seventy-eight on this rancho, and twelve back of Martinez, and they were the most of them sick, all without clothes, or any food but the fruit of the buckeye. Up to the time of my coming, eighteen had died of starvation at one camp: how many at the other I could not learn. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall, and as the winter set in, when broken down by hunger and labor, without food or cloths, they were turned adrift to shift for themselves (U.S. Congress. Senate Documents 1853:9).

In the earlier Rancho Period, the incredible level of abuse reported here occurred rarely, if at all, because the Mexican ranch owners lived in reciprocal dependent relationships with their ex-mission laborers. It should be noted that conditions for Indians in Contra Costa County in 1852-1853 were exacerbated by disease. In 1913 a farmer in the Walnut Creek area reminisced about earlier times.

> There was a band of 40 to 50 Indians living on the mound [near Concord] in 1850. They worked for Galindo and Salvio Pacheco, two Spaniards who had the land around the mound. The informant C. B. Nottingham … says there was an epidemic in 1853 and "I saw about 9 dead there at one time, dying off all the time, I think most of the band died at that time" (Loud 1913).

Two historical events during the 1860s caused Indians to become unwelcome on many of the ranches where they had lived and worked since the beginning of the Rancho Period some thirty years earlier. First, a drought in the early 1860s caused many of the Hispanic cattle ranchers to go into debt. At the same time, the final patents (recognition of ownership) of most of the local ranchos were being issued by the federal government. Hispanic families who had proven their titles needed to pay attorney costs incurred in proving their claims. Many of them had to sell their ranches to North Americans to pay their debts. And many of the North American ranch owners immediately forced any Indian laborers off of their new ranch holdings.

It was not until the 1870s that indenture laws and the laws prohibiting Indians from testifying in court were removed from the California legal code (Heizer and Almquist 1971:48). The 1870s were a period of social reform that accompanied the spread of middle class society and the realization that California Indians were not a threat to that society (Rawls 1984:205-206). This new mood of the 1870s will be discussed in the latter part of the next subsection below, insofar as it stimulated acquisition of reservations for ex-mission Indians in some parts of California.

Early Treaties and Reservations

The history of U.S. government treaty making and reservation development with Indian tribes in California did not initially involve ex-mission Indians who remained in the Coast Range environs inhabited by the Mexican Californios. And it never did treat directly with ex-mission Indians who lived in west-central California south of San Francisco Bay. In 1851 U.S. government agents negotiated 16 treaties, signed by representatives of 134 separate local tribes, groups living to the north and east of the old mission lands, agreeing to set aside large tracts of Central Valley and northern California land as reservations (Heizer 1972).[41] Similar treaties were signed with ex-mission San Diego and Mission San Luis Rey Indians in early 1852. The treaties met with hostility from California citizens, who pressured Congress not to ratify them. Therefore, the two United States Senators from California successfully blocked ratification. The draft treaties were subsequently placed in secret files where they remained unexamined for the following 53 years (Heizer 1972).

Smaller reservations were set aside in the 1850s and 1860s for tribal Indians of the northern part of California and the San Joaquin Valley, leading to many tragic forced removals (Castillo 1978a:110-113). Again, these events did not concern the ex-mission Indians of central California. As California became more settled and gentrified, some members of the white community began to show concern for the difficult situation of California Indians. In the 1870s President Grant gave control of the California reservations to reformist representatives of the Methodist Church. Reports to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1873 and 1874 described the need of southern California ex-mission Indians for reservations. A number of small rancherias were obtained in San Diego County by executive order in 1875 and 1876. The BIA also set up a separate Mission Agency in the 1870s.

Further concern for the poor condition of ex-mission Indians was provoked by Helen Hunt Jackson's publication of *A Century of Dishonor* in 1881, an exposé of poor U.S. Indian policy. That book was followed by her novel *Ramona* in 1884. In 1883 a congressional act was passed, on the basis of indignation caused by Hunt's first book, to aid non-reservation California Indians by purchasing more tiny rancherias for them. Money was not initially forthcoming, however. Finally, in the 1890s, 17 small "postage stamp" reservations (14 in the southern California mission area and three in east-central and northern California outside of Ohlone/Costanoan lands) were purchased under the 1883 Act.

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, directing the breakup of community-owned Indian reservation tracts across the United States into small individual and family owned plots. It also allowed non-reservation Indians to claim 160 acre parcels of unoccupied government land and gain title after 25 years. This act did not affect most Ohlone/Costanoans because they had no reservations. One exception was the case of Sebastian Garcia, ancestor of Ohlone/Costanoan Ann Marie Sayers, who received a parcel of land near Hollister around the beginning of the twentieth century (see Sayers 1994:337-356).

The desire to assimilate Indians led, in the 1880s, to the development of boarding schools that attempted to overcome traditional Native American lifeways by imposing Eurocentric values on Indian children, as well as teach them European skills. School attendance, usually at distant boarding

[41] Many of the famous 1851 treaties were signed by native Miwokan and Yokuts speaking men with Spanish names (Heizer 1972). Those men were new Christians, people who had been baptized at one or another of the Coast Range missions during the 1830s and 1840s, then returned to their tribal lands in the Central Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills after secularization. Some of the men who signed Treaty A and Treaty N are tentatively recognizable in the Mission Soledad records. Some who signed M may have been at Mission San Juan Bautista. Some Treaty E signators had definitely been baptized at Mission Santa Clara. One Treaty J signator had been baptized at Mission San Jose (unpublished analysis by Randall Milliken).

schools, became compulsory for reservation Indian children in 1891. Not many California Mission Indian children attended these boarding schools, at least partly because they were Catholics and the boarding schools were run by Protestant denominations.

In the early 1890s Congress took another turn in its Indian policy for California. Concerned about the continued deplorable condition of so many native people, it passed an Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians of California in 1891. This law directed federal government officials to secure title to Indian lands by creating trust patent reservations out of lands still occupied by former mission Indians, and to initiate a management structure for those reservations. The goal was to develop a self-supporting population that could be assimilated into the American mainstream (Bean and Shipek 1978:558-559). No lands were purchased for Ohlone/Costanoan people under that act either.

Continuing Indian Population Decline

Costanoan speakers and other groups that went to the missions saw catastrophic population declines during the Spanish and Mexican eras of California history. These declines continued during the first decades of the American era for the ex-mission Indians and the tribal Indians of the state as well. Table 9 reviews population statistics from official U.S. census data for the counties around San Francisco Bay. While undoubtedly some inaccuracies exist in this data, with Indians being undercounted by the census takers, these statistics accurately show the continuing population decline of Indian people in the San Francisco Bay Area through 1890, and in some counties, through later decades. By and large, Indian populations did not begin to grow again until after 1910, and did not reach 1870s level until 1930 (Table 9).

Table 9. Indians from all Locations Living in West-Central California Counties, as Reported in the U.S. Census, 1860-1930.

COUNTY	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Alameda	131	111	103	25	71	41	56	182
Contra Costa	114	9	47	3	8	3	137	30
Marin	210	126	162	31	25	26	34	119
Monterey	411	201	222	58	26	29	7	32
Napa	1	66	64	15	18	6	2	16
San Benito	-	-	81	41	36	-	-	3
Santa Clara	157	12	73	19	9	16	4	45
Santa Cruz	218	2	131	10	67	15	45	12
San Francisco	41	54	45	31	15	46	45	151
San Mateo	52	8	8	6	1	1	3	42
Solano	21	3	21	11	2	1	7	18
TOTAL	1,356	592	957	250	278	184	340	650

Notes: Data compiled from U.S. Census Office 1883:382; 1902:531; U.S. Census Bureau 1913:166; 1922:130; 1943:567.

The decline in west-central California Indian populations continued through the late nineteenth century despite the fact that some Indians were moving into the San Francisco Bay Area from distant parts of northern California. The inability of many Indians to have stable families, and thus to raise children, was a major cause of the continued decline in population. Some of the reported decline, however, was the result of Indians "passing as white" (see the next subsection below).

Ex-mission Indians and their descendents survived and maintained their cultural and family connections better in sparsely populated rural areas of west-central California than they did in the heavily populated San Francisco Bay Area. Rural Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Monterey counties

had fewer Anglo-American and greater numbers of Hispano-American people, including Hispanic landowners. Sherburne Cook, who published a study entitled "Migration and Urbanization of the Indians in California" in 1943, noted "... a tendency exists for the Indians to be most numerous in those regions where the whites are fewest" (Cook 1943c:36). Conversely, Indian survival in densely populated regions where whites dominated tended to be problematic. During this era individual Indians lived in and survived in urban areas as servants and laborers but, due to their work situations, very low wages and lack of adequate housing, they tended not to marry and have children.

Landowners, builders, and shopkeepers did not need Indian labor in the San Francisco and San Mateo counties of the 1850s and 1860s, where large numbers of unemployed Caucasians gathered when mining proved less successful than initially imagined. As Sherburne Cook put it: "... the natives have tended to diminish most rapidly when and where the white men have been most numerous" (Cook 1943c:36). At the other extreme were portions of California, in the far north, where few whites settled during the nineteenth century and Indian people maintained fairly large populations and some continuing traditional culture. In between the two extremes were the rural areas of eastern Alameda, southern Santa Clara, and Monterey counties, where ex-mission Indians continued to find some work as ranch hands and crop-harvesters.

California Governor John B. Weller stated in 1859 that the Indians "... are fast fading away, particularly those who are located in the vicinity of our towns and settlements. The vices of the white men, which they readily adopt, will soon remove them from amongst us" (in Rawls 1984:175). Most newspaper articles of the late nineteenth century that mention Indians in west-central California at all report alcohol-related robberies, homocides, and suicides. Furthermore, the ex-mission Indians, like the poorest people in any society, died in the highest numbers from the diseases prevelant in the society at large. Alcoholism greatly intensified the problem by weakening physical resistance. Cook estimated that 60% of the Indian population decline during the years 1848-1870 was due to disease (15% due to effects of syphilis, and the remaining 45% due to various other epidemic diseases, Rawls 1984:175).

Crossing the Ethnic Boundary from Indian to White

In the parts of central California that remained largely Hispanic in the late nineteenth century, ex-mission Indian people and their descendants found real employment opportunities in agricultural and other seasonal labor. Such work allowed them to live in dignity and have families and homes of their own. It also gave them access to western ways, including education and cultural knowledge that made it possible to "pass" as white, thereby gaining the privileges of citizenship and the economic, educational, and cultural advancement that white Californians enjoyed.

It has been suggested that part of the drop in the Indian populations of many counties was due to Indians taking the opportunity to re-characterize themselves as non-Indians. An examination of censuses was undertaken for this report, to see if there were individuals listed as Indians in 1880 who were listed as white in 1900. The Santa Clara county census was of great interest, but the populations were just too large to carry out the exercise. The 1880 and 1900 manuscript census records for Monterey City and Monterey Township were of a manageable size to be studied in detail.

Examples of passing as white were discovered in the Monterey county censuses. One Indian who definitely passed was named Alfred Davis. Davis was a 15 year old laborer in 1880. He was part of a five member Monterey City family, all California born and all listed as Indians in that year's census. The family was headed by Alfred's widowed mother, 45 year old Ilodosia Davis. Two sisters, one older, one younger and one older brother rounded out the family. All family members could read and write, and the younger sister was still attending school in 1880. In 1900 Alfred Davis still lived in Monterey, but was listed as white in the census records (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880b, 1900c).

There are also cases of individuals who were listed as half Indian in 1880 and white in 1900. Joseph Post, the son of white man William B. Post of Connecticut and his California Indian wife Mary, was listed as "1/2" in 1880. In 1900 however, he was listed as white. Mary Post herself was another case of passing; she was listed as an Indian in 1880, but as white in 1900 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880b, 1900c). The Indian descendants in question had the requisite language, culture, social skills and physical appearance to pass as anglicized Hispanics, and therefore as "white."

The intermingling of class with race is illustrated in how children were racially classified where the father is listed as white and the mother as Indian (no cases in Monterey City or Monterey Township were found where the father was Indian and the mother was white). Class was and is, among other things, a relationship of power, and Indians and other people of color were at the bottom of the power hierarchy. But it seems clear from these data that the higher in this hierarchy the men who married Indian women were, the more likely that their children were listed as white in the federal census. Three different racial classification outcomes were possible in cases where the father was white and the mother Indian. One is illustrated by the case of the Englishman James Meadows, his Mission Carmel Indian descendent wife Mary Meadows and three children, including Isabel, who was 23 years old in 1880. While Mary was listed as an Indian in the federal census, her three children were all categorized as white. Another example is the Massachusetts born laborer George Austin, who had four children with his Indian wife Maria Austin. George Austin is listed as white in the census, but all of his children were listed as "1/2" in the 1880 federal census.

Another example is a Californio hunter, Marcos Espinosa, listed as white in the census. His common law wife was a Native American woman named Josefa Garcia. The census taker took the time and effort to note on the form that while she was Espinosa's "wife" the couple was "not married" and classified their two children and one step child as Indians (U.S. Census Office 1880b). The class system of the time evidently ranked Meadows as the most prestigious of these three white men, Austin in between the other two, and Espinosa at the bottom, resulting in different racial classifications for their children.

In the late nineteenth century many Caucasion Americans applied the "one drop rule," meaning that any person with any amount of Indian or African ancestry would be subject to all the oppression that membership in the race implied. This made passing from one racial category to another a matter of secrecy, fraught with fear of discovery. Given that environment, it is probable that many more cases of passing occurred than can be readily documented. We note that Monterey county's Indian population dropped from 222 in 1880 to only 58 in 1900, a 75% decline. How much of this was real population decline, how much undercounting, and how much the result of passing can probably never be known.

INDIANS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1846-1900

At the outset of the American Period, in 1846, the remaining Mission Dolores Indians were scattered on the ranchos of the San Francisco Peninsula. Two centers of Indian life and culture remained on the San Francisco Peninsula, Mission Dolores itself and the Indian community on Rancho San Mateo, about 20 miles to the south of the mission. The six subsections of this section document what little is known about the ex-Mission Dolores people and other Indians on the San Francisco Peninsula from the time of U.S. military occupation until the end of the nineteenth century. The two final subsections reach only up to the 1860s and 1870s in San Mateo and San Francisco counties, respectively, because little is known about local San Francisco Peninsula Indians in the subsequent 1880s and 1890s. (Some details about two specific families, the Alcantaras and Evencios, in the last years of the nineteenth century, are presented in the following section.)

Glimpses of Indians in San Francisco, 1847-1850

A June 1847 census tallied only 34 Indians of all ages (26 male and only 8 female) at the northern end of the San Francisco Peninsula. It recorded more people (40) from the distant Sandwich Islands (the Hawaii of today) than Indians (Soule et al. 1855:178). By late 1849 or early 1850 Indian agent Adam Johnson recorded a statement from an old Indian at the Presidio that has led many to infer that San Francisco was almost devoid of ex-Mission Dolores Indians. The statement by Pedro Alcantara, published in the California volume of the Handbook of North American Indians, reads:

> I am very old... my people were once around me like the sands of the shore... many... many. They have all passed away. They have died like the grass... they have gone to the mountains. I do not complain, the antelope falls with the arrow. I had a son. I loved him. When the palefaces came he went away. I do not know where he is. I am a Christian Indian, I am all that is left of my people. I am alone (Johnson 1850 as quoted in Castillo 1978a:105).

While Pedro Alcantara (SFR-B 553) was indeed the last survivor of his parents' local tribes, the Yelamus of San Francisco and the Cotegens of Purisima Creek, south of Half Moon Bay, he did have living children and grandchildren, and a few other descendants of old San Francisco Peninsula groups were also still alive in the area. (We present details on the life history of Pedro Alcantara and his family in the next section of this chapter.)

In December of 1849 German traveler Friedrich Gerstaecker visited Mission Dolores, mentioning that "the old church and twenty or twenty-five low stone huts... seemed to be chiefly inhabited by Spaniards and Indians," adding that when gold was first discovered the mission was almost uninhabited "... except by some Indians, who lived, or rather camped, in the old dark and damp rooms, using them, at the same time, for parlor and stable" (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:45-46).

Ernest De Massey, a Frenchman who visited Mission Dolores about two months after Gerstaecker in 1849, had a similar word picture of those living at the place:

> About one hundred and twenty persons live around the Mission. Most of them are Mexicans, Indians or half-breeds; Europeans and Americans are in the minority. There is no business activity here beyond the raising of garden produce which brings quick returns. Everything else is at a standstill (De Massey 1927:37).

The sudden appearance of the city of San Francisco, with a population of 100,000 by the end of 1849 where there had been 600 in 1848, must have been unbelievable to the Doloreños. Gerstaeker commented upon their amazement:

> Rarely, you may notice a California Indian gliding quickly through the streets to gain open ground again, looking around him ... in ... mute astonishment (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:7).

The population of San Francisco by 1849 was not only large, but extremely diverse. One report described the presence of Spanish speakers from all countries of the Americas, Americans, Englishmen and other Europeans, Chinese, Blacks, Malays, Kanakas, Fijians, Japanese, Abyssinians, "hideously tattooed New Zealanders" and "... occasionally a half naked shivering Indian..." (Soule et al. 1855:257-258).

Gerstaecker contrasted two classes of Indians in the San Francisco area, those who had found a place as servants to the landed classes, and those who were alienated from land and patronage:

> The few Indians who still lingered about the Mission, professed to be Christians, and the women, at least, conducted themselves very properly, washing and sewing for the Spaniards, into whose families they were sometimes received as domestics. There are still small bands of these Indians roving about, camping in the open air, and

> living on what they secure in some way, or beg from the settlers. The better class, however, live in well-kept houses, wear suitable clothing and speak the Spanish language (Gerstaecker quoted in Engelhardt 1924:318).

The constant struggle for survival, combined with the loss of culture, created a sense of hopelessness that sometimes led to alcoholism:

> Drunkenness is a vice for which the Indians have to thank the (so-called) Christians. One's heart aches at the sight of the strong figures who, degraded to the state of brutes by vile liquor, roll on the wayside and end in destruction (Gerstaecker in Engelhardt 1924:18).

During Easter week, 1850, Gerstaecker again visited Mission Dolores, where he documented the best and worst of life for the Doloreños. He observed the fandango at the church and the spectacle of Judas Iscariot tied to a newly caught wild mare and chased through the settlement, creating a wild scene. He described how Valentin, a Doloreño vaquero, played a key role in the ritual, and then ended the day in an alcoholic stupor:

> The principal person in this festivity was a California Indian, Valentin, the best horseman and lasso-thrower even among the Spaniards, and as fine a specimen of an Indian I ever saw. He was tall and rather slender, but notwithstanding, stoutly built, with the long black and smooth hair of his tribe, and with dark glowing eyes. I never saw him on foot but when he was drunk...but he was the best hand in the neighborhood in tracking up a runaway horse or stray cattle, and bringing them in dead or alive... This Valentin had to fasten the clumsily-stuffed figure upon the back of the wild mare, and it was really a beautiful spectacle to see the cunning Indian overcome the kicking and rearing animal... When I passed the hotel that evening, the fine and nobly-formed Indian... was lying dead drunk upon his back and under an old cart... (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:49-50).

The specific tribal background and mission history of Valentin is not definitely known. Five Valentins are documented in Bay Area mission registers who were alive in 1850. Of them, the most likely to be the described individual is a Cosomne Plains Miwok who had been baptized at Mission San Jose at age six back in 1835 (SJO-B 7333). The others would have been very old or very young in 1850.

Indians in the Mission Dolores Records, 1846-1855

Local censuses and passing accounts suggest that there were fewer than 40 Indians in San Francisco during the late 1840s. Yet an 1852 census (which will be described in detail below) indicated that there were 140 Indians in the combined San Francisco/San Mateo county area. The latter figure makes sense when compared against the 1834 Mission Dolores year-end report of 136 Indians, together with our evidence for a possible 202 Indians on the Peninsula in 1834, inclusive of emancipated individuals.

To the end of bringing forward some of the individual Indian people living on the San Francisco Peninsula, we return to Appendix F:Table 14 and find the following Indian families that continued to bring children for baptism at Mission Dolores in the late 1840s and the 1850s:

- Francisco Borja (Tomoi Mutsun/Uypi Awaswas) and Maria Concepcion (Tejey Yokuts) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1853, and 1855, as well as at Mission Santa Clara in 1851 (Family 29).
- Bernardino Alcantara (Cotegen San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Suisun Patwin—son of Pedro Alcantara of Family 19) and Mariana ("Tulares," probably Yokuts) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1851, 1854, 1858, and 1862 (Family 34).

- Francisco Antonio (Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Pt. Reyes vicinity Coast Miwok parents) and Marina (Ollatoy Patwin or Nisenan) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1849 and 1852 (Family 36).
- Juan Agustin (Saclan Bay Miwok/Chupcan Bay Miwok parents) and Maria Raymunda (Satiyomi Pomo) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1851, 1854, and 1857 (Family 37).
- Pedro Evencio (Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Saclan Bay Miwok parents of Family 25) and Pastora (Churuptoy Patwin) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1852, 1856, 1858, and 1862 (Family 38).
- Jose Isidro (no baptismal identification) and Maria del Refugio (no baptismal identification) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847 and 1851 (Family 39)
- Juan Diego (Saclan Bay Miwok—brother of Geronima in Family 25) and Maria del Rosario (Suisun Patwin/Chupcan Bay Miwok parents in Family 27) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1848, 1850, 1852, and 1854 (Family 40).
- Jose Juvenal (Partacsi San Francisco Bay Costanoan from Mission Santa Cruz) and Maria Bernarda (no baptismal identification) had a child baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1849 and a child baptized at Mission Dolores in 1851 (Family 41).

This list documents only the married couples who were bringing children to the mission for baptism in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Needless to say, orphaned Indian children, unmarried Indian adults, and older couples were also present on the San Francisco Peninsula at the time.

Indians Forced off Rancho San Mateo, 1851 or 1852

The rural agricultural setting of present San Mateo county seems to have offered the Doloreños a greater chance for survival than the urbanized and racialized social landscape of San Francisco during the initial Gold Rush phase. A small Indian community continued to reside on Rancho San Mateo after the United States takeover of California. Their leader was a Puichon or Ssalson San Francisco Bay Costanoan man named Evencio Yaculo, whose family will be described in detail in the final section of this chapter.

There is no evidence that the man who received title to Rancho San Mateo in 1846, Governor Pio Pico's secretary Cayetano Arenas (of Los Angeles), occupied Rancho San Mateo during his brief tenure of ownership through 1848. An 1847 visitor to San Mateo recounted that "the building is in ruins and untenanted" (Stanger 1944:255). Pedro Evencio, son of Evencio Yaculo, testified in an 1869 court case that the Doloreños continued to cultivate the land at San Mateo under the direction of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, proprietor of neighboring Rancho Buri Buri, after the American takeover of California. The Indians planted wheat, beans and corn, but having no cattle of their own, they requested beef from Sanchez when they wanted it, and he would give them a steer to slaughter. Sanchez lent the Indians tools like plows along with draft animals, but in Evencio's words: "... the fence was all in common, they had all in common under the fence. Within the fence they worked separately in the same farm." (Land Case 178 ND:125).

William D. Howard and Henry Mellus purchased the San Mateo Rancho from Cayetano Arenas in 1848. They had made a fortune, beginning in 1845, purchasing the stores of the Hudson Bay Company with Howard family money, trading those stores, and then moving on to act as agents for several New England trading firms (Hynding 1982:35). They seem to have been diverted from taking immediate control of Rancho San Mateo, probably due to their business activities during the first years of the Gold Rush. In 1849, one Nicolas de Peyster illegally took possession of the old Rancho San Mateo adobe, cleaned it up and started a roadhouse (Stanger 1944:255; Hoover et al. 1990:379). Such squatter activity was taking place all over central California that year. De Peyster

testified before the federal land case commission in March of 1855 that lands near San Mateo Creek were enclosed and cultivated by Indians when he lived there:

> There was an Indian Rancheria on the place about a mile and a half back south west from the adobe building among the hills. The Rancheria has been there from my first knowledge of the place till lately and the Indians have lived about and worked there in the same fields where they formally did till I left the place in 1850 or early in 1851 and some two or three of them are still there... I never knew anybody to occupy it under Howard. The Indians told me they owned the land themselves and warned me off from it as their land. I suppose they cultivated it as their own (de Peyster in Land Case 409 ND:40).

At some point in the early 1850s, Howard took possession of Rancho San Mateo and forced the Mission Dolores Indians to leave, according to later court testimony. It is likely that the eviction occurred in 1851 at the same time that de Peyster was forced to leave. Pedro Evencio, in his 1869 testimony, stated that Howard "drove us off" (Land Case 178 ND:200). The Evencios and some other Indians moved a short distance north to Rancho Buri Buri to live under the patronage of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez (Land Case 178 ND:200).

Howard was one of the wealthiest men on the San Francisco Peninsula at the time he evicted the Indians from Rancho San Mateo. According to one historian:

> Howard soon made a fortune in trade and real estate, became a leading civic figure, and retired from his partnership with Mellus around 1850... During the early 1850s, after buying Mellus's interest in the ranch and driving off the remaining Indians who had been living around the old adobe, Howard built a small villa in the hills not far from San Mateo Creek and El Camino and began raising a few imported cattle. The first Peninsula resident to convert a rancho into a country estate, he lived in semi-retirement and traveled occasionally on business up to San Francisco (Hynding 1982:35).

Howard's eviction of the San Mateo Indians was a clear example of the new North American residents' disregard for native people. At the same time it marked the imposition of a new economic and class system. Although the ex-mission Indians retreated to a few safe havens on lands of Mexican patrons, those same patrons were losing their lands, further limiting the options for the ex-Mission Dolores Indians and other ex-mission Indians in California.

Peninsula Indians in the 1852 Census

Indian people are recorded in the 1852 special California census in varying degrees of detail, depending upon the approach of the local census taker. In the combined San Mateo and San Francisco county areas (a single county at the time) a total of 140 Indians are listed. Only a portion of them, 24 individuals, were listed by name. There were three distinct categories of Indians recorded: individual Indians working for whites (14, of whom 4 were named); Indians living together as a single family group (two families with a total of 20 individuals); and summary counts of Indians working for five different landowners (106 individuals).

The first group of 14 were apparently living in either San Francisco or San Mateo. Only four had their names listed:

- Sandy (from "Bodega"), male, age 12
- Manuela Casumu, female, age 20
- Ricardo Biceta, male, age 4
- Ignacio Camino, male age 26

The ten other persons in this category, aged 3 to "over 21" were identified only as an "Indian," and they were frequently employed as a "servant."

The second group consists of two families, the Juan Diego family (15 members), and the Jose Fernando family (5 members). These two families lived either together or next to each other, since they appear right after one another on page 464 of the census, as follows:

- Juan Diego, male, age 49, laborer
- Rosalia Diego, female, age 38
- 13 children (7 male, 6 female—names and ages omitted, listed as laborers)
- Jose Fernando, male, age 36 laborer
- Miguel Fernando, male, age 34 laborer
- Maria Fernando, female, age 35
- Maria Fernando, female, age 12
- Josifa Fernando, female, age 6

The two families appear on the same census page as Francisco Sanchez, owner of the San Pedro Rancho along the coast at the present town of Pacifica. They were probably Sanchez's unpaid employees. Juan Diego and Rosalia are recognizable as Family 40 of Appendix F:Table 14; Juan Diego was an uncle of Pedro Evencio, an important individual who will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.[42] The Fernando family of the 1852 census cannot be matched to any family documented in the mission registers of the era.

The largest group of San Francisco/San Mateo county Indians in the 1852 census (106 total) are not listed by name. Instead, they are listed by aggregate count in relation to the families of large landowners to whom they seem to have been attached. The series of landowners and Indians is listed between pages 464 and 483 of the census, certainly somewhere in present San Mateo county. Among the landowners were four sons of Jose Antonio Sanchez (California 1852):

- Jose de la Cruz Sanchez and Manuel Sanchez, 35 Indians (19 male, 16 female, 19 over 21 years of age).
- Chico Sanchez, 21 Indians (17 male, 4 female, 8 over 21 years of age).
- Francisco Sanchez, 7 Indians (4 male, 3 female, 2 over 21 years of age).
- In addition to the Sanchez brothers, two other landowners with attached Indians were reported:
- Jos. Porter, 17 Indians (10 male, 7 female, 9 over 21 years of age)
- Senor Montes (probably Miramontes), 26 Indians (14 male, 12 female, 16 over 21 years of age)

This 1852 census indicates that 56 Indians were living on Rancho Buri Buri property, seven more on Rancho San Pedro with Francisco Sanchez (in addition to the two families of Juan Diego and Jose Fernando listed above), and 26 were living on the San Benito rancho of the Miramontes family, along the coast south of Pilarcitos Creek (California 1852).

[42] Testimony in Land Case 178 n.d. states that Juan Diego is the uncle of Pedro Evencio. Mission register evidence indicates that he was the brother of Pedro Evencio's mother Geronima, and that Juan Diego and Geronima were Saclan Bay Miwoks from the east side of San Francisco Bay.

Especially noteworthy is the role of landowning Sanchez family members in offering native people a place to live and work, even if as servants and laborers. Fully 89 of the 140 Indians (63.6%) listed in the 1852 San Francisco/San Mateo census lived with a Californio landowner, most with Sanchez family members. Evidence points to the conclusion that in the early Gold Rush years, after Howard and other Anglo landowners evicted Indians from the San Mateo Rancho and other locations, the Indians mainly went to live with and work for nearby Californio landowners. This allowed them to maintain their family and community structures somewhat intact, at least for a time.

The age structure of the 140 San Francisco/San Mateo County Indians in the 1852 census (63 over age 21 and 77 under age 21) mimics a healthy population group, neither rapidly expanding nor rapidly declining. Males substantially outnumbered females, however, 86 (61.4%) to 54 (38.6%), reflecting the likelihood of future population declines due to a shortage of females of child bearing age. Furthermore, some of the young Indian people listed were probably abducted orphans from tribal areas, rather than children of the older people.

Finally, since 114 out of the 140 (81.4%) Indians listed for the combined San Francisco/San Mateo county areas, including all the family/community groups, were listed in conjunction with well known San Mateo County landowners, we can conclude the "patron-client" rancho labor system was still in place in San Mateo County in 1852.

San Mateo County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s

The Doloreños of the 1860s and 1870s spoke the Spanish language, practiced the Catholic religion and had brown skins. To many members of the immigrant white society that was flooding into California, any landless brown people who spoke Spanish were Mexicans. Whether thought of as Indians or landless Mexicans, the Doloreños were marginalized within white-controlled society in the central California of the 1860s and 1870s. By 1860 most Bay Area lands were in the hands of Anglo-Americans. Livestock raising, a key source of employment for Indians, went into decline in the Bay Area after 1862. Business owners and land owners found plenty of workers among failed North American, English, and French gold miners. Also, Chinese men were available where large work gangs were needed. Indian men found only occasional day labor jobs, not the steady work needed to hold a family together. During this era, we presume, some of the ex-mission Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula chose to fade into the greater Mexican population of central California.

For San Mateo county, the 1860 U.S. census lists only 52 Indians, where in 1852 there had been at least 114. The census lists another 11 mulattos native to California who were living with Indians, indicating that they were likely mixed-race Indians. Counting mulatto families, there were nine Indian families listed in the county (defined as at least one Indian child living with at least one Indian adult), with a total of 15 adults (seven male and eight female), and 19 children. Thus in 1860, about one-half of San Mateo County Indians lived in a family unit. The other half consisted of children living with white families and adults working as farm laborers, herdsmen, cooks, general laborers, washerwomen or woodchoppers (U.S. Census Office 1860b).

By 1860 North Americans were purchasing properties throughout San Mateo county. The Gold Rush had created vast wealth in San Francisco. Many of the richest citizens desired country estates. Other, less wealthy white newcomers wanted farms as the easy-to-mine gold disappeared. The Peninsula was ideal for both purposes. The Sanchez family's Rancho Buri Buri, home of some of the Peninsula Indians after 1855, was a key target for acquisition by the newly rich. Between 1853 and 1860 banker D. O. Mills, Mills' brother-in-law Ansel Easton, and cattle baron, butcher and large landowner Charles Lux, each purchased or otherwise acquired large sections of Rancho Buri Buri. Other, smaller landowners also acquired parts of this rancho. By 1863 there were at least 50 different owners of Buri Buri land, and most had Anglo or Irish names (Stanger 1938:254-257).

The top 15 landowners in San Mateo County in 1860 held a combined $836,600 in real estate (Table 10). Five of the top 15 estates were still held by old rancho families. Land ownership was only slightly less concentrated than it had been at the end of the Mexican Rancho Era. But the Rancho Era habit of incorporating the ex-mission Indian workers into the estate family was disappearing. The new land owners had no interest in giving fair employment to ex-mission Indians. The drop in reported Indian population in the county from 114 in 1852 to 52 in 1860 probably reflects the loss of habitable spaces after eviction from ranches.

Table 10. List of the Top 15 San Mateo County Landowners in 1860 (U.S. Census Office 1860B).

RANK	NAME	WORTH IN REAL ESTATE
1	Jas. D. Denniston	$200,000
2	George H. Howard	100,000
3	Francisco Sanchez	100,000
4	Jas. Johnson	80,000
5	Y. G. Phelpes	61,000
6	S. M. Meyess ("agent")	50,000
7	Gobocion Vasques	50,000
8	W. P. Morrison	40,000
9	John W. Kishing	40,000
10-12	Sanchez (3 families)	36,000
13	Charles Lux	30,000
14	H. Haws	30,000
15	A. Easton	25,000

The 1870 census for San Mateo County lists only eight California Indian people, most of them members of only one family, the Evencios. The decline in numbers had been sharp between 1852 and 1860, but between 1860 and 1870 the drop was catastrophic. A new factor putting stress on the San Mateo County Indians in the 1860s, beyond the factors discussed in the first section of this chapter, was the arrival of Chinese workers as a cheap labor force for the large landowners. The first page of the 1870 census for San Mateo County's Township 2, immediately proceeding the page on which the Evencio family is listed, shows three Sanchez family groups, each farming and each owning $10,200 worth of real estate (for a total of $30,600). In sharp contrast to 1852, they employed no Indians, but did employ four Chinese, Ah Jim, Ah Sam, Ah Kee and Ah John, as farm laborers (U.S. Census Office 1870a).

The farm labor niche was the one that most male San Mateo Indians had filled in 1860. Losing this employment meant not only a loss of the minimal income it would provide, but with the loss of reciprocal relationships with ranch owning families in the context of racialization and the advent of market-based class society, it also meant the loss of a place to live and access to regular food. The mainly immigrant North American population of San Mateo county, which doubled from 3,088 in 1860 to 6,098 in 1870, may have supported the removal of the laws that oppressed Indians in the 1850s, but they still had no desire to have Indians as neighbors or employees.

San Francisco County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s

In the City and County of San Francisco, the 1860 and 1870 censuses document the disappearance of acknowledged Mission Dolores Indians from the public record and the emergence of an urban pan-California Indian community. Only 37 Indians were reported in 1860 and 45 in 1870, remarkably low figures in a total San Francisco population of over 57,000 (1860) and 149,000 (1870).

The Indian people in the two censuses were by and large individual boarders or house servants. Only one Indian family group and one other Indian individual appear in either census. In neither case, it seems, were they ex-Mission Dolores Indians.

The names and age structure of the 37 Indians listed in the 1860 San Francisco census suggest, but do not prove, that many of them were there as a result of the practice of the informal slave raids on tribal villages that had been occuring since the 1830s. The age structure of the evenly divided male and female population was quite young. Not one of the 37 censused Indians was over 30 years of age. Only eight (21.6%), were over the age of 17. Fully 23 of the 37 (62.2%) were aged 10-17. The remaining six (16.2%) were aged nine or younger. Of 16 people listed with an occupation in 1860, 14 were servants, (including eight aged 12-14) and 2 were listed as 'laborers' (aged 11 and 16). Of those 16 servants and laborers, 9 were age 12-14. The only family was that of a single mother, 25 year old Mary Waskiss, and her six year old daughter Emily; they lived with James and Anna Hefner.

The personal names of the 37 San Francisco Indians censused in 1860 were North American, not Hispanic. Some had surnames derived from the white families with which they lived (for example, Rose Mark, aged 12, a servant, lived with Simon and Carolina Mark). Some were named for famous people (for example Abe Lincoln, aged 12, a servant, lived with the David and Sarah Smith family). Some had only first names (Charley, "Indian" aged 10, lived with the Nathan and Adelle Meyer family, while "Eureka," aged 14, lived with Benjamin and Georgianna Washington). Some of the Indians were recorded without any name at all, an example being "Buck Indian Boy" aged 12, a servant of Dan and Harriett Morgan (U.S. Census Office 1860a).

In 1870 a different group of Indian people were recorded in the U.S. census for San Francisco. Over one third (17 of 45) were from other states or outside the country, in contrast to 1860, when all 37 Indians in San Francisco had been born in California. As in 1860, personal names were North American; only two of the 45 people had Hispanic names. Single mother Mary Waskiss and her daughter Emily do not appear in the 1870 census. The only Indian family was that of Joseph Waterford, a 69 year old sail maker, and his 12 year old relative Mary Waterford. Both Joseph and Mary were born outside California, Joseph in the Rocky Mountains and Mary in Pennsylvania.

In 1870, 80% of all Indians in San Francisco (36 of 45) were female. Of those females old enough to list an occupation, 25 of 27 (92.6%) were domestic servants. One 35 year old woman named Louisa Remer from British Columbia, did bead work. A 21 year-old woman, Eureka Washington, was listed as a prostitute; she was the only Indian person who was listed in both the 1860 and 1870 San Francisco censuses. Of the remaining nine young female Indians in the 1870 census, only two were shown as attending school. Both were at the Mt. Joseph Infant Asylum. The one Indian female with a Hispanic name, Juanita, was a 23 year old California native working as a domestic servant at St. Mary's Hospital.

The nine Indian males listed in the 1870 San Francisco census had a greater occupational diversity than the females. Joseph Waterford, as mentioned above, was a sail maker, while one was listed as a seaman, three attended the city's Industrial School, and four were domestic servants. The only Indian male with a Hispanic name, Pedro Wade, was a 17 year old California-born domestic servant. Including both male and female, only two Indians were over 30 years of age. The age structure of Indians in San Francisco continued to be young in 1870. All but three of the 45 censused Indians were under age 31. Twenty-six (57.8%) were 17 years of age or younger. Another 17 (37.8%) were aged 18 to 30 years (U.S. Census Office 1870c).

The near absence of complete families among the Indians in San Francisco in 1860 and 1870 reflects the disrupted condition of Indian families through much of California during that period of tremendous Anglo-American population growth. Their youth, and their labor profile as domestic

servants, hints that many of the Indians in those censuses may have been brought to the city through the illicit trade in Indian children that had been ongoing since the late 1830s.

LAST KNOWN NATIVE FAMILIES ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA

Only two native Indian families retain visibility on the San Francisco Peninsula in the historic record after the Rancho Era. One of them, the Alcantaras, lived at Mission Dolores; their patriarch Pedro Alcantara told Indian agent Adam Johnson in 1850 that he was the last of his people. The other, the Evencios, lived at Rancho San Mateo until evicted by William D. Howard in 1851 or 1852. (Descendants of a third family, that of Francisca Xaviera of Aramai and her husband Jose Ramos from Mexico, continued to live in west-central California, but are not followed here because their son Pablo Antonio Ramos had grown up as a part of the *gente de razon*.) We focus in this section on the life histories of those two Indian families, from their initial appearance at Mission Dolores through their disappearance from the historic record in the twentieth century.

The Evencio Family of San Mateo

A four year old boy named Yaculo, who was to found the only San Mateo county Indian extended family documented into the twentieth century, was baptized at Mission Dolores on October 31, 1790. He was brought to the mission by his father Gesmon ("The Sun" [also spelled Exmon]) and his mother Ssipiem, San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from either the Lamchin or Puichon local tribe, and he was christened Evencio. Four years later, Evencio's future parents-in-law were baptized. They were Sacalinchi and his wife Uimusmaen, who led the first group of adult Saclan Bay Miwoks through the baptismal ceremony at the mission in December of 1794; after fleeing in 1795 they returned with a son who was christened Juan Diego in 1798. Their mission-born daughter Geronima, Evencio's future wife, was baptized in June of 1800. Geronima and Evencio were married in about 1826 and had at least eight children between that year and 1844 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 25). Their oldest son, Pedro Evencio, was the man whose testimony in federal court in 1869 about the eviction of the Indians from Rancho San Mateo, was mentioned in the previous section of this chapter.

Facts in the life of Pedro Evencio, with special reference to his status as a client and friend of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez during the American Period, were first brought to the attention of historians by Alan K. Brown (1973b). Below, we provide more background about Pedro Evencio and his extended family. Pedro Evencio's paternal grandparents, Rosendo Exmon and Osana Ssapiem, were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1793 (SFR-B 1231, 1248), three years later than their son Evencio Yaculo. Evencio Yaculo grew up in the Mission Dolores community and married Salaverba, a Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan, in 1804 (SFR-M 953, SFR-B 2747). Evencio and Salaverba had five children before she died in 1820 (SFR-B 3610, 4416, 4895, 5672, 5869—not on Appendix F:Table 14). Evencio Yaculo then married Geronima some time during the mid-1820s, although no record of the wedding has been found. Geronima had also been married previously, to Marino Jose of the Olemaloque Coast Miwoks (SFR-M , SFR-B 3906); her last child with him, Maria Antonia, was born in 1824. The seven children of Evencio and Geronima who appear in the Mission Dolores baptismal record were baptized between 1828 and 1844. Since none of them was named Pedro, we presume that he was born in 1826 and that Evencio Yaculo and Geronima were also married that year (Appendix F:Table 14, family 25).

Evencio Yaculo and Geronima raised their children during the Rancho Era at the mission outstation of Rancho San Mateo. Pedro Evencio stated in 1869 court testimony that his father had been the leader of the San Mateo Indian community when Pedro was young. Pedro considered Jose de la Cruz Sanchez to have been his father's patron and the rightful owner of Rancho San Mateo during the 1840s. During the testimony he was asked, "Did José de la Cruz Sanchez come on that

rancho [San Mateo] with cattle and lend your father animals to plow with, and give your father beef as far back as you can remember?" Pedro answered affirmatively (Land Case 178 ND, Pedro Evencio testimony, Question 56). Pedro's testimony makes clear that he had no idea that his family had some claim, as ex-Mission Dolores Indians, to the lands of Rancho San Mateo. (We note here that the United States Counsel objected to Pedro Evencio's 1869 testimony "... on the ground that it is incompetent because of his race and color" [Land Case 178 ND]).

Pedro Evencio married Pastora at Mission Dolores in December of 1846. She was a Churuptoy Patwin from the present Woodland, Yolo county area by way of Mission San Francisco Solano (SFS-B 1166). The marriage entry lists Pedro as 20 years old and the bride as 18 (SFR-M 2162). Pedro Evencio and Pastora had four children who were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1852 and 1862 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 38). Those children were typical mixed-ancestry Doloreños, having as they did a Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Saclan Bay Miwok father and a Churuptoy Patwin mother.

The Evencio family did not appear as individuals in the 1860 census. In the 1870 census of San Mateo County, however, the "Abensio" family was listed as follows:

- Abensio, Padro, 45, male, Farm laborer
- " Pastora, 38, female, Keeping home
- " Maria, 17, female
- " Casusa, 8, male
- " (no name listed) 4, female
- Diago, John, 68, male (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a)

Later evidence indicates that the Evencio family also had a son Joseph, about 10 years old in 1870, whom the census taker apparently missed. The family was living in the same household as both Francisca Sanchez (45, female), who owned real estate worth $5,000, and Eustancio Valencia (44, male), who also owned $5,000 worth of real estate. Indians were never listed as owning any real or personal estate in the 1860 or 1870 censuses of San Mateo county.

John Diego, the 68-year-old man living with Pedro Evencio and Pastora in 1870, has an interesting story of his own. In the 1869 Rancho San Mateo court case Pedro Evencio had stated that "John Diego" was his uncle and that the two of them were the only original San Mateo county Indians still alive (Land Case 178 ND). Mission register evidence shows that Juan Diego was the brother of Pedro Evencio's mother Geronima; he was the child that Sacalinchi and Uimusmaen had brought for baptism when they returned to Mission Dolores in 1798 after the Saclan flight of 1795. Juan Diego does not seem to have married until middle age; his children with Maria Rosario, a mixed Suisun Patwin/Chupcan Bay Miwok, appear in the Mission Dolores baptismal register between 1848 and 1854 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 40). Juan Diego, his wife, and 13 children were listed in the 1852 census for San Francisco/San Mateo counties.

Although the 1880 census for San Mateo county listed only eight Indians, five of them were members of the Evencio family. They were living with and working for the white farm family of Louis Doff. They are listed as follows:

- Abencio, Pedro, 58, male, Farm laborer
- " Mary, 58, female, Keeping home
- " Mary, 25, female
- " Refuga, 16, female
- " Thomas, 5, male

Pastora apparently was using the name Mary that year. Another of their offspring, Joseph Evencio, 22, was living nearby and working as a stableman at a hotel in the San Mateo area (U.S. Census Office 1880a).

Pedro Evencio and Pastora were visited in 1894 by Mary S. Barnes, who wrote the following short piece for *The Sequoia*, the official student magazine of Stanford University:

> There lives in San Mateo, an old Indian, Pedro Evancio by name, the last of all the... Indians born and bred at the Mission Dolores. Don Pablo Vasquez of Spanish town put us on his track one day when we were asking if there were still any living descendants of the old inhabitants of the valley. "His father was my father's man," he said. "When my father was vaquero of the Mission Dolores, just before the Americans came in."
>
> When we went to see Pedro, we found him in a little white-washed house, neat within and without, the garden full of pinks and stocks, and all sweet, bright flowers, with a dog haunting about it. His wife, a dark Spanish woman, showed us into a neat living room; in one corner of it stood the bed; various ornaments adorned the walls, and on the table stood a great bunch of flowers.
>
> "Could we see Mr. Pedro Evancio?" "Si, si," and there appeared in the kitchen-door Pedro Evancio; a well-built, well-proportioned man, dignified though shy, with a dark beard, an observant eye, dressed in workman's clothes.
>
> We advanced with ardor; but he met our advance with a grave and questioning reserve... Spanish was his native tongue, and our first interview consisted mostly of surprise, friendliness, and a little embarrassment. But in a later interview through his son, an intelligent young workman, we were able to carry on a second-hand conversation, and to obtain photographs of Pedro Evancio. He could not say to what tribe he belonged,—he knew himself only as a Mission Indian; but the old Indian trails, especially that trail by which the Mission Indians used to drag redwood to the Mission Dolores, were all fresh in his mind, and his son Joseph could make us a clear map of the whole Santa Clara Valley with all its old trails.
>
> Pedro's general appearance, and especially his rather full beard, made us doubt the purity of his Indian descent. But in Palou's diary of 1774, full descriptions of our Santa Clara valley Indians are given; "well-formed and tall, many of them bearded like a Spaniard..." (Barnes 1894:277).

A photo of Pedro Evencio was obtained by Barnes during her 1894 visit (Figure 15).

Cemetery records at St. John's Cemetery in San Mateo list the burial of "Edwin Domingo Evencio" in January of 1896. Yet all accompanying information fits the description of Pedro Evencio. His age is given as 69 (born about 1826); birthplace San Francisco; date of death January 19 or 20, 1896; a married male of the "copper" race; and struck and killed by a railroad train at the Burlingame Station (San Mateo County 1896). That the man killed by a train in 1896 was indeed Pedro Evencio is confirmed by a November of 1907 newspaper article about his son Joseph, which stated that Pedro was killed "about ten years earlier" (*San Mateo Leader* November 6, 1907:4). He had reportedly been warned about walking home on the train tracks but liked to do it anyway (Brown n.d.:4; Stanger 1963:32).

Only one member of the Evencio family was listed in the 1900 federal census of San Mateo county. He was Joseph Evencio, son of Pedro and Maria Pastora. He was listed as a 40 year old (born in March of 1860) single man. Joseph's occupation was a laborer; he could read and write as well as speak English. We do not know what became of Pedro Evencio's wife Pastora/Mary or of their

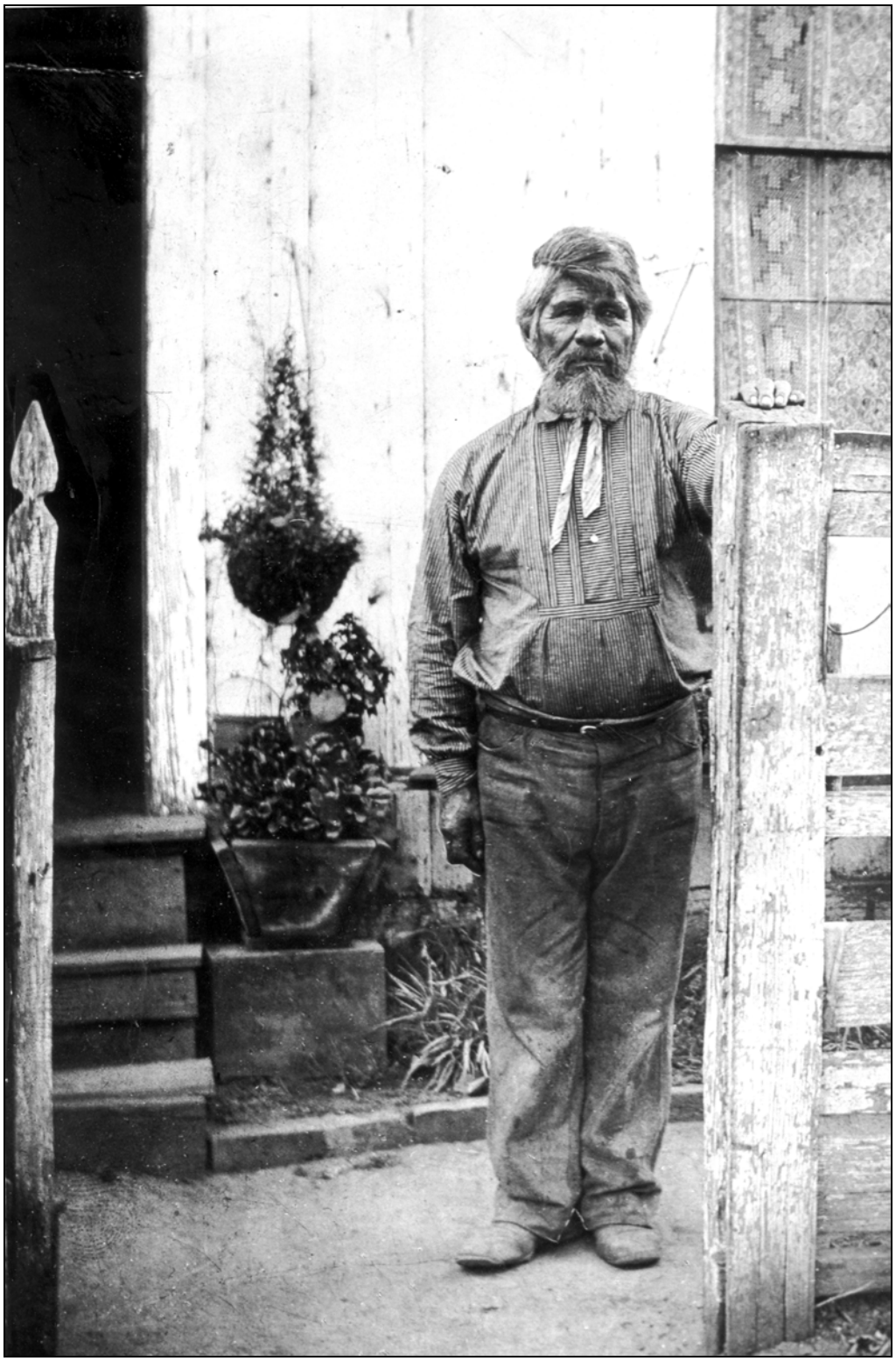

Figure 15. San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/Costanoan Pedro Evencio in 1894 (Age Unknown). Courtesy of San Mateo County History Museum.

children listed in the 1880 census, Mary, Refugia and Thomas. No other Indians could be found for San Mateo county in that 1900 census (U.S. Census Bureau 1900b), although C. E. Kelsey of the BIA reported groups of Indians living in Redwood City and San Mateo in 1906.

Joseph Evencio, son of Pedro Evencio, was himself killed by an electric railroad car near Millbrae in early November, 1907. The newspaper report called him "Indian Joe," said that he was full blooded, and stated that he had earned his living doing odd jobs. This was the article that noted that his father had also been killed by a railroad train about ten years earlier (*San Mateo Leader* November 6, 1907:4). Soon upon Joseph Evencio's death, members of the local Woman's Club found out that his body was being neglected by a county deputy coroner who also had an undertaking establishment. The full story of their protest and successful effort to provide him a decent burial was recorded by the San Francisco Call:

> CRITICIZE UNDERTAKER'S TREATMENT OF CORPSE
>
> Accused of Neglecting Body of "Indian Joe," Scion of Ancient Family
>
> *San Mateo, Nov. 9* – J. G. McCarthy, proprietor of the Floral City undertaking parlors, is being criticized by the members of the San Mateo woman's club and many citizens as the result of his alleged inhuman treatment of the body of Joseph Evinco, "Indian Joe," who was killed by an electric car near Easton on the night of November 6. McCarthy, being a deputy coroner, removed the body to his undertaking establishment in San Mateo, and his subsequent treatment of the corpse is said to have been neglectful in the extreme.
>
> Old residents began to take up a subscription when they heard of "Indian Joe's" death, being desirous of giving the man, whose family in early days had owned half of this peninsula, a decent burial. Daniel Sullivan collected $30 within a few minutes, and, going to McCarthy's place with the money, said that he wished the body to be given a befitting burial and that there would be more money forthcoming. McCarthy took the money, but did not seem overanxious to do anything special for the body, it is said.
>
> Sullivan made mention of McCarthy's demeanor to two prominent members of the Women's Club and the ladies went to McCarthy's establishment to investigate. They said that they found that the body had been left in an outhouse in the same position as it had been found; that the face had not been washed and that the corpse had not even been straightened out. McCarthy's actions and talk were considered insulting by these women, according to their statements, so much so in fact that they made arrangements with Undertaker James Crowe of Redwood City to come for the body.
>
> When Crowe learned of the identity of the body, he donated the services of two men, a hearse, a carriage and a fine coffin. Joe's body was removed from McCarthy's establishment and given an imposing funeral from the Catholic church, being laid away in St. John's cemetery in the same plot as his father and mother. Criticism of the women who had taken the matter up induced McCarthy to return $15 of the $30 he had received, the undertaker claiming that at least that amount was due him for the services he had rendered the corpse of the man who could trace his ancestry back to the time of the Montesumas (*San Francisco Call* November 10, 1907:39).

The burial of Joseph Evencio, who was 47 or 49 years old when he died in 1907, is not the end of the Evencio family story. In 1963 historian Frank M. Stanger stated in his book *South From San Francisco* that one "Indian Joe" was living in a "crude shelter" at Coyote Point during the late 1930s, adding that "... his real name, it seems, was Joseph (Jose) Evencio" (Stanger 1963:32). Alan Brown (1973b:16) reproduced a photograph of him, supposedly taken in the early 1920s at Coyote Point. The man seemed to be about 40 years old in the photograph. Perhaps he was a son or nephew

of the Joseph Evencio who died in 1907. With the disappearance of the younger Joe Evencio, "the San Mateo County Indians have vanished from among us as completely as any people could," wrote Brown (1973b:23).

The Alcantara Family of San Francisco

The Indian man who told Indian Sub-agent Adam Johnson in 1850, "I am all that is left of my people. I am alone," was named Pedro Alcantara (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853:506, quoted by Castillo 1978a:105). At the time Johnson ascribed those words to hime, Pedro Alcantara was approximately 64 years old. He was indeed the last tribally-born person of his home group, the Cotegen (alias Ssalaime) group of the San Mateo county coast. He was also a Yelamu through his mother, and was the last living tribally-born person with direct ancestry to that group as well. But he was not the last ex-Mission Dolores Indian. Nor was he the last member of his family. In the Johnson interview he stated, "I had a son. I loved him. When the palefaces came he went away. I do not know where he is." In fact, however, his son Bernardino was away only temporarily. Pedro Alcantara's children and grandchildren appear in various records long after 1850.

Pedro Alcantara's mother, Restituta Juium, was pregnant with him when she and Pedro's father, Gonzalo Simmón, were baptized at Mission Dolores in April of 1786 (SFR-B 534, 535). Pedro was born in August at a village of his father's people, the Cotegens of the San Mateo coast, and baptized back at Mission Dolores in September (SFR-B 553). Pedro's mother was one of four baptized sisters originally from Sitlintac village of the Yelamus (SFR-B 535). Pedro was the only one of four baptized children of Gonzalo and Restituta to reach adulthood.

Pedro Alcantara married his first wife, the twice widowed Celsa Ochacantel, at Mission Dolores in May of 1818. Celsa was a Tamal Coast Miwok who had already outlived two Coast Miwok husbands. Celsa died a year later, having had no children with Pedro. Pedro married again in November of 1820, this time to a Suisun Patwin woman named Crisanta Geyumtole who had come down to San Francisco from the tribal Patwin lands with her mother in 1815. At the time of their wedding, Crisanta was 16 and Pedro was 34. Pedro and Crisanta had four documented children in the 1820s and 1830s (Appendix F:Table 14, family 19). They may have had other children who never appeared in any mission register. The missionary at the time, Tomas Estenega, did not take great care with the records.

Bernardino, baptized as Fernandino, was the only one of Pedro Alcantara and Crisanta's four children to marry and have children of his own. Bernardino married a girl named Mariana at Mission Santa Clara in 1843 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 34). Mariana had been brought to the Santa Clara Mission from the "tulares" at age 10 by Manuel Alviso in 1833 (SCL-B 8599). Her marriage record with Bernardino states that she had been been adopted by Evencio and Geronima, the Rancho San Mateo couple highlighted in the subsection above. Six months after Bernardino's wedding, his mother, the Suisun woman Crisanta, died and was buried at Mission Santa Clara (SCL-D 7731 on April 26, 1843).

Bernardino Alcantara and Mariana were one of the couples who moved back and forth between the San Francisco and Santa Clara vicinities during the 1840s. Their first child was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1843 and their second child was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847. No children were born to them over the years 1848-1850, when Indian Sub-agent Adam Johnson met Bernardino's father Pedro and learned from him that his son had gone away (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1860, quoted by Castillo 1978a:105). Possibly Bernardino had gone to the gold mines. Bernardino and Mariana had another child baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1851 (Maria Crisanta). They then had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1854 (Maria Refugio Aniceta), 1858 (Espiridion), and 1862 (Maria). One of these children, Maria, lived until 1922. We reviewed the 1852, 1860 and 1870 censuses for evidence of either the Pedro Alcantara or Bernardino Alcantara family in San Mateo or San Francisco Counties, but could not locate them. They may have passed and been listed as white. Alternatively they may have lived elsewhere during these years, or were missed by the census takers.

As mentioned above, Bernardino Alcantara's daughter Maria, born in 1862, lived into the 1920s. By the time of her death she had married and taken her husband's surname, becoming known as Marie Bernal Buffet. A brief account of her life was published in the *San Francisco Examiner*, as follows:

> LAST OF INDIANS IN S.F. IS DYING AMID POVERTY
>
> Amid scenes of poverty and woe a member of a fast-vanishing race is passing to the happy hunting grounds of her ancestors.
>
> She is Marie Bernal Buffet, last of San Francisco's Indians whose history and reminiscences are part of the romance of California.
>
> Of that varied existence which began back in the sunny days of San Francisco sixty-five years ago, there is nothing left to the paralyzed old woman but the coin of dreams. Her little home is mortgaged for $500, which has long since been expended for medicine and doctor's bills. Antoine Buffet, the Frenchman who married the Indian girl forty years ago, is in constant attendance at her bedside in the little room at Millbrae seeking with scanty store to bring a measure of comfort to her remaining days.
>
> Marie Buffet's grandfather, Pedro Acanta, was a devoted friend of Father Junipero Serra and helped plan the first adobe Mission Dolores in 1776, superintending the Indian youths who bore the timber from the San Pedro valley and working with the monks during the eight years of its construction.
>
> The present William D. Howard estate on the peninsula was once owned, through a grant of the padres, by Pedro Evensio, a cousin of Marie Bernal Buffet. Her middle name is taken from the Bernal family from whom the Bernal Heights district was named. A student of Notre Dame convent in her youth, the rosary she figures [sic] was the gift of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, whose interest in the fate of the surviving Indians of old San Francisco was paramount.
>
> "I could tell him of only eleven living Indians at the time he gave me the rosary," says the old woman (*San Francisco Examiner*, July 18, 1922, p. 9).

The 1922 article is not correct about Pedro Alcantara's role at Mission Dolores in 1776, since he was not born until over a decade later. Nor was Pedro Evencio her cousin, at least biologically. However, her mother Mariana had been adopted by Evencio Yaculo and Geronima, making Pedro Evencio her adopted brother. Marie Buffet's logic in describing Pedro Evencio as her cousin makes sense in that light.

The life history of the Pedro Alcantara-Crisanta family, down to the dying days of their granddaughter Marie Buffet, illustrates a number of patterns in the story of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan people of the San Francisco Peninsula.

- The high death rate among the children of tribal San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers is illustrated by the fact that Pedro Alcantara was one of the few children born at Mission Dolores in the eighteenth century to grow up and have children of his own.
- Pedro Alcantara's marriages, first to a Coast Miwok woman and then to Crisanta, a Suisun Patwin woman, as well as Bernandino's marriage to Mariana, a woman from the San Joaquin Valley, illustrate the common pattern of Costanoan men marrying young women from other tribal peoples who were migrating to San Francisco from much greater distances than would have been the case in pre-mission times.
- The survival of Marie Buffet, a Sitlintac descendant (her father's father's mother was Restituta Juium of Sitlintac) up to 1922, without any indication of her as an Indian in federal censuses, reminds us that other surviving San Francisco Peninsula descendants may have blended into twentieth-century society without notice.

COSTANOANS BEYOND THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1847-1928

In this section we review what little is known about the descendents of Costanoan language family speakers beyond the San Francisco Peninsula during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Separate sub-sections examine the Indian people of the Mission San Jose, Mission Santa Clara, combined Missions San Juan Bautista/Santa Cruz, and Mission Carmel areas. The Mission Soledad area is not addressed because it was abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century. The people of Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz are discussed together because little is known about the late nineteenth-century Mission San Juan Bautista people, but there is some indication that they interacted heavily with the Santa Cruz people.

East Bay Indians and the Alisal/Verona Band

Mission San Jose was the most populous of the missions to Costanoan speaking peoples in the mid-1830s, but the majority of its 1,795 people in 1834 were Plains Miwok speakers. Still, there were approximately 140 San Francisco Bay Costanoans and their descendents in the population that year. Many ex-Mission San Jose family groups continued to live in the East Bay throughout the period from 1847 to 1927. Traditional native language and culture continued to be woven into the existence of at least some of the ex-Mission San Jose Indians, perhaps due to constant contact with relatives who returned to the Central Valley and Sierra foothills. J. P. Harrington's informant Angela Colos remembered a dance house somewhere in the San Leandro area during the 1850s and 1860s:

> Martin was good to stand on top of the sweathouse above San Leandro. Both [Maria] and Jose have heard him. He was "sermonero" so they called them. Call it "echando sermon." Might say also "espichero." [They spoke good things] How could I tell you all he says. He was counseling the people. To all the people, to instruct. [Men] and women heard all he said from temascal top there (Colos paraphrased in Harrington 1921-29).

Both old Christian (mainly San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and new Christian (mainly Plains Miwok) people secured places as workers on ranchos in the East Bay during the 1840s. By 1860, the census shows that many Indian families were still in place on a number of ranches of Mexican families. Two Indian families (Majin and Michaela; Felipe Gonzales and Catarina) continued to live next door to landowner Augustin Alviso at "Cerritos" on the Fremont Plain southwest of Mission San Jose. (The ranch house, and presumably the Indian homes, were in the south part of the rancho, near Newark). Another cluster lived at Vallejo's Mill (Niles), including the Santos family (Hipolito and Refugia). Other Indian families lived in the Centerville, San Lorenzo, and San Leandro areas. A few individuals and families were listed in the Livermore Valley area during the 1860 census (U.S. Census Office 1860c).

The 1870 census indicates that most of the East Bay Indian people were living in the Pleasanton area, on the ranch of Juan Bernal and/or John Kottinger (U.S. Census Office 1870b). It lists the 68 members of this community, all immediately following 35 year old "A. Burnell" (probably Andres Bernal, son of original Valle de San Jose rancho owner Agustin Bernal), his wife and eight other white family members. We have no direct testimony that explains the consolidation of Indian people at the Bernal ranch and a few other spots during the 1860s. We infer that it was the result of eviction from many other ranches as they came under control of North Americans and retreat to the few places where they were still accepted.

The 68 Indians at the Bernal ranch were organized into 13 small families (ranging from two to eight members), living in an equal number of dwellings. Almost all are listed with only their first names, which may have been the only names they had at this point in time. Table 11 shows the age and sex ratios for this group. While the age structure of the group appears to be within the normal

range, the sex structure is not, with males over 21 outnumbering females over 21 by two to one. On the other hand, in the 10 to 20 age group, there are five times as many females as males. Only the 0-9 year old age group, born in the 1860s, has a near normal sex ratio. In frontier California, with so many more men than women, adult females were lured, stolen and forced to interact with white society. Perhaps male Indian children were also preferred as servants or workers by the larger white society and so they were also taken during the 1850s, explaining the small number of male Indian children aged 10 to 20. In any case, the result was an abnormal sex ratio in this community, likely to lead to population decline in the long term.

Table 11. Age and Sex Structure of 68 California Indians at the Bernal Rancho near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1870 Census (U.S. Census Office 1870B).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
1 M (100%)	12 M (70.6%)	12 M (63.2%)	2 M (15.4%)	8 M (44.4%)
0 F	5 F (20.4%)	7 F (36.8%)	11 F (84.6%)	10 F (55.6%)
1 (1.5%)	17 (25%)	19 (27.9%)	13 (19.1%)	18 (26.5%)

In the early 1870s, the people at Pleasanton participated in the short-lived Ghost Dance that began in Nevada in 1870. A Paiute man had dreamed that dancing would cause the white people to disappear and the traditional Indian life to be re-established. In 1872 Ghost Dance leaders from Pleasanton journeyed to at least three places in the Sierran foothills to spread the religion (Du Bois 1939, Gifford 1926c). Yet, on May 30, 1873, ten Pleasanton Indian couples had church weddings at Mission San Jose (San Jose Mission Second Book of Marriages [SJO-M2], records 205-214). Some were couples who had had children in the 1860s and had long ignored the formality of a church wedding. This event may reflect their disillusionment when the Ghost Dance failed to produce tangible results.

By 1890 the Hearst family had purchased much of the Bernal Rancho. The Indian rancheria at the ranch had been called Alisal up to that time. Its name was changed to Verona when some unnamed railroad employee gave that name to a rail stop on the new line pushed through the village area soon thereafter. Mrs. Hearst allowed the Indians to stay in their homes, but the community was declining in numbers.

When anthropologists C. Hart Merriam and Alfred L. Kroeber visited Alisal/Verona in the first decade of the twentieth century, they found that Plains Miwok was the predominate native language of the group. But they also found people who still knew San Francisco Bay Costanoan. We have a good picture of the langauge background of the individual Indian people in the Alisal/Verona band during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from the notes of Merriam and Kroeber, the more extensive notes of J. P. Harrington in the 1920s, census and mission record materials, and the accounts of living Alisal/Verona descendents. Among the many patterns that emerge from study of the families is one of increasing intermarriage among descendents of San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Bay Miwoks, Delta Yokuts, Plains Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, and Patwins over time. Examples of mixed families are the following:

- Jose Antonio (SJO-B 8089), who was recognized as chief of the little group at Verona until his death in approximately 1900, was the son of a mixed Napa Patwin/Chocoime Coast Miwok father (SJO-B 2886, 2996, 3573) and an Ochejamne Plains Miwok mother (SJO-B 6286).
- Jose Guzman (mission baptism not found), one of Harrington's two main consultants among Mission San Jose descendents in the 1920s, was pure Delta Yokuts (parents SJO-B 3629, 4224), but his wife Francisca (SJO-B 8389) had the Napa Patwin/Chocoime Coast Miwok/Ochejamne Plains Miwok mix of her uncle Jose Antonio on her mother's

side (see above), and a bilingual Jalquin San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok and Napa Patwin mix on her father's side (SJO-B 4084 of SFR-B 2322 and SJO-B 2842). Guzman and Francisca had numerous children who were descended from every language group of west-central California.

- Maria Angela Colos (SJO-B 7774), Harrington's other key consultant, was Geluasibe Coast Miwok (a sub-group of Omiomi) on her father's side (SRA-B 558, 588, 589) and Ochejamne Plains Miwok on her mother's side (SJO-B 6247). Colos learned the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language from her step-father, Santiago Piña (SJO-B 4075), son of a Souyen father (SJO-B 201) and Luecha mother (SJO-B 1520).
- Three daughters of Panfilo Yaquilamne (probably SJO-B 7344, a Gualacomne Plains Miwok) and Efrena (SJO-B 6658, part bilingual Jalquin San Francisco Bay Costanoan/ Bay Miwok and part Napa Patwin [SFR-B 2322, SJO-B 2842]). Those daughters are the ancestors of the Marine/Alvarez/Galvan/Sanchez group of families, many of whom belong to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe.

The 1900 census lists 34 individuals in ten different family groups and separate fixed dwellings at the village (U.S. Census Office 1900a). All are identified as "Mission San Jose" Indians. Only one, Tania Santos, a 20-year-old female, had secured enough education to be able to read and write, although one other person could read and most could speak English. The occupations of ten of the men and two of the women were listed as "Day Laborer," but all but two were listed as unemployed from seven to 11 months of the year. Of those two, one was employed for eight months and the other was employed all year. Although numbers are small, the age and sex structure indicates a stable group with a diverse age structure and nearly even numbers of males and females. Only in the 21-30 age group was there a serious imbalance between males and females (Table 12).

Table 12. Age and Sex Structure of 34 California Indians at the Hearst Property near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1900 Census (U.S. Census Office 1900A).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
2 M (66.7%)	2 M (33.3%)	8 M (72.7%)	2 M (40%)	4 M (44.4%)
1 F (33.3%)	4 F (66.7%)	3 F (27.3%)	3 F (60%)	5 F (55.6%)
3 (8.8%)	6 (17.6%)	11 (32.4%)	5 (14.7%)	9 (26.5%)

The Verona band was visited in 1906 by BIA Special Agent C. E. Kelsey, who was documenting groups of landless Indians in response to a late nineteenth-century law directing the formation of new small reservations (see discussion in the first section of this chapter). Kelsey found 14 families with a total of 28 people, with another 6 families and 14 people at Niles (Kelsey 1971). No action was ever taken, however, to secure land for them.

The Verona band gradually broke up during the years prior to 1914 and its people moved to nearby towns like Pleasanton, Sunol, Niles, Fremont, Milpitas, Newark and Livermore. Family tradition of descendants of some of those people says that the last tribal dance at Pleasanton was held in 1897, and that the last recognized chief of the rancheria, Jose Antonio, died in 1900. The dance house for which he had been responsible was torn down at that time (Galvan 1968:12). When Kroeber returned in 1914, he found that most of the older people had moved away or died (Milliken 2002c:72). Descendants of the Alisal/Verona Band still live in the San Francisco Bay Area today; they form the core membership of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe (Field et al. 1992:19).

The Problem of the Mission Santa Clara Descendents

At the beginning of secularization in 1834, Mission Santa Clara was the home of 1,108 Indians. It was second in size only to Mission San Jose among missions that had taken in Costanoan speakers. By the year 1860, only 167 Indians were reported for the entire Santa Clara county area. Indians are almost absent from the standard histories of Santa Clara county, the one exception being Inigo, an Indian land-owner of the 1850s who will be discussed further below.

The 1,108 Indians at Mission Santa Clara in 1834 included the largest contingent of living San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and descendents at any mission, 343 people. (The other large Costanoan mission at that time, San Juan Bautista, housed 340 speakers of the distinct Mutsun Costanoan language.) Delta Yokuts, however, was the predominate native language at the mission at the time of secularization; it was spoken by about 730 people. Some 33 children were of mixed Costanoan-Yokutsan descent.

San Joaquin Valley and Sierra foothill Indians continued to come to Mission Santa Clara for baptism in small numbers after secularization. A visitor at the 1837 celebration to commemorate the founding of Mission Santa Clara reported that feather-bedecked and painted Indians put on an impressive dance (Atherton [1837] 1964:64). But most of the Yokuts speakers seem to have returned to the San Joaquin Valley in the late 1830s. Jackson (2002:91) perused primary sources to report that the Mission Santa Clara population was down to 400 in 1839, to 300 in 1842, and 130 in 1845. Some of the drop was doubtless due to the typical high mission death rate, but much can be attributed to emancipation, which took Indians off of the rolls of church responsibility.

Of the scores of ex-Mission Santa Clara Indians who must have been living in the Santa Clara Valley soon after 1850, only one individual, a man named Inigo, is commonly mentioned in the early histories of Santa Clara county. Inigo had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara at the age of eight in 1789 (SCL-B 1501). His parents, baptized during the mass conversions of 1794, came from the vaguely defined district of San Bernardino, so their village may have been anywhere from the Alviso-Mountain View area west to the Pacific Coast (SCL-B 3106, 3111). Inigo was one of four Mission Santa Clara natives to receive a land grant at secularization. He still owned a portion of the grant, Rancho Posolmi (north of San Jose near San Francisco Bay), in the 1850s. Also, although he was an old man, he was identified as the father of baptized infants with his much younger wife, Eustoquia (probably SFR-B 6421, an Ululato Patwin from the Vacaville area) as late as 1857 (SCL-B 12,270). In the land case battles of the 1850s, Inigo was able to hold on to about 450 acres of the parcel, which was originally at least four times as large. Inigo died at the end of February of 1864. He was 83 years old at death, although a newspaper obituary stated that he was said to be 104 years old at death (Shoup and Milliken 1999).

A rich body of primary information about Indians of Santa Clara county has been published by Jakki Kehl and Linda Yamane (1995). They collected and published the names of Indian people in the county listed in the 1852 census (447 names), 1860 census (164 names), 1870 census (5 names), 1880 census (58 names), 1900 census (5 names), 1920 census (1 name), and 1928 Jurisdictinal Act Enrollment census (58 individuals or family groups). Kehl and Yamane conducted familiy reconstitution case studies for some people listed as Indian in one or another of the censuses. Among their studies of people living in the general San Jose area, they found the following with links to mission registers.

- Guadalupe Berreyessa, a man listed as an Indian in Alviso township in the 1860 census, had only one definite California Indian ancestor, a woman named Maria Viridiana from Achasta, a Monterey area village (Rumsen Costanoan speakers); Maria Viridiana had married Marcos Villela at Mission Carmel in the eighteenth century.

- Ignacio Cantua, the only person listed as Indian in Santa Clara county in the 1920 census, may be the same person as Jose Ignacio, baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in 1852 (SJB-B 5016). That man was born to an Indian woman, Celedonia Cervantes, whose own baptism and home group has not been identified.
- Frank B. McCormick, who enrolled with the BIA in King City in 1930 at age 67, stated that his mother, Catherine McCormick, was an Indian mother raised in the Santa Clara area. The researchers identified the marriage record of the mother, Catherine Forbes, with Ludavicey McCormack at Mission Santa Clara in 1856; that record stated that she was an Indian from Sacramento. Since Kehl and Yamane's (1995) study, Milliken has identified the baptism at Mission San Jose (SJO-B 7637) in 1838 of seven-year-old Catarina Forbes; pertinent sections of the entry translate as, "brought from among the heathens [*gentiles*] and it is not known if she has parents … her godparents were Don Diego Forbes and Dueña Ana Maria Galindo, who have adopted her as their daughter."
- Simon Semichy of San Jose and his sister Manuela Gallardo, both enrolled under the 1928 Jurisdictional Act as descendents of a Santa Clara county Indian. Both traced their Indian ancestry back to Maria Bernarda Rosales Buelna, who was listed as white in the 1852 census for Santa Clara county. Manuela Gallardo's application included the information that Maria Buelna's grandmother was named Maria Monica. From that information the researchers were able to determine that ancestor Bernardo Rosales had married the Indian woman Monica at Mission San Luis Obispo. Since the publication of Kehl and Yamane's study, in 1995, Milliken has determined that Monica was from the village of Setjala in the present Cayucos coastal area, that she had been baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo at the age of 16 in 1774, and that she had married Bernardo Rosales shortly thereafter (SLO-B 77, SLO-M 4).

Kehl and Yamane (1995) indicate that Indians from many parts of California have moved to the San Jose vicinity over a long period of time, and that initial impressions about original homelands may be misleading.

No Mission Santa Clara descendents are known to us to be active in present-day Ohlone/Costanoan cultural or political activities. The mystery of the disappearance of the large post-mission population of Mission Santa Clara Indians, using the mission register database and the rich information in the 1852 census, begs future investigation.

Indians of the San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz Areas

Mission San Juan Bautista contained one of the two largest groups of Costanoan speakers at the time of secularization (about 340 people). Mission Santa Cruz, on the other hand, contained a very small Costanoan language family population in 1834 (about 58 people). Next to nothing has been published about the lives of the ex-mission Indians of either San Juan Bautista or Santa Cruz during the late nineteenth century.

Mission San Juan Bautista is now located in San Benito county. Because that county was not carved out of Monterey county until 1874, Table 9 shows no Indian people in San Benito County in the 1860 and 1870 censuses. One could document numerous Indian families in the San Juan Bautista area during the late nineteenth century by working with the mission records, since the Catholic ex-Mission San Juan Bautista Indian people continued to bring their children to the mission for baptism. But such a study is beyond the scope of this report. A quick look at the baptismal register database does show that a few Indian people moved to the area from missions Santa Clara, Carmel, Soledad, San Antonio, San Miguel, Santa Barbara, and San Buenaventura in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s.

Two of the large Mission San Juan Bautista Indian families of the late nineteenth century were the Solorsano family and the Sierras family. The Solorsanos were sons and daughters of Modesto of Ausaima Mutsun Costanoan descent and Maria of Pagsin Mutsun/Ensen Rumsen descent (SJB-B 268, 396). The Sierras family descended from Junipero of the Orestacs (Mutsun Costanoan) and two successive wives, Restituta of the Ausaimas (Mutsun Costanoan) and Sopatra of the Quithrathre Yokuts (SJB-B 1823, 602, 2766). Maria Ascencion Solorsano, a daughter of Barbara Sierras with her second husband, Miguel Solorsano, became the key Mutsun Costanoan consultant to J. P. Harrington just before her death as a very old woman in early 1930. Harrington temporarily moved in to the basement of the Solorsano home so he could be with Ascencion constantly (Agren 2002:7). Many descendents of the Solorsano family are active today as Mission San Juan Bautista descendents, most in the Amah Mutsun Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians (Ketchum 2002).

Another family line with descendents alive today was that of Eladio (SJB-B 584) of the Uñijaima group and Anselma of the Guachirrones de la Sierra (SJB-B 1796), both Mutsun Costanoan speakers. One of their daughters, Maria Guadalupe, born in 1835, later took the surname Ortega, probably after her godfather Quintin Ortega (SJB-B 4137). Guadalupe Ortega's daughter Soledad (SJB-B 4885) married Caterino Gilroy (SJB-B 4428), son of Englishman John Gilroy and local Hispanic Clara Ortega, in the late 1850s. Their son Alfredo Gilroy was the grandfather of some Amah-Mutsun people alive today. Details about the family, including a wide range of census data, are found in Kehl and Yamane's (1995) study of historic Santa Clara county Indians.

Sebastian Garcia was another noteworthy Indian in the Mission San Juan Bautista vicinity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Garcia's own baptism, and therefore his home group, has not been located in mission records. Nor has his wife, Maria Escolastica, been identified to general satisfaction in mission records. Garcia and Maria Escolastica had at least 11 children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They received a parcel of land near Hollister in 1904 which is in the possession of their great-granddaughter Ann Marie Sayers today (Imrie 2002, Sayers 1994, 2002).

The ex-Mission Santa Cruz Indians after 1834 were Awaswas Costanoans, Northern Valley Yokuts, and people that had parents from both language groups. The 1860 census shows a remarkably high Indian population, 218 people, more than the 152 Indians affiliated with Mission Santa Cruz in 1834. Mission Santa Cruz baptismal register entries for the 1846-1860 period document baptisms of children of a Mission Carmel couple, a Mission San Juan Bautista couple, and two Mission Santa Clara couples, as well as children of ex-Mission Santa Cruz Indians. At least up to 1860, the Santa Cruz vicinity seems to have been providing employment for Indian people, including some from other areas.

The 1870 census shows a drop to two Indian people in Santa Cruz county (see Table 9). Since the number climbs again to 131 in the 1880 census, the 1870 figure is probably not an accurate count, but instead reflects a census taker's disinterest in recording Indians.

Linguistic and historic information was gathered from Indian people in the Santa Cruz region during the 1870s through the 1890s. The linguistic material included key Awaswas Costanoan vocabularies collected from people who could still speak the language (Pinart in Heizer 1952; Henshaw in Heizer 1955). Awaswas Costanoan descendant Lorenzo Asisara provided a rich body of information in the 1880s and 1890s about Mission Santa Cruz life in his father's time (1810s-1840s), but interviews with him do not discuss his own time period (Castillo 2002). Specific stories that document the sad condition and poor treatment of local Indian people by the citizenry of Santa Cruz county during the 1870s-1890s have been published by Dunn (2002).

Carmeleños of the Monterey Area

When Mission Carmel was secularized in the 1830s, approximately 140 Rumsen Costanoan speakers or descendents were still alive and another 40 or so Esselen speakers or descendents were still alive. They were among the most latinized of the Indian people of all the missions that brought in Costanoan family speakers, because of two factors:

- The Carmeleños (Rumsen, Excelen, Ensen, Sargentaruc, Guachirron and Calendaruc local tribes) lived under direction of Hispanic Franciscan priests for a longer period than any of the other speakers of Costanoan languages, from 1770 until 1834.
- From 1806 forward they did not absorb new tribal groups from greater distances, so that new reminders of traditional lifeways were not constantly being presented, as they were at the other central California missions.

The Monterey-Carmel area was also the home of a large number of *gente de razon* who were descended from Rumsen Indian women who married Spanish soldiers in the 1770s.

Monterey county was noted in the 1860 U.S. census to have 411 resident Indians, almost twice as many as any other county (see Table 9). That year, however, the ex-Mission San Juan Bautista Indians were included in the Monterey County count. By 1880, with San Benito county excluded, 222 native Indian people were listed in Monterey County, still the highest Indian population of the counties listed on Table 9.

The bulk of the Monterey county Indians in 1880 (180 out of 222 or 81.1%) lived in two census districts, Monterey City and Monterey Township. They were censused in 36 separate family groupings. Unlike the situation for San Francisco, San Mateo and Alameda County Indians, they had an age and sex structure that suggested full families and a renewing population (Table 13). The most common employment for the men was laborer (30 men had that occupation) and for the women it was "keeping home" (33 women listed that occupation). Four Indian men were vaqueros taking care of livestock, two were butchers, two were wood choppers, one was a shoemaker and one was a musician. One of the Indian women was a laundress.

Table 13. Age and Sex Structure of 180 California Indians in Monterey City and Monterey Township, as Listed in the 1880 Census (U.S. Census Office 1880B).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
9 M (47.4%)	19 M (50%)	12 M (42.9%)	22M (55%)	24 M (43.6%)
10 F (52.6%)	19 F (50%)	16 F (57.1%)	18 F (45%)	31 F (56.4%)
19 (10.6%)	38 (21.1%)	28 (15.6%)	40 (22.2%)	55 (30.6%)

While only a minority of the children (age 5-18) in the combined city and township attended school (13 out of 53 or 24.5%), a majority of those who were attending school lived in Monterey City and were members of complete family units. There were only five Indian servants (three of them children) in the Monterey area, a much different situation than San Francisco, where large numbers of Indian children were servants in white households. Indian people in Monterey were part of the economy and overall community of that time and place. As we have discussed in an earlier section, some Monterey County Indians were passing into the white racial classification during the late 1890s, thereby joining the dominant racial group of the state and nation.

The ability of Monterey county Indians to find jobs and maintain family life stood in stark contrast to the experiences of San Francisco and San Mateo County Indians. When a census of California Indians was taken during 1928-1931 for a land case action (to be discussed in detail in the following chapter) 148 Mission Carmel families applied, far more than any other central California

mission descendents. Three facts can explain the survival of relatively large numbers of Mission Indian descendants in the Monterey Bay Area:

- In the post-Gold Rush part of the nineteenth century, North American immigrants were not attracted to the Monterey Bay Area in large numbers. The area was not part of the commercial corridor to the gold country. It contained no important trade, commercial or industrial center and it did not have valuable mineral deposits. Its small population survived mainly by agriculture. This minimized both the inflow of white immigrants and the competition for economic position, land and wealth.
- Monterey county had a huge land area, especially compared to its population, which was growing only slowly. If the entire county had been equally divided among all its people in 1880, there would have been over 188 acres for each person. Only nearby San Benito county, at 160 acres per person, had a comparable figure. In contrast, the figure for San Francisco county, with only 0.123 acre per person, was a city of merchants and craft specialists foreign to the skills of the Mexican rancho world.
- Monterey retained an Hispanic culture, including the traditional acceptance of Indians by the Catholic church, for decades longer than did the San Francisco Bay Area. This culture and society had a place for Indian families, including jobs for the men as laborers, and a general acceptance of Native Americans as part of the community. Indian children could attend public schools without a problem, something not true in many parts of California.

The result was a more favorable environment for Indian survival in the Monterey Bay Area than in the San Francisco Bay Area. The ongoing interaction of Indian people with Mission Carmel into the twentieth century is documented by a 1921 newspaper article regarding a celebration at Mission Carmel in which "a dozen or more" descendants of the Carmel Mission Indians participated (*San Francisco Examiner* October 9, 1921: N 11).

Numerous Monterey Bay Area native families also interacted with anthropologists and cultural historians. Most of those individuals came from families who have descendants still involved in Indian activities today. Among them were the following:

- Salvador Mucjai (SCA-B 2631) of the Sargentaruc group of Rumsen Costanoan speakers and his wife Inez (SCA-B 2335) from the Carmel Valley villages of Echilat and Tucutnut (Rumsen local tribe of Rumsen Costanoan speakers) were married in 1816 (SCA-M 835). In the 1850s, Salvador supplied a vocabulary to antiquarian Alexander Taylor that is now recognized by linguists as an example of Rumsen Costanoan. Salvador and Inez were the grandparents of Maria Tomasa Dolores Manjares; Maria Tomasa married a Mr. Piazzoni and they raised their children on their ranch in the back country behind the Carmel Valley. Descendents of the Piazzoni-Manjares marriage are alive and active with groups of Mission Carmel Indian descendents today (Nason family).
- Antonio Onesimo (SCA-B 2105) and his wife Ygnacia Patcauxs (SC-B 2323), both born at Mission Carmel, have many descendents alive today. Onesimo's parents were Amadeo Yeuscharon from Echilat village of the Rumsen local tribe (SCA-B 249) and Maria de las Nieves from Sargentaruc on the Big Sur coast (SCA-B 713), while Ygnacia's parents, Codrato (SCA-B 1737) and Lupicina (SCA-B 1725), were Ensens from the Salinas area. All were Rumsen Costanoan speakers. One of their grandchildren was Isabel Meadows, who worked for many years with J. P. Harrington to document the language that is now called Rumsen Costanoan. Many Onesimo descendants are alive today.

Many other individuals among the early Mission Carmel Indians have descendents who were alive at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the descendents that were interviewed by A.

L. Kroeber and C. Hart Merriam were Viviana Soto and Jacinta Gonzales (see photos in Heron 2002:17,19). Some of their descendents continue to be active within native Monterey Bay Area Indian communities today.

LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE 1900-1927 PERIOD

The identified California Indian people who lived on the San Francisco Peninsula from the 1920s forward were immigrants from other parts of the state, with the exception of Marie Buffet (of the Alcantara family) and perhaps one of the Evencios. The few other Mission Dolores Indian descendants known to be alive in the 1920s were people whose parents had moved away from the San Francisco Peninsula long before (see Appendix F: Tables 15, 16). (Even among the dispersed descendants of Indians baptized at Mission Dolores, the only known native San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/Costanoans were the long-Hispanized descendants of Francisca Xaviera of Aramai, wife of Pablo Antonio Ramos.)

In the first part of the twentieth century the themes of land rights and citizenship were becoming more and more important to Indian people of west-central California and throughout California. Those themes are discussed below in this chapter insofar as they developed up through 1927.

Migrant Indian Community of the San Francisco Peninsula

A review of the Indian people living on the San Francisco Peninsula who identified themselves in the special jurisdictional census of 1928-1930 shows that all of them were from areas outside of the Peninsula. None claimed to be descendants of the Doloreños, the Mission Dolores Indians. The census was conducted in response to a May 18, 1928 Act of Congress (45 Stat. 602) directing the Department of the Interior to conduct a census of Indian people that might be eligible for land reparation benefits not received under the unratified California treaties of 1852. Applications listing 23,000 California Indians were filed to prove ancestry.

We conducted an intensive review of the entire census, searching for Indian people in any county who traced their ancestry back to Mission Dolores, and for all who responded to the census from San Francisco and San Mateo counties. We found no Mission Dolores descendants. We did, however, find 165 respondents living in San Francisco county and 36 respondents who were living in San Mateo county that came from other parts of California.

The 165 San Francisco county respondants hailed from thirty-three different tribal groups (Table 14). Mission Carmel was the most highly represented, with 27 descendants living in San Francisco; other mission people were from Santa Barbara county and Los Angeles (Mission San Gabriel). The other people were from all over California, with northwest California the most highly represented (Karok, Yurok, Hupa, Rewood, Wailaki, Eel River, Klamath River).

The 36 individuals censused in San Mateo County included an interesting group that called themselves "Redwood City" people and just "Mission" people (Table 14). They represented two families, both with the surname "Feliz." The elder of one family of nine was Joseph Feliz, one-quarter Indian, stated to have been born in 1770. The elder of the other family, of four, was Augustina Feliz-Leahy, also one-quarter Indian, born in 1789. We tried to tie them to the mission records, but could find no Indian families in our databases for the mid-nineteenth century that had taken the surname Feliz. These people may have been Mission Santa Clara or Mission Dolores descendants who took the surname Feliz in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the San Mateo county census listed six Mission Carmel people. Of non-Mission people, 12 came from northwest California (Karok, Klamath, Yurok, Karok, Weott) and 3 from the Sierra Nevada (Mariposa).

Table 14. Count by Tribe of California Indians Enrolled under the 1928 Jurisdictional Act Census While Living in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties (United States 1928).

TRIBE (AS WRITTEN)	SF COUNTY	SAN MATEO COUNTY
NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA		
Karok	19	5
Yurok	11	2
Hupa	8	0
Weott	4	1
Hupa/Karok	2	0
Klamath River	1	3
Redwood	1	0
Smith River	1	0
SUBTOTAL	47	11
NORTH COAST RANGES		
Bodega	14	0
Mendocino County	9	0
We-nuck (Guenoc)	3	0
Eel River	2	0
Wailaki	2	0
Pomo	2	0
SUBTOTAL	32	0
NORTH AND NORTHEAST		
Wintun	9	0
Chimariko	6	0
Maidu	5	0
Pit River	2	0
Shasta	2	0
SUBTOTAL	24	0
EAST AND SOUTHEAST		
Yosemite	7	0
Miwok	5	0
Mariposa	0	4
Walker River	1	0
SUBTOTAL	13	4
MISSION AREAS		
Mission Carmel	27	6
Santa Barbara County	5	0
Mission (unspecific)	5	2
Mission San Gabriel	3	0
Mission Santa Ynez	1	0
SUBTOTAL	41	8
MISCELLANEOUS		
Redwood City	0	12
Wemick	2	0
TOTAL	159	35

Doloreños in 1928

As of 1928, there may have been many surviving descendants of the San Francisco Peninsula native Doloreños of the 1830s and 1840s. After all, 39 Peninsula Indians were alive at the time of initial Mission Dolores secularization in 1834, after which the careful record-keeping of the Franciscan padres deteriorated rapidly. It is also known that Francisca Xaviera of Aramai had many descendants into the twentieth century through her granddaughter Leandra Ventura Ramos, a member of the *gente de razon* who married Eugenio Soto at Santa Cruz in 1839 (SCR-M 835) However, we know of only one individual alive in 1928 from a San Francisco Peninsula Costanoan family that had considered itself to be Indian back in the 1840s. That individual, Joe Evencio, was said to be living in the San Mateo area in the 1930s (Brown 1973b). He is not known to have had children. (Marie Buffet of the Alcantara family died in 1922.)

Some twentieth-century families are descended from Indians who had been baptized at Mission Dolores, but were not originally from the San Francisco Peninsula. Among them are many descendents of Coast Miwoks who returned to the Marin Peninsula; they are beyond the scope of this study. Two surviving families descend from native Indian people of the east side of San Francisco Bay who went to Mission Dolores to be baptized, but later moved to other missions. One of the two families descends from Liberato, a bilingual San Francisco Bay Costanoan-Bay Miwok from the Jalquin local tribe of Hayward (Cambra-Galvan-Marine-Sanchez families). The other family descends from a Chupcan Bay Miwok man from the Concord area who was baptized at Mission Dolores and later moved to Monterey and married a Mission Carmel woman (Cerda family).

It is possible that descendents of San Francisco Costanoan speakers from San Francisco or San Mateo counties are alive today, other than those who descend from Francisca Xaviera of Aramai. But none have publically identified themselves. Today's Ohlone/Costanoan communities emerge from the mixed-language families at missions San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Carmel. Those areas provided the rural ranch landscape, or in the case of Carmel-Monterey, the Hispanic society, that allowed quite a few ex-mission Indians to survive the Gold Rush and the racism of the early American era.

New California Reservations Exclude West-Central California

In 1905-1906 the BIA sent C. E. Kelsey, a lawyer from San Jose, on a tour through California to check on the condition of landless Indians and make recommendations for additional purchases of small land tracts for them. Kelsey noted small groups of landless California Indians at the following sites in the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas (Kelsey 1971):

- Monterey County: 50 people living at Monterey (City), 45 people at Bird Haven, 19 people at Mansfield, 15 people at Pacific, 5 people at Arroyo Seco, and 4 people at Sur.
- San Benito County: San Juan Bautista band (no data).
- Santa Cruz County: 40 people at Santa Cruz (City) and 30 at Watsonville.
- San Francisco Bay counties and communities: 28 people at Verona (near Pleasanton), 14 people at Niles (Alameda), 20 at Byron and 5 at Danville (Contra Costa), 35 at Redwood City and 30 at San Mateo (San Mateo County).

As a result of Kelsey's report Congress authorized $100,000 to the Secretary of the Interior for land purchase and water development for landless California Indians in acts of June 21, 1906 and April 30, 1908. Dozens of tiny rancherias were purchased throughout California over the next few years under this act, but none in west-central California (Leupp 1909).

The Verona Band of Pleasanton was one of the groups that Kelsey visited and listed in 1906. It is the position of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, descendants of the Verona Band, that Kelsey's act

of listing the band made them a federally acknowledged tribe; that interpretation has yet to be substantiated by judicial or executive review. Whatever the case, the Verona band did remain on the BIA-Sacramento Agency's list of landless Indian groups through the year 1929.

In May of 1927, the Washington, D.C. office of the BIA directed Sacramento Superintendent Colonel Lafayette A. Dorrington to list all tribes and bands in his agency area that had not yet obtained a land base. The Verona band was among 135 groups that Dorrington listed as having no land, yet not needing land.

> Estimated Indian population of Alameda County is 125, but all of this number, with the exception mentioned below, reside in the cities of Alameda County, where they have gone to procure employment. There is one band in Alameda County commonly known as the Verona Band, … located near the town of Verona; these Indians were formerly those that resided in close proximity of the Mission San Jose. It does not appear at the present time that there is need for the purchase of land for the establishment of homes (Dorrington 1927).

Most other small landless groups of west-central California that had been listed by Kelsey in 1905 and 1906 were not even mentioned by Dorrington in his 1927 letter report. The landless San Juan Bautista Indians, however, were mentioned by Dorrington.

> In San Benito County we find the San Juan Baptista band, which reside in the vicinity of the Mission San Juan Baptista, which is located near the town of Hollister. These Indians have been well cared for by the Catholic priests and no land is required (see Dorrington letter June 23, 1927).

Thus an early twentieth-century opportunity to provide small reservations for native Indian people of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas was denied by a BIA official in 1927.

Legal Moves for Citizenship and Land Reparations

Early in the new century Indians began to organize, with assistance from progressive whites, to regain their land or receive compensation for its loss. By the mid-1910s an organization called the Indian Board of Cooperation, Northern California Indian leaders aided by a Methodist minister named Frederick G. Collett, was active in fighting for civil and economic rights for native people, including land rights. By 1915 Indian delegations were appearing at public events in San Francisco to demand compensation for lands taken from the Indians after the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the 18 "lost treaties" of 1851-1852 (*San Francisco Chronicle* August 4, 1915:9). In 1916-1917 a Pomo Indian man worked with the Indian Board of Cooperation to bring the citizenship rights case of Anderson vs Mathews before the courts; its success resulted in the recognition of citizenship rights for non-reservation California Indians.[43]

By 1922 the Indian Board of Cooperation reportedly was a registered California corporation and, although white led, had a membership of thousands of California Indians (*San Francisco Chronicle* January 15, 1922:13; November 14, 1922:10). Another strong group that included both whites and Indians, the Mission Indian Federation, arose in southern California to improve the condition of Indians. Their activity so disturbed the federal government that 57 of its members were indicted by the Department of Justice for conspiring against the government (Rawls 1984:209).

[43] The U.S. Congress did not pass a law recognizing all non-citizen American Indians as U.S. citizens until 1924 (Tyler 1973:110).

By late 1926 compensation and welfare bills to aid Indians had support from a number of powerful mainstream organizations such as the Commonwealth Club, California League of Women Voters and the General Federation of Women's Clubs (*San Francisco Chronicle* December 12, 1926: F3). Newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* also repeatedly editorialized for an end to "robbery," "plunder" and "public cheat" of the natives, and instead for a "just, honest and decent treatment" of the Indians and their claims (*San Francisco Chronicle* January 18, 1922:28; October 20, 1922:20; December 16, 1939:14; April 13, 1923:22). They had, through active campaigning and alliance building, succeeded in putting the intertwined questions of Indian land claims and reparations on the national agenda.

Federal authorities wanted an overall settlement for the past taking of Indian land at minimal cost to the U.S. government. They negotiated with California authorities to develop a process that would allow a court case for reparations, but would not allow California Indians to be the direct plaintiffs. The California State Legislature began the process by passing a law in 1927 which allowed the California Attorney General to argue the case for the Indians. This kept private attorneys, who might ask for too much for the Indians, out of the case. This arrangement also put the case under the control of an official who was elected by the general electorate of California, mostly white voters. The actual court cases and eventual settlements will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 10. Today's Ohlone/ Costanoans, 1928-2008

In 1928 three main Ohlone/Costanoan communities survived, those of Mission San Jose, Mission San Juan Bautista, and Mission Carmel. They had neither land nor federal treaty-based recognition. The 1930s, 1940s and 1950s were decades when descrimination against them and all California Indians continued to prevail. Nevertheless, the Ohlone/Costanoan communities survived and have renewed themselves. The 1960s and 1970s stand as transitional decades, when Ohlone/ Costanoans began to influence public policy in local areas.

By the 1980s Ohlone/Costanoans were founding political groups and moving forward to preserve and renew their cultural heritage. By 1995 Albert Galvan, Mission San Jose descendent, could enunciate a strong positive vision of the future:

> I see my people, like the Phoenix, rising from the ashes—to take our rightful place in today's society—back from extinction (Albert Galvan, personal communication to Bev Ortiz, 1995).

Galvan's statement stands in contrast to the 1850 vision of Pedro Alcantara, San Francisco native and ex-Mission Dolores descendant who was quoted as saying, "I am all that is left of my people. I am alone" (cited in Chapter 8).

In this chapter we weave together personal themes, cultural themes, and political themes from the points of view of Ohlone/Costanoans and from the public record to elucidate the movement from survival to renewal that marks recent Ohlone/Costanoan history.

RESPONSE TO DISCRIMINATION, 1900S-1950S

Ohlone/Costanoans responded to the discrimination that existed during the first half of the twentieth century in several ways—(a) by ignoring it, (b) by keeping a low profile, (c) by passing as members of other ethnic groups, and/or (d) by creating familial and community support networks. Those four themes are discussed in this section.

Maintaining Ethnic Pride

Indian people have been able to ignore discriminatory slights by maintaining self-respect and pride in their ethnic background. Validation of the value of that background was bolstered in many families through the examples of their elders. A good example of such an elder is Ascencíon Solorsano (Mutsun Costanoan of Mission San Juan Bautista, born ca. 1847). She was a "doctora" widely recognized for her ability to heal with herbs. Solorsano not only treated Indian patients, but also members of other ethnic groups (Ketchum Interview 2003). She stored her herbs by

hanging them in a wasp-like collection of some 200 paper bags (J. Mondragon Interview 2003). She was joined in her doctoring by best friend Josefa Bauma, who, although non-Indian, was part of a greater Spanish and Mexican community with close ties to the Indian community (Carrier Interview 2003). Solorsano was paid with whatever people had to give, including food and other articles (Ketchum Interview 2003).

Joseph M. Mondragon (Interview 2003), a grandson, recalls sitting and listening as Solorsano worked with J. P. Harrington to annotate Father Arroyo de la Cuesta's Mutsun Costanoan orthography. Toward the end of Harrington's work with Solorsano he lived in the family's basement; she affectionately referred to him as Juanito. Today Solorsano continues to be remembered and celebrated. "She is still a healer, as her memory serves to heal our community," wrote one of her descendents (Ketchum 2002:206-207). About 30 Ohlone/Costanoans, descendents and friends, were present at the dedication of Ancención Solorsano Middle School in Gilroy in October of 2003.

The Solorsano descendents represent just one of many Ohlone/Costanoan extended families whose elders provided a model for public pride in ethnic identity that allowed them to ignore the discriminatory behavior of others.

Keeping a Low Profile

For many Ohlone/Costanoans it was necessary to remain quiet about one's Indianness. Mission San Jose descendents and siblings Hank Alvarez and Dolores Lameira described the bigotry in the Brentwood area of east Contra Costa county during the late 1930s and the 1940s.

> There was another Indian family that lived there…. The man worked for the water system or something…. Nobody ever knew nothing about him; we only knew that they were Indian. But at that time, we would not speak about Indians, because we heard some real bad sounds…. They never said too much, but good people. Good helpful people. And they kept to themselves (Alvarez Interview 2003).

Alvarez himself recalled losing the ability to play with certain children in the 1930s when their parents found out that he was an Indian (Alvarez Interview 2003).

Edward Ketchum, himself raised in the 1950s, learned that his Mission San Juan Bautista ancestors kept their Indianness quiet due to fear of being removed to distant reservations.

> I heard people say it was because they were concerned about being taken to, as I remember it, Tehachapi. That was somewhere down around Bakersfield that they were concerned about being taken to. You've got to remember that the Mutsun people were living in the San Juan Bautista area, and they were intermarrying in the early part of the twentieth century with Native people who were from outside of the Mutsun area. There were intermarriages with Tulare. There were intermarriages with people up at San Jose. There were intermarriages with people who were from the Carmel area, and with some people down in the south. So they knew what was happening to the Indian people all over the state, and they knew whenever there was a law passed that put some sort of restrictions on Indians, and they took care to protect themselves because of what had happened earlier (Ketchum Interview 2003).[44]

[44] References to transcripts of 2003-2005 oral interviews with Ohlone/Costanoans by Archaeological Consulting Services are listed together in a separate "Oral Interview Transcripts" section at the end of the general bibliography; they are cited in the report body with the word "Interview" following the name of the cited individual. The interviews were conducted by two people. In 2003 Randall Milliken interviewed Hank Alvarez and Dorothy Lameira (November 18); Philip Galvan and Andrew Galvan (September 26); and Joseph Mondragon and

The threat of removal was to Tejon Reservation. Indian people from many parts of southern and south-central California were taken there for a few decades after it was established by Congress in March of 1853 (Rawls 1984:151).

Passing as Non-Indian

Ethnic Mexicans and California Indians were both subjected to racial discrimination in the California of the early 1900s. It is generally accepted that Mexicans were considered to be above Indians in the racial hierarchy (Almaguer 1994:9). During 2003 interviews, several Ohlone/ Costanoans confirmed this view, describing how their families managed discrimination by claiming Mexican identity. As Tony Cerda, Chairman of the Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe explained,

> Even still today, some of them will say, "I'm not Indian." ... For a long time, it was looked down on. I guess that's part of what came from the Mission Period, because the Indians were really treated bad, and the Mexican people were treated a little better. In fact, there's an old lady there in Laverne—she's about 90 years old—and... a writer, he asked her, "Were there ever any Indians in Laverne?" She said, "Yeah, there used to be a lot of them." "Well, what happened to them? Where did they go?" "Oh, they became Mexicans" (Cerda Interview 2003).

Valentin Lopez of the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians locates the impetus to pass as Mexican far in the past, in the Apprenticeship Acts and other oppressive laws passed by the state of California in the 1850s and 1860s.

> When we were growing up, I remember my great aunts always saying when we would go out, "Always say you're Mexican. Never say you're Indian." I always wondered about that. I was talking to an uncle awhile back and I asked him about this and he said, "That goes back to the indentured servitude days." He said my great aunts were taught that if you're ever caught by someone powerful or the police to always say you're Mexican (Lopez Interview 2003).

The phenomenon of passing as a response to discrimination was by no means confined to Ohlone/Costanoans. It spanned every region of the state. The late Vivien Hailstone (1913-2000, Karuk, Yurok and a member of the Hoopa Valley Tribe) had this to say about the effect of prejudice on her people:

> All kids should know who they are and be proud of who they are… Before it was so bad to be an Indian that you were ashamed, or you had to be somebody else. Many of the people would say, 'I'm Filipino,' or 'I'm from Canada.' 'I'm from the dark French' or whatever. They'd be anything except Indian. At one time, being Indian was so bad, if you got an education, it didn't do any good anyway. They wouldn't hire you… You think anybody would go to an Indian doctor? The banks wouldn't hire you. Nobody would hire you because you were an Indian. And so in our minds being Indian was so bad, and we didn't really know why. Why was it so bad to be an Indian? But it's because of what they did to us, and how they portrayed us—that we were the savages. We were this and we were that. And we thought maybe we

---

Irene Zwierlein (September 26). That same year Beverly R. Ortiz interviewed Marie Bonillas Ronquillo and Lisa Carrier (August 7); T. Michael Bonillas (August 6); Tony Cerda (August 30); Charlie Higuera and Paul Mondragon (September 19); Edward A. Ketchum and Valentin Lopez (October 11); Richard Miranda (September 12); Ruth Orta and Sabrina Garibay (August 17); Ann Marie Sayers and Kanyon Sayers-Roods (September 6); and on June 6, 2005, Ortiz interviewed Theodore W. Bonillas.

> were… The truth will set you free. We can talk about the Holocaust. We can talk about all the things that happened other places, but you can't talk about what happened to the Indians. Our kids know it. We tell our kids. We all know it. And the hurt is still here. So how do you get rid of that hurt? The way to get rid of the hurt is to put it out. Let everybody know, and after awhile it will become history… The truth will set you free. And our kids won't be so angry" (Vivien Hailstone, personal communication to Beverly Ortiz, 1990).

Many Indians resisted the pressure to pass as white. Mission San Jose descendent Ruth Thompson Orta (Interview 2003) recalled that her mother, Trina Marine Ruano, listed Ruth as both Indian and white on her 1934 birth certificate. Despite such exceptions, however, the norm of passing persisted into the late 1900s. Mission Carmel descendent Richard Miranda spoke recently about the continued prominence of Mexican identity into the 1960s and beyond:

> I probably grew up more Mexican than Ohlone... The festivals and parties and gatherings and get-togethers and language and culture were much more Mexican, by far, on my Mom's side (Miranda Interview 2003).

Among Ohlone/Costanoan peoples, the decision to identify as Mexican wasn't exclusively one of need, but also one of pride in heritage. Lisa Carrier (Interview 2003), who grew up in the late 1960s, characterizes those years as an era of "low riding and being Chicana." With her non-Hispanic last name, paternal Italian and German heritage, and awareness of her Mexican and Indian background, Carrier sometimes felt she didn't entirely fit in with any ethnic group.

> I was very proud of being Hispanic, and that's something that's always been in our family, but there's always been something missing. We always knew that we were Indian... There was almost a hopelessness to it, because we felt like we didn't know enough... I think what's interesting about it is that now that we're learning more, we realize that our ancestors, they did leave hints (Carrier Interview 2003).

Support Networks and Gatherings

Gatherings of family and friends bolstered Ohlone/Costanoan individuals through the early and mid-twentieth century. In the north, some of the families of the Verona band lost touch with one another as they left the Pleasanton area to find work during the 1920s and 1930s. The large Marine/Alvarez/Galvan/Nichols/Sanchez/Thompson extended family (all descendents of Avelina Cornates of Mission San Jose and immigrant Rafael Marine), however, continued to get together often. Hank Alvarez, born in 1922 and currently the oldest member of the family, remembers extended family gatherings in Niles Canyon when he was a child.

> I've got a lot of people. They're all important to me. My mother and my dad, and all my uncles and aunts, and their children. I was born in Santa Cruz and I was raised in Alvarado, Hayward, Watsonville, Salinas. And then we moved to Brentwood. And when I was a child, still a little guy, we used to have gatherings, and I used to enjoy this, the whole family would show up, in Niles Canyon. We used to have, like with the water … [interviewer: "the creek?"; Alvarez nods] … and everything, for picnics. We used to really enjoy it, because the kids would all get together and we'd have a ball (Alvarez Interview 2003).

Philip Galvan, Hank Alvarez' half-brother, had similar memories. He remembered that the family gatherings were held at a number of unspecified locations.

> They [the extended family] lived all over the place, and we used to go visit them and the family used to get together. Lucas lived someplace, then they'd come together, we'd go see Trina [Rauno], Aunt Trina, all that (P. Galvan Interview 2003).

In the Mission San Juan Bautista descendent community, key figure Ascencíon Solorsano played a role beyond that of family head during the first part of the twentieth century. Her descendent Edward Ketchum described that role:

> She was also like a labor contractor. She would find people work, so they would come there. After a while, she not only found work for our Indian people, but for Indian people who came from other states and countries, such as Mexico. She knew a whole group of people around the greater Gilroy area who needed prunes picked, garlic tended, or those types of fruit jobs. (Ketchum Interview 2003).

Upon the death of Ascencíon Solorsano, the family home continued to serve as a refuge. According to Ketchum:

> My grandmother moved into her grandmother Ascención's house. It was like an assembly place. People would come there all the time, and she would feed people when they came, but they would also leave food there. So there was this natural tie that made it a type of gathering point. There was a fairly large group of Mutsun people living in this area. There was the Sanchezes just a few houses down the street, the Espinosas, the Higueras, the Moreños. There were some other families who were Indian, but they weren't California Indians. What's their name? Charvez. They were Pueblo Indians. There were also some other people. This part of Gilroy had a lot of Indian people, so they had created a group there that had some constant contact (Ketchum Interview 2003).

Such family and community support networks had a basis in the old ways, according to Ketchum.

> There was a tie [to traditional ways]. Maybe we couldn't do the traditional things that we did in the past, but there were ways the family could work together to find sustenance. There was a lot of sharing between families. If somebody caught a great, big fish, we didn't have freezers. You'd cut that thing up and share it with everybody in the community. Everybody could share in your good fortune. So there was that community, tribe, or group, and it kept going on…. They were always looking out to see that everybody was surviving, that things weren't completely out of control. If somebody needed a place to live, we'd make sure that they had some place to live, and that they were taken care of (Ketchum Interview 2003).

Marie Bonillas Ronquillo, a Mission San Juan Bautista descendent who grew up in the late 1950s through '60s, recalls regular gatherings of her extended family.

> Growing up as a little girl, we gathered…as a family from the very beginning. I…think it was every Friday, we were at somebody's house, and…all the musicians, they knew to bring their instruments, whether it be a guitar, accordion, harmonica, drums, trumpets, whatever they had… They were supposed to sing and play. My mom with her sisters harmonizing, singing a song with their cousins, or my grandmother, my mom's mother, singing a song… That was how it was supposed to be… My mom coming from a family of nine, they understood that when their family was together, that was what was important in life. She [Marie's "Grandma Ree"] was known to always feed people. With nine children, she always had enough food for when company came over. It was just the way we were raised (Ronquillo Interview 2003).

The extended Bonillas family gathered frequently in Yosemite, sometimes camping near the home of a cousin of Marie's grandmother, a Yosemite elder named Phoebe Hogan. Marie Ronquillo's father, Theodore W. Bonillas, recalled the gatherings, which could include anywhere from 20 to 100 people:

> We'd camp in the Indian Village in Yosemite, and we'd talk with her [Phoebe] all the time, learning different things about the tribe from up there… We…camped right

> there next to her house. The rangers tried to run us out, but she said, "No. No. These people are Indian people, and they're my guests. They stay here," and they left us alone... We used to barbeque deer [chuckles]...with all the Indians there in the park, and we had a lot of fun. I used to go fishing with them (Bonillas Interview 2005).

The elders who participated in these support networks transmitted native cultural traditions in both overt and covert ways.

Indian cultural tradition became subsumed within Hispanic tradition in the experience of Lisa Carrier. Thinking back on the frequent gatherings of her Hispanic-oriented extended family through the 1970s and 1980s, Carrier realized that the stories, songs, poems, and imitations shared by family members as entertainment reflected old-time tradition:

> Looking back at our pictures, and going back and doing the research, you know what, those weren't Mexican ways. Those were our Indian ways... We've been storytelling for years. We just didn't know what it was (Carrier Interview 2003).

Mid-twentieth-century Ohlone/Costanoan family and community networks and gatherings provided more than social and economic support. They also served as the foundation for a cultural renaissance that developed in the latter part of the century, when being Indian no longer carried a stigma.

MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEMES

In this section we discuss some mid-twentieth-century themes that were important to Ohlone/
Costanoans at the time and continue to be important in memory today. We begin with an overview of responses to the Great Depression, then discuss Ohlone/Costanoan family members' involvement with Indian boarding schools, and end with a discussion of Ohlone/Costanoan experiences as United States citizens in World War II and the Korean conflict.

The Great Depression, 1929-1941

The Great Depression began with the stock market crash of 1929 and ended with the United States' entry into World War II. It still evokes vivid memories in the minds of the Ohlone/ Costanoans who experienced it. They weathered its hard times by relying on their social support networks, and by combining local employment, including cannery work, with a variety of old and new subsistence techniques. Joseph Mondragon's mother told him how his grandmother taught her how to use a plant called doveweed to catch fish in Adamson Creek near Gilroy:

> "Grandma and I, we'd take this washtub and we'd go up the creek and find a pool," and they'd get this weed and they'd mash it up in the thing and then they'd spread it at the head of the stream... "And 10 minutes later we'd run down to the other end, here comes all the fish, belly up" (J. Mondragon Interview 2003).

Edward Ketchum, another Solorsano descendent, remembered that his grandmother, herself Ascención Solorsano's granddaughter, continued the tradition of native plant use.

> When I was young, I can remember our grandmother. We would take a hike into the hills behind Gilroy, and she would say, "This is this type of plant," and "This is that type of plant." Grandma would pick mushrooms there. She said you could cut a fungus that was growing on one of the trees and fry it. And she said, "This is where they collected this." And we'd hike all the way to the top of the hill, and she would tell us the name of the different plants she had seen on the way up there, and then we'd look out over the whole valley, and she would say, "This is where the people

lived" (Ketchum Interview 2003).

Gleaning the fields helped many Ohlone/Costanoans during the depression and after. As Ketchum remembers it:

> When you talk about going from picking prunes and those sorts of things, an additional item, at least in our family, is that we also gleaned fields. After they picked beans with an automatic harvester, there would be these rolls of beans, and we would go through the fields. I can remember as a small child going through the fields picking out all the beans that the harvesters had left. You'd pick them up, put them in gunny sacks, and take them home. You'd break open the pods and push out the beans. We got twenty or thirty pounds of beans off of this field that had already been picked. So when all else failed, families would get together and glean fields (Ketchum Interview 2003).

The family of Hank Alvarez, who was raised in Alvarado, Hayward, Watsonville, and Salinas, moved to Brentwood during the depression. There the family gathered wild mushrooms in early winter and a salad green with milky sap. They raised chickens, rabbits, vegetables, and cabbage and they made their own tortillas. His step-father also made beer, and if it went bad his mother used the resultant vinegar for pickling (Alvarez Interview 2003).

Indian Boarding Schools, 1930s

A small number of Ohlone/Costanoans attended the Indian boarding schools at Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, Chemawa in Oregon, and Stewart in Carson City, Nevada. To Theodore W. Bonillas (Interview 2003), who was a young child in the 1930s, being sent to a boarding school was the verification of a young person's identity as an Indian. He reasoned that he "couldn't be Indian," because he was not sent to one of the boarding schools, even though "they were still taking kids from the families, and putting them in these special schools."

Lawrence Domingo Marine (Mission San Jose descendent) attended Sherman Institute from 1931 to 1940 (photocopy of telegram provided by Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). There he met and married Pansy Potts, daughter of Northern Maidu author, cultural consultant and activist Marie Potts, who served as editor of *Smoke Signals*, a mid-twentieth-century publication of the Federated Indians of California (Castenada 2006). In later years their son Marvin Marine trained as a traditional Maidu dancer (Lamiera Interview 2003).

Some of those taken to the schools did not have to stay. After Ralph Franco (Mission San Juan Bautista descendant) was taken by "the authorities" to Stewart Boarding School, Martha Herrera de Orozco, "who had some authority in the tribe" traveled with her husband to remove him from the school and take him home (Lopez Interview 2003).

World War II and the Korean War

Ohlone/Costanoan men have enlisted to serve their country since World War I.[45] Among the many Ohlone/Costanoan people whose World War II service was specifically pointed out by friends and family members are Mission San Jose descendents Henry (Hank) Alvarez, Robert Corral, Ben L. Guzman, Frank H. Guzman, Ernest Marine, Lawrence Marine, Arthur M. Pena, Robert Sanchez, and Lawrence Thompson, as well as Mission San Juan Bautista descendent Joseph M. Mondragon.

---

[45] Fred Guzman, Mission San Jose descendent from Pleasanton, California, was drafted into the army at Fort Mason, San Francisco, on August 5, 1917, served in France, and was discharged at the San Francisco Presidio in December of 1918 (photocopies of enlistment and discharge papers provided by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe).

Mission San Jose descendent Ben L. Guzman, born 1920, enlisted on November 5, 1942, in San Francisco. At the time of enlistment, records show that he had finished one year of high school, then worked as a rock crusher. He enlisted as a private for "the duration of the War or other emergency, plus six months, subject to the discretion of the President or otherwise according to law." Frank H. Guzman, born 1926, enlisted in San Francisco on July 21, 1944 under the same terms, after graduating from grammar school, then working as an automobile serviceman (Ancestry.com enlistment records, courtesy of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe).

When Mission San Juan Bautista descendent Joseph Mondragon enlisted in 1942, he had been working with his family, helping construct Fort Ord by doing cement finishing. In 1943 Mondragon began three years of overseas service in the Navy. At the end of the war, eschewing a future in cement work, he went on to a 20-year career in the military.

> When I joined the military...what you did is what you were known by, unless you made Chief Petty Officer. And they knew I was Indian. They used to call me Chief, no matter what [laughs].… I was an accountant. I ran offices on ships. Heck, I retired from the Ticonderoga, and we used to do 18 or 19 million dollars of cash business a year, plus unknown millions to begin with. So I ran the finance office for four years on board, and then I retired from there (J. Mondragon Interview 2003).

Native Americans did not serve in segregated units during World War II, unlike African Americans. Mission San Jose descendent Dorothy Lameira remembers that her dark-complexioned brother, Ernest Marine, was assigned to a black outfit and enjoyed his time in the unit (Lameira Interview 2003).

Ohlone/Costanoan men have continued to serve in the military in war and peace times since World War II. Theodore W. Bonillas (Interview 2005) served in the Navy, attached to the Army, during the Korean War. He was stationed on an amphibious landing craft traveling along the eastern coast of Korea, taking supplies, food and ammunition to troops, picking up Marines and some soldiers, and picking up the dead. One day, while off-loading ammunition, the North Koreans started shelling the unit from behind, killing some of his buddies and wounding him. While he was in the service, Bonillas was told that his ethnic identity was Caucasian, despite his protestations to the contrary. After the war, he turned toward "the Indian way." As he put it, "I had to find out who I was, and what I was, and this was one way to find out."

The men mentioned above are just a few of the many Ohlone/Costanoans who have served in the U.S. military. They were chosen for recognition here because material about them emerged during our interview efforts.

National Cemetery Burials

It is a matter of pride to many Ohlone/Costanoan families that some of their ancestors are buried at the Golden Gate National Cemetery at San Bruno, California. Among those so honored are Mission San Jose descendents Anthony Guzman, Frank Guzman, Fred Guzman, and Henry A. Nichols (US Department of Veterens Affairs 2006).

LAND REPARATIONS AND RESERVATION POLICY, 1930S-1970S

The themes addressed in this section highlight the differences between federally recognized tribes and non-recognized groups of Indian people during the twentieth century, both in everyday experience and in the nature of the legal environments in which they lived. The first and second sections examine the history of a set of lawsuits over land reparations that directly involved the Ohlone/Costanoans. Subsequent sections will show that federal reservation termination and federal

tribal relocation policy, directed toward land-holding federally recognized tribes in the mid-twentieth century, also had a profound effect on Ohlone/Costanoans.

The California Indian Jurisdictional Act and Case K-344

On May 18, 1928, the California Indians' Jurisdictional Act (45 Stat. 602) became law, authorizing the California attorney general to file suit on behalf of California Indians to compensate them for the land that was taken as a result of the unratified treaties of 1851-1852. In accordance with the Act, a roll was prepared tracing the lineage of individual California Indians to an ancestor alive in 1850, the year California became a state. It is that roll that we utilized to inform our discussion, at the end of the last chapter, regarding the presence of various tribes of California Indians in San Francisco and San Mateo counties during the 1920s.

Ohlone/Costanoans were among the Indian people who enrolled themselves and their families under the Jurisdictional Act. Most of the families who enrolled list the home mission of their parents, and sometimes grandparents, on the line asking for "name of the Tribe or Band." Example application sheets, shared with us by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, provide tribal information as follows:

- Application 08419—Joe Binoco…Mission San Jose Indian band
- Application 10293—Francisca Nunez…Mission Tribe, San Jose Mission
- Application 10296—Magdalena Armija…Tribal name unknown
- Application 10298—Lucas Marine…Ohlones (Tribal name unknown)
- Application 10299—Joseph Aleas…Mission Tribe (Olanian), San Jose Mission
- Application 10300—Bell Stokes… Olanian Tribe, Alameda County
- Application 10301—Phoebe Inigo…Mission Indian, Mission San Jose
- Application 10675—Catherine Peralta…Mission San Jose
- Application 10676—Margarita Piñas…Mission San Jose
- Application 10681—Dolores Marine…Mission San Jose
- Application 10682—Trina Marine…Mission San Jose

The reference to "Ohlone" and "Olanian" indicates the common use of variations on "Olhone" in the Mission San Jose area during the 1920s and 1930s. (The origin and varied applications of the term "Ohlone" were discussed in the final section of Chapter 2).

The law suit by the State of California went forward in federal court in 1929 as case K-344. Federal executive opposition was strong and an initial decision proving federal government liability for California Indian land losses did not come down until 1942 (Forbes 1969:104-105). The initial penalty settlement of 1944 is described by Omar Stewart.

> On December 14, 1944, the U.S. Court of Claims awarded the Indians of California $17,053,941.98 for the 18 reservations the Indians were promised in 1851-1852 but did not receive. But from that amount the federal government deducted as an offset $12,029,099.64, the amount spent by the government for the benefit of the Indians of California over the years, including reservations. There remained $5,024,842.34 (Stewart 1978:706).
>
> Congress authorized the payment of $150.00 to each Indian on a corrected and updated roster of California Indians in 1950, but left a portion of the award in the U.S. treasury (Forbes 1969:106).

Ohlone/Costanoans and the Indian Land Claims Commission

Not all land claims were settled under the 1944 agreement that ended case K-344. It had become clear during hearings for that case that extensive lands had not been covered under the 18 treaties of 1851-1852, and that many groups, including mission descendents, deserved payment for loss of another 60 million acres. Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act in August of 1946, authorizing Indians to bring forth claims to the commission that had not been addressed under K-344. The act stipulated that any claims against the U.S. must be filed within five years (Stewart 1978:707).

The Ohlone/Costanoans of the Monterey Bay Area and those of the San Francisco Bay Area organized separately to seek reparations under the Indian Claims Commission Act. The initial organizing efforts of the Monterey Bay Indians are well documented. On November 16, 1946, 53 members of the "group of California Indians at Monterey" adopted a resolution authorizing A. Eloiza Ardaiz and three attorneys to act on their behalf, subject to the approval of the Commission of Indians Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior.[46] On November 17, 1946, 15 others signed up in Monterey County. On December 3, 1946 31 more signatories in Monterey County did the same. On Feb. 18, 1947, nine more signatories added their names in Monterey County. On February 28, 1947, 21 more signatories in Monterey County and seven in San Benito County joined the group. Finally, on August 18, 1948, the Acting Commissioner of the BIA in Washington D.C. approved "the foregoing contract dated February 8, 1948, between the group of Indians at Monterey, California, and Reginald E. Foster, Walter W. Gleason, and A. Brooks Berlin…subject to the condition that this approval is given without any determination by me as to whether the groups of Indians constitute a 'tribe, band, or other identifiable group of Indians' within the intendment of the Indian Claims Commission Act of August 13, 1946" (National Archives, San Bruno, documents in possession of Irene Zwierlein).

The Mondragon family of the Gilroy area was involved in the Monterey Bay Area effort, recalled family member Joseph M. Mondragon, who was an adult at the time. "They approached the local ones and Mama was represented… My mother never left the house, but she knew everybody because they'd come to her." About Eloiza Ardaiz's selection as delegate, Mondragon explained, "Her people come from San Juan… They were known as the Canos… She was the only one with a college education. So we made her chairperson to represent us" (J. Mondragon Interview 2003).

Less documentation is available for the initial response of the San Francisco Bay Area Ohlone/Costanoans to the Indian Land Claims Commission. We know that a "Bay Area California Indian Council" existed by 1947 and that its president was a man named Grover C. Sanderson, because the family of Ernest G. Thompson retained his membership card. The card, dated May of 1947, states that he was a member of the "Mission" tribe of Indians and was a "member in good standing" of the Bay Area California Indian Council (photocopy of card provided by Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). Thompson, who had been born in 1912, was a son of Magdalena Armija and the senior Ernest Thompson (of the Santos family of the old Verona band). We do not have any more information on the Bay Area California Indian Council at present. However, Ernest Thompson's half-

[46] A. Eloisa Ardaiz appears in records available to us to have been a key organizer of Indian claims to the Land Commission in central California. On October 25, 1946 six signatories in Stanislaus County had "individually and collectively" appointed "A. Eloisa Ardaiz as our delegate to meet with the delegates of any and all tribes, bands, organizations or group of Indians of California for the purpose of naming and appointing Reginald E. Foster and associated attorneys to represent us as our legal counsel in the prosecution to a final conclusion of any and all claims which we may have against the United States Government" (National Archives material in possession of Irene Zwierlein).

sister, Ruth Thompson Orta, then in her early 20s, recalls driving her mother Trina Marine Ruano to claims case meetings in the San Francisco Bay Area during the 1950s (Orta Interview 2003).

By the end of the five year period during which claims cases were brought forward, August 13, 1951, 23 separate petitions had been filed for various groups of Indians in California. One summary of the claims cases states:

> For Indians wholly within the state of California there were two groups claiming to represent all the Indians of California (Dockets 31 and 37) as well as separate petitions from 46 bands of Mission Indians, Yokiah (Central Pomo), Shasta, Yana, and Achumawi (Stewart 1978:706-707).
>
> Legal manuevering on the claims cases to the Indian Claims Commission continued into the 1950s. Further meetings were held in Berkeley and San Francisco in 1954 and 1955 respectively (Stewart 1978:707).
>
> During the time that requests were being made for reparations through the Indian Land Claims Commission, other actions were being taken with regard to further reparation payments under the original provisions of the 1928 Jurisdictional Act. In 1954, Congress once more amended the 1928 act to allow appeals until June 30, 1955 (68 Stat. 240). On that date, the Secretary of the Interior approved a roll bearing 36,095 names. Litigation continued. The Indians Claims Commission consolidated the many separate post-1946 claims into just two claims, Dockets 31 and 37, in 1964 (Stewart 1978:706-707). Then a law authorizing a new roll of California Indians eligible for reparations was passed on September 21, 1968, through which many younger Ohlone/Costanoans were enrolled. Mission San Jose descendent Trina Marine Ruano enrolled her extended family, including the children of those enrolled after 1928, while Dolores Marine Galvan enrolled her immediate family members (Field et.al 1992:418, 421; Ruth Orta, personal communication to Beverly Ortiz, 1994).
>
> Stewart's (1978) discussion of the status of the land reparation fund as of 1971 and the final payments in 1972, under both the 1928 Jurisdictional Act and the 1946 Indian Claims Commission Act is summarized here:
>
> As of June 30, 1971, $6,408,630 judgment fund plus interest had been distributed to Indians of California in per capita payments from the case authorized in 1928. Remaining in the fund to be distributed was $1,496,246.08 as of that date.... The payment was a minimum compensation of $1.25 per acre for 8,619,000 acres promised in the 1851- 1852 treaties, less the value of the 611,226 acres actually made available to California Indians in reservations and rancherias as well as any other benefit... (Stewart 1978:706-707).
>
> The enrollment to receive shares from the claims cases under the laws of 1928 and the Claims Commission Act of 1946 was completed in December 1972. Almost 70,000 Indians received $668.51 each, making the final payment near 46 milllion dollars (Stewart 1978:709)

When reparations payments finally did come, the money was welcomed by most who received it. One of Irene Zwierlein's cousins purchased a car with the money, which they drove until it finally gave out (Zwierlein Interview 2003). T. Michael Bonillas (Interview 2003) was "happy to get the money," since it arrived some "three days before Christmas."

Participation in the claims cases caused some Ohlone/Costanoans to forego their reticence to identify themselves as Indians. Lisa Carrier recalls that although her great-grandmother never spoke about being Indian, "All she ever told my...grandpa when each kid was born each year for about

twenty years [laughs quietly] was 'Register them. Make sure you register them. They're Indians. They need to be registered' " Carrier's great-grandmother, who lived in Oakland at the time, was the only Mission San Juan Bautista descendent to identify herself as "Mutsun" on a 1928-1930 application (Carrier Interview 2003).

Termination of Federal Reservations, 1948-1970s

Although no Ohlone/Costanoan bands had been granted a federal reservation, changing federal policies directed at federally recognized Indian people have affected Ohlone/Costanoans in the past and continue to affect them today. In 1948 the federal government initiated a plan to terminate any special status of American Indians. Edward Castillo described the new termination program:

> After the war, as the United States spent millions of dollars rebuilding Germany and Japan, the government hoped to rid itself of its embarrassing failure to "rebuild" Indian nations by simply withdrawing government aid to Indian people. This philosophy was expressed in the Hoover Commission survey of 1948. Indeed that year the Bureau of Indian Affairs declared its intention to "terminate" all government services to all Indians and divide their tribal assets (land and resources) among individuals... Its implementation would detribalize native groups and put their property on tax rolls as well as repudiate the federal government's moral commitment and responsibility to aid the people whose poverty and powerlessness it had created (Castillo 1978a:122).

Dillon S. Myer was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs by President Truman in 1950 to reduce the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and carry out termination, something Myer vowed to bring about with "an orderly progression from initiation to conclusion" (Parman 1994:131). During the reign of a succeeding Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Dwight D. Eisenhower, the U.S. House of Representatives issued House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 that "ordered the secretary of interior...to recommend legislation to end federal responsibility" over all Indians in four states, including California, and to do the same for specific tribes in other states. Its companion, Public Law 280, permitted five states, including California, to "exercise both criminal and civil jurisdiction over reservations."

By February 15, 1954, hearings had begun on several termination bills for individual tribes, culminating in six termination acts, including the 1958 Rancheria Act (27 Stat. 619 as amended by 78 Stat. 390) aimed at eliminating the federal trust responsibility for California's smallest land bases, initially purchased for specific tribes and other "homeless California Indians." While several rancherias resisted termination, 36 assented, their residents convinced that this would free them from BIA oversight. They soon began to realize the negative consequences of the policy on their existence as coherent tribes (Parman 1994:134-147; Castillo 1978a:123).

By the 1970s several rancherias were filing individual suits to become unterminated, i.e., to have their tribal status restored. In 1978 California Indian Legal Services filed Tillie Harwick v. United States, arguing that "the government had breached its trust responsibility and the provisions of the Rancheria Act by not preparing adequately for termination." The rancherias won their case and as a result, 17 tribes were unterminated (none of those in the San Francisco Bay Area). Other tribes were dismissed from the case, but retained the right to file separate suits. Many of those latter groups have been successful in becoming unterminated since then (Gendar 1992:14). Among them are three groups of Sonoma County at the north end of the San Francisco Bay Area:

- Cloverdale Rancheria of Pomo Indians, Sonoma County (restored in 1983).
- Lytton Rancheria (Pomo Indians), Sonoma County (restored in 1991).
- Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, Sonoma County (restored in 2000).

Beginning in the 1990s, several unterminated rancherias have sought to establish new land bases at various locales within Ohlone/Costanoan tribal territories. Tribes that have done so include Lytton, Scotts Valley, Guidiville, Lower Lake Koi, and the California Valley Miwok Tribe (see Indian Gaming Issues section below).

Federal Relocation Policy, 1950s-1968

Relocation was a federal policy that arose as an adjunct to the concept of termination. Relocation, initiated in the 1950s and ended in 1966, encouraged federally recognized American Indian people to move from rural reservations to urban areas, where they were promised employment assistance in the form of vocational training and jobs (Boyer 1997:89; Parman 1994:132). As elaborated by Parman:

> [BIA Commissioner] Myer's placements were in low-paying and seasonal jobs, and only 3,000 Indians found "permanent" jobs. Without improved social services, relocation could not relieve Indian poverty (Parman 1944:132).

Relocation brought large numbers of Indian people to California's urban centers from reservations in other parts of the United States:

> The government estimates that since the beginning of the relocation program as many as 60,000 to 70,000 out-of-state Indians have settled in the Los Angeles or San Francisco bay area. This accounts for more than one-half of the relocated Indians in the United States (Castillo 1978a:123).

Relocation helped make California's American Indian population larger than that of any other state in the United States in 1980, second only to Arizona in 1990, and again number one in 2000. It also relegated California's indigenous people to a relatively small percentage of the American Indian population of the state.

Instead of assimilating and acculturating the American Indian population, relocation resulted in the establishment of several multitribal institutions and organizations and the importation of newer forms of multitribal cultural expression, such as powwows. Adam Fortunate Eagle, a Chippewa from the Red Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota, wrote about the importance of the powwows that began to take place in San Francisco, then proliferated in central California:

> Indians began to find each other, partially out of loneliness and confusion in their new urban surroundings and partially out of an urge to share a cultural identity. First came the picnics in Golden Gate Park that grew into drumming and singing sessions. These grew into a powwow circuit of social gatherings that, often unconsciously, made their own subtle political statement of cultural unity and affirmation (Eagle 1992:12).

A few years later, in 1997, Fortunate Eagle wrote more about multitribal cultural phenomena.

> So great was the hunger for powwows that we would gather even when it meant serving a white man's need for a Hollywood version of Native America: The Indian Days powwow at San Jose's Frontier Village amusement park... The powwow was open to all Indians, and, even if it served to entertain tourists and sightseers, it also filled our growing need for cultural expression.
>
> All over the Bay Area, picnics were growing into powwows almost every weekend. The government had certainly not intended or wanted such a resurgence of traditional gatherings... The powwows in rented halls and public parks gradually expanded under the sponsorship of new Indian clubs. Some of them, such as the Sioux Club and the Navajo Club, formed around tribal identities; others, such as the Four Winds Club, focused on social objectives (Eagle 1997:53-54).

Some Ohlone/Costanoans began to attend powwows as both observers and participants. They also became involved with some of the new multitribal institutions and organizations. These included the San Jose Indian Center (which no longer exists) and Oakland's Intertribal Friendship House. The Intertribal Friendship House, established "in the 1950s during the early years of relocation," is one of the two "oldest still-operating urban Indian organizations in the United States," the other being the Chicago Indian Center (Lobo et.al. 2002:xix).

Despite the gradually increasing visibility of Ohlone/Costanoans in the eyes of the larger American Indian community of central California, they have often been overlooked by that larger community, or when not overlooked, considered in wistful terms as though they played no role in society. This attitude is reflected in a poem written by Sac and Fox International Indian Treaty Council activist Dennis Jennings, excerpted here (Jennings 2002:87):

DEDICATION POEM FOR OCHE WATT TE OU/REFLECTION

(Performed at Yerba Buena Gardens, San Francisco, October 17, 1993)

Now that
most of the Ohlones
are under our feet
too few left to recognize,
whole families going unrecognized
as city officials discuss with a Russian
what to do with the old military land.
OHLONES
(as if they ever called themselves that until lately)
lived here (at this place) in the Garden of Eden,
still live among us (these genetic remnants),
these all too human original people of this place.
All different races of tribes live here now—
only one or two generations removed from their lands
INDIAN
all around you now.

ASSERTION OF SOCIETAL RECOGNITION, 1964-1980

Although Ohlone/Costanoans participated in the 44-year-long land case struggle, from 1928 to 1972, that process was invisible to most other Californians. Ohlone/Costanoans began to make their political and cultural presence known publicly in the mid-1960s, and have continued to do so in an ever-increasing number of venues. The initial public stances, those that occurred up through 1980, are the subject of this section.

Protection of the Mission San Jose Ohlone Cemetery

In 1964-1965 a group of Mission San Jose descendents came together, with the help of the American Indian Historical Society, to prevent a freeway from going through the Ohlone Indian Cemetery in Fremont, California. In late 1964, Dolores Marine Galvan of the Marine/Alvarez/Galvan/Nichols/Sanchez/Thompson extended family (Mission San Jose descendents) read in the newspaper that the California Department of Transportation was planning to build a freeway through

the district of Mission San Jose that would force the removal of the Mission San Jose Indian cemetery (Lamiera Interview 2003). The cemetery was a very important spot to the family, whose members had been buried there as late as 1925 (P. Galvan Interview 2003).

Even before 1964, Rupert Costo of the American Indian Historical Society (AIHS), then a California Division of Highways engineer, had been involved in surveying the cemetery property (*Oakland Tribune*, February 2, 1965). Costo, a Cahuilla from southern California, had formed the American Indian Historical Society (AIHS) together with his wife, Jeanette Henry Costo. The AIHS was based at the Chataqua House in San Francisco. Two important goals of the AIHS were to advocate for the protection of ancestral burial grounds and for change in the way California Indians were portrayed in state textbooks. They joined forces with Dolores Galvan's family to force the Department of Transportation to try to alter the route of the freeway, Highway 680, near Mission San Jose. At a meeting on the issue with the Fremont City Council, Dolores Marine Galvan told the authorities: "You want to put a road through my mother's grave" (A. Galvan Interview 2003). The route of the freeway was changed.

Then, in October of 1964, the AIHS announced that it had applied to the Oakland Diocese of the Catholic Church for title to the "Ohlone Indian Cemetery" at Mission San Jose. The Diocese responded positively, giving a quitclaim title to the "Ohlone Indian Burial Ground" to the AIHS on January 6, 1965 (Costo 1965a). Initial plans were to make the site a "monument and memorial to the Indians of America" (Costo 1965b:12, 1965c:4,5). In 1971 the AIHS deeded the cemetery to the Ohlone Indian Tribe, with Philip Galvan, a son of Dolores Marine Galvan, as grantee (Levy 1978a:487). Since that time the cemetery has been maintained by Philip Galvan (P. Galvan Interview 2003). The site has since been used as a place to rebury native Californian remains that have been disturbed during construction projects (A. Galvan Interview 2003).

Other activities spun off from the struggle to protect the Mission San Jose cemetery. By August of 1965, the Ohlone Indian Historians chapter of the AIHS had been formed, with members from 20 households. Michael Galvan was chair and his father Philip Galvan served as its Secretary-Treasurer. In an article in The Indian Historian, the chapter members were quoted as calling themselves "Men of Extinction," a word play on the perception that "the Ohlone Indians … are extinct" (Costo 1965d).

Philip Galvan's involvement with the cemetery led to expanded efforts to educate the public about Ohlone/Costanoans, including at workshops sponsored by AIHS in Hoopa and Fresno. In 1966 Galvan created a small exhibit about the Ohlone in Brentwood's Bank of America. Public interest in the exhibit led to further research and the creation of a portable, 16-case cultural exhibit which Galvan shared at various Contra Costa County schools during lunchtime presentations. Upon hearing that a professor at De Anza College in Cupertino had said the Ohlone were extinct, Galvan visited the professor and was interviewed by the school. Other speaking engagements followed, including at a Palo Alto school that was subsequently named Ohlone Elementary (P. Galvan Interview 2003).

Alcatraz Island Occupation, 1969-1971

The complex attitudes of Ohlone/Costanoans (and other California Indian people) toward broader pan-Indian issues is illustrated by their reaction to the occupation of Alcatraz Island. A diverse group of native people calling themselves the "Indians of All Tribes" occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay for 19 months, from November of 1969 through much of June of 1971. The occupation began on the evening of November 9, 1969, when 14 individuals, mostly Indian college students, jumped off the boat they had chartered with several others and swam to the Island. They carried a proclamation stating, "We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery." It elaborated the occupation's goals as the development of a Center for Native American Studies, an American Indian Spiritual Center, an Indian Center of Ecology,

an Indian Training School, and an American Indian Museum, none ultimately achieved on the island itself (Eagle 1992:60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 73; Talbot 1997:105).

The November 9 occupiers were removed by U.S. marshalls the next day. However a larger group exceeding 80 people returned on the morning of November 20, 1969. Men, women, and children, they brought gear necessary for a long stay. Most were reportedly college students, including students enrolled in the San Francisco State University Native American Studies Department's first-ever course, "Native American Heritage" (NAS 20), as well as students from U.C. Berkeley and U.C. Riverside (Kemnitzer 1997:115-117; Castillo 1997:120). At least one of the persons enrolled in NAS 20—Frank David Williams—was Ohlone/Costanoan, although it isn't clear whether or not he ultimately joined the occupation (Castillo 1997:118). Many of the original Alcatraz occupiers were associated with or influenced by the intertribal United Native Americans, established in the Bay Area in 1968.

Over the next 18 months federal authorities monitored the situation as local San Francisco Bay Area citizens brought water and supplies to the Island, and Indian activists visited from across the country, and non-Indian civil rights activists visited from around the world. The assembly of occupiers went through constant turnover, and relationships among the occupation leadership were at times tense. Eventually, public support for the occupation waned. On June 10, 1971, the occupation ended when armed federal marshals, FBI agents, and special forces police came onto the island and removed the last occupiers, five women, four children, and six men.

In an ironic turn, Ernest Thompson of the large Marine/Alvarez/Galvan/Nichols/Sanchez/Thompson extended family of Mission San Jose descendents, was hired as a night watchman at Alcatraz by the National Park Service after they acquired the property. He worked there for many years, beginning in October of 1973 (*Sacramento Bee*, December 23, 1980, p. B2).

The Alcatraz occupation had a profound affect on American Indian activism in the following months and years. According to Troy Johnson and colleagues it initiated…

> a unique nine-year period of Red Power protest that culminated in the transformation of national consciousness about American Indians and engendered a more open and confident sense of identity among people of Indian descent. Between 20 November 1969 and the Longest Walk in 1978, there were more than seventy property takeovers by Indian activists. This series of collective actions is referred to as the Alcatraz-Red Power Movement (ARPM) because it started with—and was modeled after—the Alcatraz takeover. Certainly, many individual Indian people were politically active before and after this period, but what made the movement so powerful were the large numbers of organized demonstrations and the property seizures aimed at airing national and local Indian grievances (Johnson et al. 1997).

The reaction to the Alcatraz occupation was mixed among California Indians. In a subtle way, it was mixed "within" California Indians, as Castillo, himself a Cahuilla from southern California, explained:

> My own reaction evolved from enthusiastic support to more serious reflection: "Oh, no. Here we go again." At that time, all of California's professional Indian leadership positions were held by Indians from out of state. This grated on those of us who were from California tribes, but the non-California Indians could not comprehend our concern. More troubling still, these leaders would be claiming California Indian land based on a treaty the government had made with the Lakota Indians! After some serious thought, though, I decided the positive potential would outweigh the negative. I would take part in the proposed demonstration with hopes that other California Indians would participate as well. I reasoned that we would go to the island, make our stand, be arrested, and then attempt to get the message to the

> nation that the native peoples of America were being seriously neglected in the civil rights struggle (Castillo 1997:122).

Years later, Mission San Jose descendent Philip Galvan, a member of an older generation than Castillo, described his reaction to the Alcatraz occupation at the First Annual Gathering of Ohlone Peoples at Coyote Hills Regional Park in Fremont, October 1, 1994,

> It's always been among the natives that you do not trespass in other areas that don't belong to you… We always thought it was wrong for other people to be on Alcatraz. They were from all different tribes (P. Galvan, personal communication to Beverly Ortiz, 1994).

Recently, Andrew Galvan, Philip's son, took the same point of view:

> The Ohlone people considered Alcatraz to be part of our traditional homelands, land we had never relinquished to anyone, Indian or non-Indian. The occupation organizers did not consult with the indigenous group or ask members to join the occupation... (A. Galvan Interview 2003).

Other Ohlone/Costanoans have supported the Alcatraz occupation. Tony Cerda, a Mission Carmel/Mission Dolores descendent who did not take part in the 1969-1971 action because he was not in the area, has found a way to support the idea of the Alcatraz occupation. He currently attends commemorative ceremonies at Alcatraz with his tribe's Humaya Dancers (*Contra Costa Times*, November 29, 2002).

> They never had any indigenous people from that area participating with them before. I don't know why they stay away. It's their business. They can do whatever they want. But I think it's important that we have our presence, and we participate in the things that are going on in that area, even though we don't live there, for originally we were from that area (Cerda Interview 2003).

Lee Road Cemetery Protection

Another example of Indian resistance to cultural site disruption in Ohlone/Costanoan country took place in Santa Cruz County in mid-1975. This was a nearly violent showdown over the desecration and destruction of an Indian cemetery on Lee Road near Watsonville. Patrick Orozco, a Pajaro Valley Ohlone, had grown up as part of a family that watched over this graveyard. His grandmother told him how his great grandfather would stop at the cemetery to pray, telling his family "Your people are there. Respect them and protect them" (Orozco and Robin 2002).

When a developer began bulldozing the burial ground for a warehouse site, Orozco and other local Indians could not prevail upon local authorities to protect the cemetery. Armed with rifles and bows and arrows, they entered the graveyard at night. They planned to physically occupy the site to prevent its further destruction, non-violently if possible (they had agreed among themselves not to shoot first), but violently if necessary (they would shoot back if fired upon). In Orozco's words: "We understood that we might lose our lives defending our religious rights, our culture, our people. When day break came, we faced a sea of law enforcement and weaponry" (Orozco and Robin 2002:99).

Political leaders worked out a compromise at the last minute, not wanting to face the responsibility for killing Indians who wanted to protect ancestral graves. A settlement allowed the developer to build his warehouses on the already bulldozed half of the graveyard, and give the undamaged remaining half of the site and five acres of adjacent land to the local Ohlone/ Costanoans (Orozco and Robin 2002:100). Orozco remembered that the effort to preserve the Lee Road cemetery "opened up our eyes."

> We saw that we had a need to research our way of life and to learn what was left in regard to our songs and dances and traditional way of life (Robin and Orozco 2002:216).

Working with the National Environmental Policy Act and California Environmental Quality Act

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969 required the preparation of Environmental Impact Statements to assess potential impacts to cultural, historic and environmental resources from development projects on federal lands. It took a few years after passage of that act for regulatory statutes to come into effect and for citizens, including Indians, to learn how to use the statutes to try to protect places of value to them.

For non-federal projects, the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) of 1970 required the preparation of Environmental Impact Reports by public agencies in California to assess potential impacts to cultural, historic and environmental resources from development, and to develop a plan to avoid or mitigate "significant effects, where feasible." CEQA Section 15064.5 governs the protection and mitigation of cultural features, including "Native American graves and artifacts; traditional cultural landscapes; natural resources used for food, ceremonies or traditional crafts; and places that have special significance because of the spiritual power associated with them" (http://www.nahc.ca.gov/guidelines4mon.html).

By the mid-to-late 1970s, both Ohlone/Costanoans and American Indians of non-California heritage were providing input under NEPA regarding federally funded projects in the San Francisco Bay Area. Prominent among them was Wayne Robeson (Choctaw), who lived for many years in the City of San Pablo. The prominence of non-Californian American Indians in site protection was the result of the same relocation policies and subsequent multitribal activism that had led to the Alcatraz events.

Despite these and other new laws laws regarding environmental and cultural resource protection, during the 1970s sites continued to be destroyed without any Ohlone consultation, such as the previously mentioned Lee Road cemetery.

Ohlone/Costanoans and the Native American Heritage Commission

An important agency for aiding the enforcement of laws protecting California Indian traditional cultural properties is the Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC), established in the Office of the Governor of California in 1976. The Commission has an executive staff and nine appointed commissioners from throughout the state. It works cooperatively with state agencies to identify and contact groups that may be culturally affiliated with particular burial grounds, sacred sites, and museum collections. It also maintains a confidential list of sacred sites, which is shared with planners only on a need-to-know basis. It maintains lists of Indian people from the various tribes available to work with developers, construction companies, and local agencies in situations where traditional cultural properties may be harmed.

The NAHC is authorized to designate a "most likely descendent" (MLD) for the treatment and disposition of Native American skeletal remains and associated items that may be present with them. When unmarked Indian graves are encountered, the Heritage Commission staff assigns a designated person from among most likely descendents (MLDs) to work with property owners to proceed in light of pertinent laws. (Unmarked Native American cemeteries are not legal cemeteries under California law.)

Patrick Orozco and Ella Rodriguez (1932-2005) were the first two local Native Americans to work directly with the Heritage Commission as monitors (Patrick Orozco, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 2006). Like Orozco, Rodriguez had also worked to save the Lee Road site (Orozco and Robin 2002:108). As a result of the latter experience, Irene Alvarez, Orozco, and Rodriguez formed the Ohlone Indian Cultural Association as a branch of the Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association. A turning point for increased Ohlone/Costanoan involvement in site

preservation, Orozco remembers, was the 1977 archaeological investigation of the Holiday Inn site in San Jose (Patrick Orozco, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 2006).

PERTINENT THEMES FROM 1980 FORWARD

Some Ohlone/Costanoans today participate in activities focused in the realm of political action and social justice, while others work to renew (and some to interpret) traditional language and/or cultural skills. A few individuals work in both the political and cultural arenas. This concluding section examines themes within both domains.

Ohlone/Costanoan Efforts for Federal Recognition or Re-recognition

Federal recognition of tribal status became a central concern of many Ohlone/Costanoan groups in the early 1980s, as they were faced with the fact that only federally recognized tribes can negotiate with the United States government on a government-to-government basis in order to resolve cultural preservation issues, obtain a land base, and qualify for certain health care and education assistance programs. In regard to the importance of Federal recognition, Jacquelin Jensen Kehl (Mission San Juan Bautista descendent) wrote in 2001:

> Under the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), Native American human remains and associated grave objects held by federally funded institutions are required by law to be returned to culturally affiliated tribes. In Ohlone territory, this has become impossible because we are no longer federally recognized and therefore cannot rebury our ancestral remains through federal channels (Kehl in Kehl and Yamane 2002:77).

Edward Ketchum, a leader of the Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone/Costanoan Indians, expressed NAGPRA's importance when discussing sacred places in his traditional territory:

> We believe we will be limited in our ability to protect this valuable heritage unless we are a federally recognized tribe. Once our anonymity served to protect us, now it is an impediment to our federal recognition (Ketchum 2002:206).

In order to secure federal recognition, petitioning groups must meet seven criteria, including that they have "been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900," that a "predominant portion" of their membership "comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present," and, most difficult to prove, that they have "maintained political influence or authority over" their membership "as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present" (U.S. Code of Federal Regulations 25, Chapter 1, Section 7).[47] These have often been difficult criteria to meet, especially for the Ohlone/Costanoan groups, who have been coping with imposed institutions and immigrant populations for over 200 years (see Leventhal et al. 1994, 2003).

The following Ohlone/Costanoan groups are known to have applied for Federal recognition:

- Costanoan Band of Carmel Mission Indians (9/16/1988)
- Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe (5/9/1989)
- Indian Canyon Band of Costanoan/Mutsun Indians (6/9/1989)

[47] The federal regulation describing criteria for federal recognition is Code of Federal Regulations Title 25—Indians, Chapter 1, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, Part 83, Procedures for Establishing that an American Indian Group Exists as an Indian Tribe, Section 7, Mandatory Criteria for Federal Acknowledgment.

- Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone/Costanoan Indians (9/18/1990)
- Esselen/Costanoan Tribe of Monterey County (11/16/1992)
- Ohlone/Costanoan - Esselen Nation (12/3/1992)
- Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe (8/24/1994)
- Costanoan Ohlone Rumsen-Mutsun Tribe (12/7/1994)

Appendix E of this report presents details on the status of each of these petitions.

The Advisory Council on California Indian Policy is a statewide Indian council created by Congress in 1992 to provide advice and recommendations on California Indian special status problems. The Council held a meeting in Monterey on November 18-19, 1994; the testimony they heard centered on many issues, among them the need for assistance in becoming federally recognized. Among the people giving testimony were several Ohlone/Costanoans, including Loretta Wyer, then Chairwoman of the Ohlone-Esselen Nation, Irene Zwierlein of the Amah Mutsun; Joseph Mondragon, Administrator of the Amah Mutsun; Anthony Miranda of the Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe, Patrick Orozco of the Pajaro Valley Indian Council, and Tony Cerda of the Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe. The Council then set up a Recognition Task Force. Rosemary Cambra of the Muwekma Ohlone tribe served with twelve others on the Task Force (Bedrosian and Fisher 1994:1-3).

In 1997 the Recognition Task Force issued its report to Congress, concluding that the federal acknowledgement process was unfair to California Tribes. It cited the need to inject "elements of historical reality and fundamental justice into the inquiry surrounding the questions of tribal status in California" and called for the adoption of legislation that would "allow currently petitioning tribes the option of either using a modification of the current federal acknowledgment process administered by the BIA, or transferring their petitions to an independent Commission on California Indian Recognition, created by Congress to administer a California-specific process for unacknowledged California Indian groups" (Recognition Task Force 1997:23). Neither recommendation has been enacted.

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe went to federal court in December of 1999, suing the Department of Interior/BIA to expedite their petition, which at the time was expected to take up to twenty years to reach the top of the list for evaluation. The court ordered that the recognition petition be put on a fast track. In 2002 the decision came out rejecting the Muwekma petition. Neal McCaleb, Department of Interior Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, stated: "The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe does not exist within the meaning of federal law" (*Oakland Tribune,* December 6, 2002, Local p. 6). The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe responded that this was an unlawful political decision, and filed suit in U.S. District Court. Its attorney argued that the entire federal recognition process is grossly unfair, since it requires all tribes to document a continuous community during periods of history when both governmental and society-wide economic, social and cultural policies were stifling and destroying tribal identity, preventing the maintenance of the tribe (*Oakland Tribune*, December 6, 2002, Local, p. 6). Since 2006, a number of complex court rulings have allowed their petition to move forward, although no formal BIA ruling has yet been made.

As of 2008, none of the eight petitioning Ohlone/Costanoan groups has been granted federal recognition. They are not the only petitioning groups having difficulty receiving determinations. As of September 2002, a total of 250 tribal recognition cases had been submitted to the BIA, nationwide. Of those 250 cases, only 15 groups had been granted recognition, 19 had been denied recognition, 1 was in "pending determination" status, 2 had been settled through other means, 55 had been sent back to the petitioners as only partially documented, 114 were letter petitions with no documentation, and 21 were being studied or awaiting study by the BIA (Association of American Indian Affairs 2003). A group that monitors the recognition process stated recently, "It will take no fewer than 42 years to complete the processing of the present petition backlog" (Association of American Indian Affairs 2006).

Heritage Resources Protection Since the 1970s

An emerging problem for the Ohlone/Costanoans since the 1970s has been the fact that the strongest laws that protect traditional cultural properties are federal laws, and those federal laws recognize agrievements only to members of federally recognized Indian tribes. Most important among such laws is the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which provides a process for museums and Federal agencies to return certain Native American cultural items—human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony—to lineal descendents, culturally affiliated Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

Despite the lack of legal standing for non-federally recognized tribes some California institutions have conducted reburials in cooperation with non-federally recognized San Francisco Bay Area Indian groups. In 1989, a year before the passage of NAGPRA, Stanford University, in cooperation with the Muwekma group and other Ohlone/Costanoans, reburied several hundred human skeletons from earlier archaeological excavations and public donations (Cambra 1991; Gomez 1991:24). Not all Ohlone/Costanoans concurred with the idea of massive reburial of museum collections. Andrew Galvan (1990) was a prominent voice against repatriation of the Stanford remains.

It is most often the case that reburied Native American skeletal remains are those discovered from recent ground-disturbing activities. Some have gone to the Ohlone Cemetery in Fremont, but most are reburied on the property where they were disturbed, through agreements reached between property owners, archaeologists, and involved Indians. In 1994 Andrew Galvan estimated that in the last 25 years, he and his father had buried "the remains of about 3,000 Indians" at the Ohlone Indian cemetery, "including bones unearthed at Bay Area construction sites and skeletons relinquished from museum collections" (Bruggers 1994:5A).

Some Ohlone/Costanoans have chosen to become archaeologists. In 1984 the Muwekma Ohlone tribe established the first Ohlone/Costanoan cultural resource management firm, Ohlone Families Consulting Services. It was created to "address the burial issue and assist Indian families" (Cambra 1991:426; Field et.al. 1992a:421). That entity has discontinued direct archaeological research work since the 1990s. Another Ohlone/Costanoan, Andrew Galvan, participated in the establishment of Archaeor, an archaeological research firm, during the mid-1990s. Archaeor continues to do archaeological research in 2008 (see http://www.archaeor.com).

Today individual Ohlone/Costanoans serve in one or more capacities when ancestral cultural sites are affected, as most likely descendants (MLDs) for purposes of deciding upon the disposition of discovered human remains, as monitors during ground-disturbing activities, and even as archaeologists. Individual perspectives can vary greatly when it comes to issues of site protection and preservation, such as: (1) what capacity, if any, to serve in; (2) whether to oppose development projects outright; (3) how to mitigate impacts of proposed developments; (4) whether or how much to allow analysis of human remains and cultural objects; (5) whether or what objects may be archived in museums or put on public display; and (6) whether human remains should remain in situ, be buried as near as possible to the place where they were originally found, or be buried at a dedicated cemetery (see, for instance, Cambra 1991; Jacobus 1993; Brinson 1994; Rockstroh 1994; Frederick 1996:5,12-15; Rosenberg 2000; Yamane 2002b:201-204).

Those Ohlone/Costanoans who choose to serve as MLDs relative to the disposition of human remains under California law are assigned to specific cases by the Native American Heritage Commission. As of 2006, the Heritage Commission utilized a two-tiered approach in assigning MLDs in traditional Ohlone/Costanoan territories. People who can trace their ancestry to specific village locations are called in as MLDs if unmarked graves are discovered in the vicinity of the village. Where no Ohlone/Costanoan families have ties to local villages, MLDs are assigned in sequential

order from the full list of potential Ohlone/Costanoan MLDs (Larry Myers, personal communication to Randall Milliken, 2006).

The Gaming Issue in Ohlone/Costanoan Territory

The proliferation of casinos on Indian lands in California since the 1980s affects Ohlone/Costanoans in two ways. First, as Ohlone/Costanoan groups move forward with attempts to seek federal recognition and a land base, they find themselves opposed by neighbors who accuse them of being interested only in starting a casino. Second, year by year they witness one non-local unterminated tribe after another attempt to gain permission to buy land and set up a casino somewhere within traditional Ohlone/Costanoan territory in the potentially lucrative San Francisco Bay Area.

The background to the development of Indian gaming in California dates to the early 1980s, when some federally recognized southern California tribes sought to develop slot machine and card game gambling. Those efforts were blocked by local law enforcement because "Nevada-style" gambling was prohibited under the California constitution. The tribes, who held their lands as sovereign nations, to a certain extent outside of state and local jurisdiction, sued in federal court to be able to conduct gaming on their lands. In the 1987 Cabezon/Morongo decision, the United States Supreme Court ruled in favor of the tribes. The federal government then stepped in to exercise a measure of regulatory control of gambling on all Indian reservations.

In 1988, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA). The IGRA established a federal commission to oversee tribal gaming operations and gave federally recognized tribes various levels of jurisdiction over three classes of gaming. They were given complete control over traditional tribal gambling (Class I); control with commission approval over bingo and non-banked card games (Class II), if the state where they resided allowed such games; and the ability to carry out Nevada-style gambling (Class III) in cases where they could make a compact with their own state government.

Blocked by the California state constitution from developing gaming compacts with the state government, a group of California federally recognized tribes put an initiative on the state ballot—the Tribal Government Gaming and Economic Self-Sufficiency Act—to overturn the prohibition. It passed overwhelmingly in the November of 1998 election. The Indian victory was short lived, however, as the California Supreme Court overturned the law as unconstitutional. In response, a coalition of 58 tribes then put a follow-up initiative for a constitutional amendment on the ballot. California voters passed this amendment, called the "California Indian Self-Reliance Act," in March of 2000. It allows Nevada-style gambling and delineates how the proceeds will be shared among California's tribes.

Under the IGRA's Section 20, terminated tribes that have been restored to Federal recognition, but are landless, can acquire new lands to put into trust for gaming purposes if they can show significant historic or cultural ties to the land in question. But as of 2006 no Ohlone/Costanoan groups were federally recognized. Therefore they have been excluded from moving forward with gaming under the IGRA.

Recently restored California tribes from outside of the San Francisco Bay Area, rendered landless in the earlier termination cycle, have been seeking to purchase land and establish casinos on lands within Ohlone/Costanoan territory under IGRA Section 20. They include: (1) Scotts Valley (Sugar Bowl) Rancheria, which has proposed a casino on industial land near Richmond; (2) Guidiville Rancheria, which has proposed a casino at Point Molate with the concurrence of the Richmond City Council. They have been opposed by Muwekma; (3) The Lower Lake Koi Tribe, which proposed to establish a casino near the Oakland Airport, but has since withdrawn its application. They had been opposed by Muwekma (field data of Beverly Ortiz). Additionally, a never-terminated, but reconstituted tribe, the California Valley Miwok, proposed to establish a casino within Mutsun Ohlone territory near Hollister. They were opposed by the Amah Mutsun Tribal

Band of Costanoan/Ohlone Indians and have since withdrawn that application, although a new one is pending within Mutsun territory (field data of Beverly Ortiz).

One terminated rancheria—the Lytton Rancheria—has been successful in establishing a territorial base within Ohlone/Costanoan territory in San Pablo on the east side of San Francisco Bay. The Lytton Rancheria membership are Southern Pomo and Wappo descendants whose original rancheria was in the Alexander Valley, Sonoma County. They were able to have the federal government purchase a one-time card room, Casino San Pablo, and its adjacent parking lot, in trust on their behalf due to an amendment placed by Congressman George Miller on a 2000 Federal Omnibus Indian spending bill. They currently run electronic bingo games at the site. As of 2006 two bills are pending that would restrict gaming at this site by the Lytton Rancheria, Senate Bill 113 which would repeal the allotment of lands to Lytton Rancheria, and House Bill 2353 which would require the tribe to meet the administrative provisions of Section 20.

Federal law directs that land purchases for newly restored tribes are to be made within areas with which the tribe has historic or cultural ties. To meet this qualification, the restored tribes that want to purchase San Francisco Bay Area lands have made a number of arguments. Some have claimed they once passed through Ohlone territory to trade. Some have noted that parts of Ohlone territory were within their BIA Service Area following twentieth-century relocation. Some have asserted cultural ties to Ohlone territory without any historical evidence. During an April 28, 2006, consultation hearing about proposed revisions to Section 20 in Sacramento, the BIA's Director of the Office of Indian Gaming Management, George T. Skibine, stated that Congress did not intend historic or cultural ties to be limited to traditional tribal territory, although this is the central concern for Ohlone/Costanoans seeking federal recognition (personal communication with Beverly Ortiz). In sum, the issue of Indian gaming in California, and in traditional Ohlone/Costanoan lands, is fluid and changing rapidly.

Ohlone/Costanoan Cultural Expression

Since the 1970s many Ohlone/Costanoans have participated in intertribal pan-Indian events—gatherings, picnics, meetings and pow-wows—that have helped to foster renewed pride in their American Indian heritage. Pan-Indian activities, while generally rooted in Plains Indian expression, are a central means of public affirmation for Indians from all areas, both unifying them and providing a context for the development of the contemporary indigenous revival of each group. Many Ohlone/Costanoan people who have participated in pan-Indian activities have been stimulated to develop California Indian cultural traditions and the unique traditions of their own specific ancestors.

Linda Yamane has probably been the single most active individual in the field of Ohlone/Costanoan material culture revival. She is a descendent of Margarita Maria (SCA-B 32) of Tucutnut, the largest village of the Rumsen local tribe of the Carmel Valley when the Spanish arrived. For about two decades Yamane has been tracing the history of the Rumsen Costanoan language group and resurrecting aspects of a rich cultural tradition.[48] Her work has included the revival of the skill of making traditional baskets, including how to properly harvest the sedge, willow, bracken fern, bulrush and other plants which provide the raw materials for this practical art form. She has edited books of stories and histories of her people. She has also recovered Ohlone/Costanoan musical forms, traditional games and how to make tule boats. Yamane describes her purpose in her own words here:

[48] The Rumsen local tribe spoke the language codified in the linguistic literature as Rumsen Costanoan. Some descendents, among them Linda Yamane, prefer the spelling Rumsien, following an alternative orthographic tradition.

> Our language, stories, baskets and songs connect us to our past. They connect us to the people we have come from and to this place that is our home and the home of our ancestors. These things empower us with the truth. They defy the stereotypes. They bring us pride and dignity—and they bring honor and respect to our ancestors (Linda Yamane, personal communication to Beverly Ortiz, 1995).

Yamane not only works to revive language and material culture skills for her own people, but also shares her successes by teaching others and educating the public through museum and park programs.

The tradition of reaching out to teach the public at large about the heritage of the various Ohlone/Costanoan language groups was initiated many years ago by some of the people who are now elders. Joe Mondragon (Interview 2003) described to us how he gave talks in schools in the Gilroy area in his younger days. Philip Galvan (Interview 2003) told us similar stories about his teaching activities in the San Francisco Bay Area, with special thanks to a boss who allowed him to give talks at schools during his lunch hour.

Patrick Orozco of the Watsonville area, has been actively sharing information about Ohlone/Costanoan material and spiritual culture for over 30 years in the Santa Cruz, San Benito, and Monterey County areas, visiting schools, parks, and community events. Although he is Chumash and Ajachmen by heritage, he grew up in Watsonville and was married to a Rumsen woman. In 1978 Orozco established a dance group, Amah-Ka-Tura. He was inspired to establish the group out of a desire to bring songs that had been recorded in the early 1900s by anthropologists in written form or on wax cylinders "back to life." By 1996 Amah-Ka-Tura had grown to include some 15 dancers, aged six to 29, of multitribal background. Today the group, with a repertoire of some 30 songs, includes Rumsen, Pomo and Chippewa members, among others (Patrick Orozco, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 2006). As a representative of the Pajaro Valley Indian Council, Orozco shares the remembered songs, dances, and stories, shows dance regalia and musical instruments, and promotes respect for his cultural legacy within the larger public (Yamane 2002b:99, 217).

The Humaya Dancers are another group that features interpretations of traditional Ohlone/Costanoan dances. The original Humaya Dancers were founded by Chemo Candelaria in 1986. Candelaria, an American Indian Movement activist, was a member of Amah-Ka-Tura for many years, where he learned most of the songs and dances presented by the Humaya dancers. His repertoire also included a closing song shared with him by "Grandpa" Raymond Stone (Paiute/Shoshone). Years later, Tony Cerda, Chair of the Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe, began a second Humaya Dancers after meeting Candelaria.[49] Cerda received some song tapes from Patrick Orozco, who he first met at a gathering of American Indians in Washington, D.C. The second Humaya Dancers, whose repetoire is similar to that of the first, has its own unique interpretation of the songs (Chemo Candelaria, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 1984-1987; Chemo Candelaria Interview 2003; Patrick Orozco, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 2006).

A modern group that is reviving traditional Ohlone/Costanoan songs of the Monterey Bay Area is the Mak Tcunnui Singers. Their songs derive from early wax cylinder recordings re-recorded onto cassette tapes. Linda Yamane obtained the materials and began to share Rumsen songs with other Rumsens and the general public in the early 1990s. Soon, she was joined in singing by Carol Bachmann (Ohlone), Marie Bonillas (Rumsen/Mutsun), Jacquelin Jensen Kehl (Mutsun), and Richard Miranda (Rumsen), who took the name Mak Tcunnui Singers.

---

[49] Recent cultural transmission among Ohlone/Costanoans has occasionally involved non-local Indians. For instance, Cerda and Candelaria met through Robert John, a protégé of Paiute elder and medicine man Raymond Stone (Chemo Candelaria, Interview, 2003).

Ann Marie Sayers, Mission San Juan Bautista descendent, has developed a center for traditional California Indian ritual and healing, including a traditional dance house, on her property at Indian Canyon near Hollister. In opening her property for various cultural activities by California Indians and others, Sayers follows a tradition learned from her mother:

> My mother believed that when ceremony stops, so does the earth. I too believe it. She would feed 20, 30, 40 people every weekend. And, some people … like the Williamsons [Ann Marie's godparents] when they came down, they'd bring three or four cases of tuna and sardines . . . they had Fortune Fisheries. If they worked in the fields, they'd bring a crate or two of whatever it was that they worked with. And, they'd go home sometimes with more than what they would come. That was the thinking of sharing, which was very beautiful (Sayers Interview 2003).

Sayers hosts an annual Indian Canyon California Indian Storytelling Festival and Native Art Show. Also, groups of school children come to Indian Canyon to see its ethno-botanical display and Ohlone/Costanoan crafts and traditional structures (Imrie 2002, Sayers 2002).

Language Restoration Programs

Descendents of the speakers of three different Costanoan languages have begun to revive those languages. They have been aided by participation in one or more of the biennial "Breath of Life" workshops, weeklong language workshops held at UC Berkeley. The Breath of Life program was established by Professor of Linguistics Leanne Hinton (1996:189-247), who also coordinates a master-apprentice program in California Indian languages. At the workshops, linguists are partnered with community members who want to restore their ancestral languages, but have no living speakers from whom to learn. The workshops grew out of a 1992 Tribal Scholars Language Conference, which brought California Indians from every region of the state together at a Marin County site to discuss ways to keep California Indian languages alive. Linda Yamane (Mission Carmel descendent) was one of several participants at the original 1992 conference.

Rumsen Language Restoration – In 1987 Linda Yamane became the first Ohlone to initiate research with the goal of restoring her ancestral language, called Rumsen by linguists and called Rumsien by Yamane herself. She accessed the J. P. Harrington linguistic field notes on microfilm at San Jose State University, taking notes, microcopying pages, and painstakingly mastering Harrington's unique writing system so she could speak, sing and write poetry in the language. She listened to and mastered ancestral songs, converted from early wax cylinders onto cassette tapes. In the process she accessed personally meaningful details of cultural knowledge. (Linda Yamane, personal communication with Beverly Ortiz, 2006).

> [Y]ou look through everything and find all the pieces, and eventually you hope that you can put it all together right. But there is just so much there… It's not just words on a piece of paper, but it's saving something from the past that connects with people now (Yamane [1992] in Hinton 1996:207).

Mutsun Language Restoration – When Quirina Luna-Costillas found a publication of Mutsun words and phrases recorded by Spanish priest Arroyo de la Cuesta, she began a quest to revive the language. She and her cousin, Lisa Carrier, have attended all but one of the Breath of Life workshops held at U.C. Berkeley since the summer of 1992. They have poured through J. P. Harrington's Mutsun field notes and Marc Okrand's 1977 Mutsun grammar. Luna-Costillas and Carrier founded the Mutsun Language Foundation in 2001. The Mutsun Language Foundation has developed a variety of interactive language learning tools, including flash cards, recordings, phrase books, coloring books, and a limited distribution Mutsun version of the Dr. Seuss classic *Green Eggs and Ham* that uses the words for "snake-like" to represent a train (Schulman 2001). Luna-Costillas and Carrier

have also collaborated with linguist Natasha Warner on a Mutsun dictionary. Luna-Costillas's third child Jonathan, having been raised hearing Mutsun spoken in his home, actually spoke his first word in Mutsun (Maclay 2002). Several Mutsuns meet monthly to study and speak the language together. Recent activities by the Mutsun Language Foundation (2006) are described on their active website.

Chochenyo Language Restoration – In July of 2003 Juliette Blevins, a visiting professor at the University of California at Berkeley, and Jon Rodney, a UC Berkeley linguistics graduate student, began working with six Muwekma tribal members, all women, who wanted to learn Chochenyo, the San Francisco Bay Costanoan dialect of the Mission San Jose area (Tremain 2004:16). Muwekma member Shelia Guzman, whose paternal great-grandfather was Harrington consultant Jose Guzman, had become interested in her heritage after the birth of her first child in 1994. Guzman participated with the other women, including Monica Arrellano, Gloria Arrellano and Michelle Sanchez, in the 2003 Breath of Life workshop at UC Berkeley. At the workshop, Guzman developed a song she entitled "Ten Little Coyotes" in the Chochenyo language, to the tune of Ten Little Indians (Tremain 2004:16-19). In 2004 the women went to Connecticut to share with the Mashantucket Pequot, who had started a language group of their own (Alan Leventhal Interview 2003).

Internal Group Dynamics and Inter-Group Tensions

Today's organized Ohlone/Costanoan groups exist by the consent of their membership. Modern Ohlone/Costanoan groups maintain their identities through their programmatic efforts to reach their goals (such as working on federal recognition or on their language programs), through their group social gatherings and internal governmental meetings, and for some, through their efforts to have their interests recognized by local representatives of federal, state, and county governments and special districts. No laws at any level of government decide how they should be organized or what their goals should be.

For the larger Ohlone/Costanoan groups, no events are more important than their annual gatherings. The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area has been holding such gatherings since the 1980s. In recent years they have gathered for Christmas parties, often at Stanford University, with recent attendances topping 180 tribal members. The Muwekma Ohlone have also organized a tribal "cultural campout" in the summer months at Del Valle Regional Park every year since 2001, with attendance often approaching 100. Farther south, the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Costanoan/Ohlone Indians have been holding annual gatherings in recent years. Their September 2005 gathering, chaired by Valentin Lopez, included presentations by Maidu, Miwok, and Pomo dance groups (Tumgoren 2004). According to Quirina Luna-Costillas, it was the first time in nearly 100 years that the Mutsun had danced (Tumgoren 2004).

As group self-awareness and cultural consciousness has grown, so to has tension and disagreement over leadership, goals, and legitimacy within geographic areas. During the last two decades , eight Ohlone/Costanoan groups have initiated the process for federal recognition, as was noted in a section above. Four of those groups derive predominately from Mission San Carlos Borromeo families (Costanoan Band of Carmel Mission Indians, Esselen/Costanoan Tribe of Monterey County, Ohlone/Costanoan - Esselen Nation, Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe), one derives predominately from San Juan Bautista families (Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone/Costanoan Indians), two derive from the general Monterey Bay Area (Costanoan Ohlone Rumsen-Mutsen Tribe and Indian Canyon Band of Costanoan/Mutsun Indians) and one derives predominately from Mission San Jose families (Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe). The fact that four separate groups from Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel) have sought federal recognition reflects fission among those Carmel descendants. Serious disagreements regarding goals and leadership have also taken place among Mission San Juan Bautista and Mission San Jose descendents, although they have not been reflected in multiple recognition petitions. Among the Amah group of Mission San Juan Bautista, a

split occurred in the late 1990s, driven by controversy over the legitimacy of officer elections; the split left one faction in control of the group's non-profit organization and the other faction in charge of the group's large annual gathering. In the San Francisco Bay Area, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, while maintaining its core leadership and a very large membership, has seen some of its original members leave the group, in some cases to represent Ohlone/Costanoan interests as individuals, and in one case to found a Northern Valley Yokuts group in the Stockton area.

A major source of disagreement between Ohlone/Costanoan groups regards the geographical extent of west-central California territory which one group or individual may rightfully represent in the public arena. Ohlone/Costanoan people are often asked to participate in cultural events sponsored by federal, state, and local agencies. One long-standing public event, initiated in 1985, is "Ohlone Days" at Henry Cowell State Park in central Santa Clara County, where descendants of the Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Mission San Juan Bautista and Mission San Jose Ohlone/Costanoans have presented songs, stories, and material arts (Uccello 1995). Another is the "Gathering of Ohlone Peoples" at Coyote Hills Regional Park in southwest Alameda County, where Mission San Claros Borromeo, Mission San Juan Bautista, and Mission San Jose descendants have gathered since 1994, again to share songs, stories, and material arts. While all Ohlone/Costanoan descendants are invited to most such public events, some Ohlone/Costanoan groups have chosen not to participate out of a concern that "pan-Ohlone" involvement in presenting culture to the public misrepresents the geographic, cultural, and historic differences among the Indian descendants from separate Franciscan mission areas and separate specific Costanoan language traditions.

Interaction and Non-Interaction with the GGNRA

Since its inceptcion, the GGNRA has reached out to the full list of Ohlone/Costanoan groups from the San Francisco to the Monterey Bay Area, inviting them to partake in park utilization planning sessions and cultural interpretation activities without regard to the degree of their ancestral association with the San Francisco Peninsula. Some Ohlone/Costanoan groups and unaffiliated individuals have been very active in their participation in one or both of these types of activities. (The detailed history of such interaction is beyond the scope of this report.)

The largest San Francisco Bay Area Ohlone/Costanoan group, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, has not been formally involved in GGNRA park planning or cultural interpretation. They take the stance that they cannot participate in government-organized cultural events at the Presidio, in light of the fact that Monterey Bay Area Ohlone/Costanoans are invited and recognized by GGNRA staff as representatives of the indigenous people of the San Francisco Bay Area.

In addition to formally sanctioning cultural interpretation events, the National Park Services has accommodated Ohlone/Costanoan requests to use GGNRA lands for their own ceremonies. At one such event, Elder Tony Cerda of the Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe performed a healing ceremony, the purpose and import of which he described as follows:

> The whole world is alive... It's not a dead thing going around in space... What we did was healing ceremonies for the land. And we did that right on the beach. And right there we had all the elements; we had the water, the land, the fire, and the wind... When we do a healing, a land ceremony, we call the spirits in, and we feed those spirits, and we ask them to join us, and we feed them, and then we send them off. When we do a crossover ceremony, we bring all those spirits in, and we send them off to the Creator. Now, I believe that, like I said before, we're a spirit in a human body. Where did we come from? We came from the spirit world. Where are we going? We're going back to the spirit world. Now, every indigenous culture in the world believes that (Cerda Interview 2003).

Chapter 11. Conclusion: Ohlone/Costanoan Cultural Affinities

The Ohlone/Costanoan peoples of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay areas were different from one another in language and culture in the ancient past, at the time of Spanish contact, in their Mission Period histories, and in their twentieth-century community reformations. Thus the ethnographic local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula, who have only one known descendant family today, have more ties of historic continuity to todays Ohlone/Costanoans from other parts of the San Francisco Bay Area than they do with today's Ohlone/Costanoans of the Monterey Bay Area.

In the 1770s the San Francisco Peninsula was divided among separate local tribes—Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, Lamchin, Oljon, Puichon, Ssalson, Urebure, and Yelamu—all of whom are presumed to have spoken the Ramaytush dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. By 1820 their elders were gone and their young people, by then Spanish-speaking Doloreños of Mission Dolores, were raising children with spouses that were often from distant groups, Bay Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, and Patwins. Over the next 100 years even the children of the old Doloreños disappeared from the public stage.

Only one descendent family of San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/ Costanoans can now be identified. The family descends from Francisca Xaviera of the Aramai local tribe (of modern Pacifica) and her husband Jose Ramos (from Tulanzingo, Mexico), who married at Mission Dolores in 1783. Their children and grandchildren considered themselves to *gente de razón*, and were so considered within the hierarchal world of early Hispanic California. Their modern descendents , who carry the surnames Cordero, Robles, and Soto, among others, have not participated as Indians in the modern cultural or political arenas.

The one thing all present-day Ohlone/Costanoans have in common with one another, that distinguishes them from other California Indians, is their ancestors' membership in a single abstract language family. That common language family heritage does not, in and of itself, create community or denote shared cultural history.

TODAY'S OHLONE/COSTANOANS ARE UNIFIED AND DIVIDED

Most contemporary Ohlone/Costanoans feel a primary identification as descendants from a specific Franciscan mission community. They see themselves as descendants of Mission San Jose Indians, as Mutsuns of Mission San Juan Bautista, or as Rumsens (or regrouped Rumsens-Esselens) of Mission Carmel. Insofar as they

work to protect traditional values or to seek economic justice, it is local identity that concerns them. But not all Ohlone/Costanoan descendants feel that way. Other emphasize what might be called a "Pan-Ohlone/Costanoan" view, that the work to protect traditional values and the struggle for economic justice should be carried out by all Ohlone/Costanoans together, from Monterey to San Francisco Bay.

Present-day Ohlone/Costanoans fall into three groups regarding "local versus global" ethnic identity, according to our recent series of interviews:

- Some Ohlone/Costanoan descendants take the global view, that all descendants of all early Ohlone/Costanoan local tribes, from Big Sur to Carquinez Straits, are the equal heirs to a single aboriginal Ohlone/Costanoan culture, defined by a shared ancestral language family affinity that marks them as different from the other central California language groups, such as the Pomos, Miwoks, Patwins, Yokuts, and Wappos.
- Some take the local view, that each original Costanoan language area had its own culture, and that descendants from the Santa Clara Valley and East Bay tribes have a stronger cultural tie to the San Francisco Peninsula than do descendants from the Big Sur and San Benito River local tribes far to the south.
- Some descendants hold both points of view, regarding identity as flexible, either wide or narrow, depending upon the nature of the issue under consideration.

SEPARATE TRADITIONS ON MONTEREY AND SAN FRANCISCO BAY

The Ohlone/Costanoans of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas have separate cultural traditions that we have traced in the linguistic, archaeological, ethnographic, and historic records:

- Linguistics: The San Francisco Peninsula people, and all other Costanoan-speaking groups around San Francisco Bay except the divergent Karkins (of Carquinez Strait), spoke dialects of a single language, San Francisco Bay Costanoan. The Monterey Bay people spoke four other Costanoan languages (Awaswas, Chalon, Mutsun, and Rumsen). The six languages of the Costanoan language family are as different from one another as French, Spanish and Italian, although undocumented intermediate dialects probably existed at the boundaries of the major language groups (Chapter 2).
- Archaeology: Archaeological cultures have been distinct since the appearance of the mortar-based Berkeley Pattern on San Francisco Bay at least 3,700 years ago. The distinction increased around A.D. 1050, when the San Francisco Bay Area people began to participate in the Augustine Pattern, with its rich variety of specialized wealth objects (flanged pipes, flower-pot mortars, specialized fish spears, etched bone whistles, banjo abalone ornaments) that was still in place among San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Patwins, and Plains Miwoks when the Spanish arrived. The Monterey Bay Area people, whose post-A.D. 1200 culture was the Rancho San Carlos phase, made few elaborate wealth items, although etched whistles and banjo abalone ornaments did reach south to Watsonville. Both areas used the bow-and-arrow, but the first arrow type into the north was the Stockton serrated from the northeast, while the first arrow type into the Monterey Bay Area was the Desert Side-notched from the east or southeast (Chapter 3).
- Ethnography/Archaeology: The San Francisco Bay Area people of the Late Period (just as the Spanish arrived) participated in the clam shell disk bead trade with Coast Miwoks, Patwins, Bay Miwoks, and Plains Miwoks to their north and east. The Monterey Bay

Area people were not part of that trade network; instead they utilized the Olivella lipped beads and circular disk beads common at the time in southern California (Chapter 3).

- Ethnography (general culture): J. P. Harrington, more than any other ethnologist, gathered together facts about material and social culture differences within the Costanoan language area. Finding little material for some locals, he lumped the Costanoans into two groups, North (San Francisco Bay) and South (Monterey Bay) (Chapter 3).
- Ethnography (mythic narrative): San Francisco Bay Costanoans shared a system of mythology much like that of the Coast Miwoks, Pomos, Wappos, Patwins, Bay Miwoks, and Sierra Miwoks. The narrative myths of the Monterey Bay Area Costanoans, on the other hand, contained many aspects in common with south-central California groups (Chapter 3).
- Ethnogeography: Marriages seldom occurred among local groups greater than 25 miles apart, so that the San Francisco Peninsula local tribes traditionally married contiguous groups, including those just across San Francisco Bay, but only the Point Año Nuevo and south San Jose people ever married people from as far south as the present Santa Cruz area, and never all the way south to the Monterey Peninsula. This restricted interaction meant that important aspects of culture developed at the local level (Chapter 3).
- Mission, Rancho, and Early American History: While the history of missionization created a common cultural experience for all missionized Indians from San Diego north to San Francisco Bay, the people at each mission were brought into a unique language mix in a unique geographic setting. Thus by the close of the mission period the people of each mission thought of themselves as a single group, such as, for instance, the Doloreños of Mission Dolores, the Chocheños of Mission San Jose, the Cruzeños of Mission Santa Cruz, and the Carmeleños of Mission Carmel (Chapter 7). Mission-based identity concept persisted up through the Jurisdictional Act enrollment of 1928-1931 (Chapters 7, 8, 9).
- Recent History: The Monterey Bay and San Francisco Bay Indians met in separate groups to respond to the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946. Still more recently, separate geographically based Ohlone/Costanoan groups have petitioned for federal recognition on the basis of continuous history in specific historic mission areas (Chapter 10).
- Today: Most Ohlone/Costanoan groups with constitutions and large memberships recognize their separate Monterey, San Juan Bautista, and San Francisco Bay Area geographic bases for purposes of relationships with government agencies and public communication, although they may join with other groups on occasions of mutually recognized benefit. Other Ohlone/Costanoans, most often acting as individuals or representing extended family groups, tend to have more of a "Pan-Ohlone/Costanoan" view of interaction with governments and the public at large. Most people who take the Pan-Ohlone/Costanoan point of view act as individuals or representatives of limited extended family groups. However, there have been exceptions in which members of one or another of the larger groups have claimed the right to represent all Ohlone/ Costanoans throughout the traditional language family territory.

THE MULTIPLE LEVELS OF CULTURAL AFFINITY

While most Ohlone/Costanoans currently identify with their local homeland areas, there is no reason why that could not change in the future. Ethnic identity is always developing within individuals and groups in a give-and-take with the larger community. Future Ohlone/Costanoan

groups may choose to build a single coordinated political group, much as the Cherokee and Creek did in an earlier period of American history.

The following quote from anthropologist Fredrik Barth addresses ethnic identity in the modern world in words that are relevant to the Ohlone/Costanoans.

> Being an indigenous person does not mean that you carry a separate, indigenous culture. Instead, it probably means that at some times, at some occasions, you say, "This is my ethnic identity. This is the group to which I wish to belong." And you will cherish some particular signs that this is your identity. And it surely means that you will have learned some things that show a cultural continuity of tradition from previous generations of the indigenous population. But that knowledge, those ideas and skills, are certainly not exhaustive of what you have learned, of the culture that you command (Barth 1995:4).

People share an ethnic identity through common cultural practices, experiences, sometimes in physical characteristics, that contrast with majority culture. People who have never met one another may share ethnic identity through common acceptance of a central "identity narrative" based upon common genetic background and recognition of past injustice. Ethnicity is based upon contrast:

> To think of ethnicity in relation to one group and its culture is like trying to clap with one hand. The contrast between 'us' and 'others' is what is embedded in the organization of ethnicity: an otherness of the others that is explicitly linked in the assertion of cultural differences" (Barth 1995:5).

The Ohlone/Costanoans today, a very small minority in a sea of Californians representing numerous larger ethnic communities, can choose to identify themselves at a number of levels of contrast with others.

- In the context of contrast to all other Native Americans who have moved to California during the American Period, they proudly identify as California Indians.
- In the context of contrast to other California Indians, such as the Yuroks, the Pomos, or the Miwoks, they may speak of all Ohlone/Costanoans as members of a single language group, even though they do not all agree on its name (Ohlone or Costanoan).
- In the context of decision-making in relation to governmental agencies of west-central California, or the public interpretation of past cultural practices, the deeper disagreements about local identity emerge.

In the final analysis, the answer regarding 'cultural ties' of Ohlone/Costanoans may vary for each aspect of culture.

- When it comes to questions of language revival, certain geographic groups of Ohlone/ Costanoans are coming together to work with the body of linguistic material of their own area.
- For the resurrection of basketry traditions, however, so much has been lost for some areas that bits and pieces of tradition from many local areas may be brought together to resurrect an overall Ohlone basketry tradition.
- For politics and governmental relations, the answer is not completely in the control of the Ohlone/Costanoans themselves, because the way governmental representatives and other members of the public interact with them can lend weight to the global view or to the local view.

* * *

In summary, we conclude that the the closest cultural and genetic relatives of the Spanish-contact tribal people of the San Francisco Peninsula are the descendents of other San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking local tribes. We have done what we could in this report to illustrate the ambiguities and contradictions that surround the question of modern Ohlone/Costanoan identity. We have presented evidence that frames current relationships in light of similarities and differences between the original local tribes of the San Francisco and Monterey bay areas. We can clearly say that the Ohlone/Costanoans are not now a single community in any important sense of the term, and that the differences between them emerged out of the deep past.

Bibliography

(Oral Interview References are listed separately below)

GENERAL REFERENCES

Adams, John W., and Alice B. Kasakoff

1976 Factors Underlying Endogamous Group Size. In *Regional Analysis: Volume 2, Social Systems*, edited by Carol Smith, pp. 149-173. Academic Press, New York and San Francisco.

Aginsky, Burt W.

1943 Cultural Element Distributions, XXIV—Central Sierra. *University of California Anthropological Records* 8:393-468. Berkeley.

Agren, Linda

2002 Walking on the Clouds of Heaven: John Peabody Harrington's Fieldwork on California's Central Coast. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Ainsworth, Fred C., and Joseph W. Kirkley

1902 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Condederate Armies. Additions and Corrections to Series I – Volume L.* Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Almaguer, Tomás

1994 *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Altimira, José

1823 *Diario de la Expedición verificada con objeto de reconocer terenos para la nueva planta de la Mision de N.P.S. Francisco principiada el dia 25 de Junio de 1823*. H. H. Bancroft Collection (BANC MSS C-C 231), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Anonymous

1828 Jurisdic.n del Presidio de San Francisco. Estado…de 1828. *Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Documentos para la Historia de California*, Vol. XIV, No. 209 (BANC MSS C-B 14). Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Anonymous *continued*

1836 Padron General de los Habitantes que Tiene esta Población con Espreción de los Nombere, Edad, Patrias, Estado, y Profesión, Destino, o Ocupación de Cada Uno. *Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo Documentos para la Historia de California*, Vol. XXXII, page 27 (BANC MSS C-B 32). Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Archibald, Robert

1978 Indian Labor at the California Missions: Slavery or Salvation. *Journal of San Diego History* 24(2):172 -182.

Arenaza, Pascual M., and Jose Francisco de P. Señán

1789 *Informe de esta Misión de San Carlos segun el estado en que se hallaba el día último de Diciembre, 1789*. Archivo Generál de la Nación, México, Archivo Historico de Hacienda. Documentos para la Historia de México. Seria II, Tomo 2(2). [Available on film at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.]

Arroyo de la Cuesta, Felipe

1821-1837 *Lengua de California: Lecciones de Indios.* [Original manuscript notebook with entries spanning 1821-1837]. BANC MSS C-C 63a (part 2), The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1861 *Grammar of the Mutsun Language Spoken at the Mission of San Juan Bautista, Alta California*. Shea's Library of American Linguistics Number 4. Cramoisy Press, New York.

1862 *A Vocabulary or Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language of Alta California*. Shea's Library of American Linguistics Number 8. Cramoisy Press, New York.

Association of American Indian Affairs

2006 *Frequently Asked Questions*. Association of American Indian Affairs Web Site. Electronic document, http://indian-affairs.org/resources/aaia_faqs.htm, accessed on May 31, 2006.

Atherton, Faxon D.

1964 *The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton., 1836-1839*. California Historical Society Special Publication 39. Edited by Doyce B. Nunes. San Francisco.

Baker, Kage

1999 *Sky Coyote: A Novel of the Company*. Harcourt Brace, New York.

Bancroft, Hubert H.

1883 *Wild Tribes*. Volume 1 of The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. A. L. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco.

1886 *The History of California*, Volumes 2-5 (v. 2. 1801-1824; v. 3. 1825-1840; v. 4. 1841-1845; v. 5. 1846-1848). Volumes 19-23 of The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. A. L. Bancroft and Company, San Francisco.

Bannon, John F., editor

1964 *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Barnes, Mary S.

1894 Pedro Evencio. *The Sequoia* [a newpaper]. Stanford University.

Barrett, Samuel

1933 *Pomo Myths*. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Volume 15. Milwakee, Wisconsin.

Barth, Fredrik

1995 *Ethnicity and the Concept of Culture*. Paper presented at the Conference of Rethinking Culture, Harvard University, February 23, 1995. Formerly an electronic document hosted by the Unit for Culture Research, Tel Aviv University, Israel, http:www.tau.ac.il/tarbut/readers/syllabi/fbarth-ethnicity.htm, accessed November 8, 2004. Also formerly posted at http://hdc-www.harvard.edu/cfia/pnscs/s95barth.html.

Baumhoff, Martin A.

1963 Ecological Determinants of Aboriginal California Populations. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 49(2):155 236. Berkeley.

Baumhoff, Martin A., and David L. Olmstead

1963 Palaihnihan: Radiocarbon Support for Glottochronology. *American Anthropologist* 65(2):278-284.

Bean, Lowell J., editor

1994 *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region.* Ballena Press, Menlo Park.

Bean, Lowell J., and Florence C. Shipek

1978 Luiseño. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 550-563. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Bean, Lowell J., and Dorothea Theodoratus

1978 Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 289-305. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Beardsley, Richard K.

1948 Cultural Sequences in Central California Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 14:1-28.

1954 Temporal and Areal Relationships in Central California Archaeology. *University of California Archaeological Survey Reports* 24:1-62; 25:63-131.

Beck, Warren A., and Ynez d. Haase

1974 *Historical Atlas of California*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Bedrosian, Tod, and Fisher, Arline

1994 Cultural and Political Preservation Stressed at Monterey Hearing. *California Indian Nations Voice* (Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Newsletter) 1(7):1-4, Sacramento.

Beechey, Fredric W.

1831 *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Bering's Strait, to Co-operate with the Polar Expeditions: Performed in His Majesty's Ship Blossom, Under the Command of Captain F. W. Beechey in the Year 1825, 26, 27, 28*. Volume II. London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley.

Beeler, Madison S.

1955 Saclan. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21(3):201-209.

1959 Saclan Once More. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 25:67-68.

1961 Northern Costanoan. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 27(3):191-197.

1972 An Extension of San Francisco Bay Costanoan? *International Journal of American Linguistics* 38:49-54.

Bell, Horace

1881 *Reminiscences of a Ranger*. Yarnell, Caystile and Mathes, Los Angeles.

Belcher, Edward

1843 *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, Performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, During the Years 1836-1842*. Volume 1. H. Colburn, London.

Bennyhoff, James A.

1961 The Ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

1977 *Ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok.* Center for Archaeological Research at Davis, Publication 5. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

1986 The Emeryville Site, Viewed 93 Years Later. In *Symposium: A New Look at some old Sites*, edited by Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat, pp. 65-75. Coyote Press Archives of California Prehistory No. 6, Coyote Press, Salinas, California.

1994a Central California Augustine: Implications for Northern California Archaeology. In *Toward a New Taxonomic Framework for Central California Archaeology*, edited by Richard Hughes, pp. 65-74. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility No. 52. Berkeley.

1994b Variation within the Meganos Culture. In *Toward a New Taxonomic Framework for Central California Archaeology*, edited by Richard Hughes, pp. 81-89. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility No. 52. Berkeley.

Blevins, Juliette, and Victor Golla

2005 A New Mission Indian Manuscript from the San Francisco Bay Area. *Boletín: The Journal of the California Mission Studies Association* 22(1):33-61. Santa Clara.

Bolton, Herbert E., editor and translator

1926 *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palou*, four volumes. University of California Press, Berkeley.

1930a Diary of Juan Bautista de Anza. In *Anza's California Expeditions*, Volume 3. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Bolton, Herbert E., editor and translator *continued*

1930b Complete Diary of Pedro Font. In *Anza's California Expeditions*, Volume 4. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Boneu-Companys, Fernando

1983 *Gaspar de Portolá: Explorer and Founder of California*, translated and edited by Alan K. Brown. Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses, Lerida, Spain.

Boyer, LaNada

1997 Reflections of Alcatraz. In *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, edited by Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

Breschini, Gary S.

1983 *Models of Population Movements in Central California Prehistory*. Coyote Press, Salinas, California.

Breschini, Gary S., and Trudy Haversat

1991 Early Holocene Occupation of the Central California Coast. In *Hunter-Gatherers of Early Holocene Coastal California*, edited by Jon M. Erlandson and R. H. Colton, pp. 125-132. Perspectives in California Archaeology, No. 1. Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles.

2002 *Radiocarbon Dating and Cultural Models on the Monterey Peninsula.* Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly, Volume 38(1). Pacific Coast Archaeological Society, Costa Mesa, California.

Brewer, William H.

1966 *Up and Down California in 1860-1864: The Journal of William H. Brewer*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Brinson, Debra

1994 Discovery of Indian Burial Ground at New School Site Sparks Dispute. *Register-Pajaronian*, May 19, 1994.

Broadbent, Syvia M.

1972 The Rumsen of Monterey: An Ethnography from Historical Sources. In *Miscellaneous Papers in Archaeology*, pp. 45-93. University of California Archaeological Research Facility Contributions, Number 14. Berkeley.

Brooks, Sheilagh T.

1975 Human Skeletal Remains (Appendix E). In *West Berkeley (CA-ALA-307): A Culturally Stratified Shellmound on the East Shore of San Francisco Bay,* by William J. Wallace and Donald W. Lathrap. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility, No. 29. Berkeley

Brown, Alan K.

1973a San Francisco Bay Costanoan. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 39(3):184-189.

Brown, Alan K. *continued*

1973b Indians of San Mateo County. *La Peninsula: Journal of the San Mateo County Historical Association* 17(4).

1994 The European Contact of 1772 and Some Later Documentation. In *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, edited by Lowell J. Bean, pp. 1-42. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

2001 *A Description of Distant Roads: Original Journals of the First Expedition into California, 1769-1770, by Juan Crespí*, edited and translated by Alan K. Brown. San Diego State University Press, San Diego, California.

n.d. Manuscript MS 1833. On file, San Mateo County Historical Association, Redwood City, California.

Bruggers, James

1994 Laying the Past to Rest: One Indian Cemetery Still Exists in Bay Area. *Contra Costa Times*, September 18, 1994, p5A.

Bryant, Edwin

1849 *What I Saw in California: being the journal of a tour, by the emigrant route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the continent of North America, the great desert basin, and through California in the years, 1846-1847.* D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Byrd, Brian F.

2005 Reassessing the Emergence of Village Life in the Near East. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 13:231-290.

California

1852 *Census of the State of California, San Francisco County*. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Callaghan, Catherine A.

1962 Comparative Miwok-Mutsun with Notes in Rumsen. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 28(2):97-107.

1971 Saclan: A Re-Examination. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13:448-456.

1972 Proto-Miwok Phonology. In *General Linguistics* 12:1-31. The Pennsylvania State University Press, University Park and London.

1986 Proto-Utian Independent Pronouns. *Papers from the 1983, 1984, 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conferences*, edited by James E. Redden, pages 12-24. Occasional Papers on Linguistics Number 13. Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

1988a Karkin Revisited. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 54:436-452

1988b Proto Utian stems. In *In Honor of Mary Hass: From the Haas Festival Conference on Native American Linguistics*, edited by William Shipley, pp. 53-75. Mouton Press, New York.

1990 Proto-Costanoan numerals. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56:121-133.

Callaghan, Catherine A. *continued*

1994 The Proto Miwok Homeland. Unpublished manuscript in limited distribution. Original in possession of the author.

1997a Evidence for Yok-Utian. In *International Journal of American Linguistics* 63:18-64. University of Chicago.

1997b Methodology for Determining Deep Genetic Relationship in Amerindian Languages. In *The Life of Language: Papers in Honor of William Bright*, edited by Jane H. Hill, P. J. Mistry, and Lyle Campbell. Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs No. 108. Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin.

2001 More Evidence for Yok-Utian: A Reanalysis of the Dixon and Kroeber Sets. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 67:313-345. University of Chicago.

Cambón, Pedro, and Diego García

1787 *Informe de la Misión de N.S.P. San Francisco. December 31, 1787.* Archivo Generál de la Nación, Archivo Historico de Hacienda. Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, Segunda Serie, Tomo 2, Doc. 63 [Microfilm available at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley].

Cambra, Rosemary

1991 Restoring Life to the Dead. *Native American Testimony, A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophesy to the Present, 1492-1992*, edited by Peter Nabokov, pp. 424-427. Penguin Press, New York.

Cartier, Robert

1993 *The Saunders Site: MNT-391, A Littoral Site of the Early Period.* Limited distribution technical report by Archaeological Resource Management, Inc., San Jose, California.

2002 The Sunnyvale Red Burial, CA-SCL-832. *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 15:49-52.

Cartier, Robert, Jason Bass, and Scott Ortman

1993 *The Archaeology of the Guadalupe Corridor.* Santa Clara County Archaeological Society, Santa Clara, California and Archaeological Resource Management, San Jose, California.

Castenada, Terri A.

2006 Making News: Marie Potts and the *Smoke Signal* of the Federated Indians of California. In *Women in Print: Essays on the Print Culture of American Women from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, edited by J. Danky and W. Wiegand, pp. 77-125. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Castillo, Edward D.

1978a The Impact of Euro-American Exploration and Settlement. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 99-127. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1978b Twentieth -Century Secular Movements. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 713-717. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Castillo, Edward D. *continued*

1997 A Reminiscence of the Alcatraz Occupation. In *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk,* edited by Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

2002 The Narratives of Lorenzo Asisara: Three Accounts of Life and Death in Mission Santa Cruz, translated and edited by Edward D. Castillo. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native People of the Central California Coast*, edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 51-76. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Caughey, John W.

1940 *California*. Prentice-Hall, New York.

Caughey, John, and Laree Caughey

1976 *Los Angeles: Biography of a City*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Cerda, Tony

2002 The Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Chrétien, C. Douglas

1945 Cultural Element Distributions: XXV Reliability of Statistical Procedures and Results. *University of California Anthropological Records* 8(5):469-488. Berkeley.

Colson, Elizabeth

1986 Political Organizations in Tribal Societies: A Cross-Cultural Comparison. *American Indian Quarterly* 10(1):5-20.

Cook, Sherburne F.

1940 Population Trends Among …. *University of California Publications: Ibero-America*, Volumes 17:1-48. Berkeley. Reprinted in 1976 as Part Five in *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1943a The Indian versus the Spanish Mission. *University of California Publications: Ibero-America* 21:1-194. Berkeley. Reprinted in 1976 as Part One in *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1943b The American Invasion. *University of California Publications: Ibero-America* 23:1-115. Berkeley. Reprinted in 1976 as Part Three in *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1943c Migration and Urbanization of the Indians of California. *Human Biology* 15:33-45.

1956 The Aboriginal Population of the North Coast of California. *University of California Anthropological Records* 16(381-129). Berkeley.

1957 The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, California. *University of California Anthropological Records* 16(4):131-156. Berkeley.

Cook, Sherburne F. *continued*

1960 Colonial Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1800-1820. *University of California Anthropological Records* 16(6):239-292. Berkeley.

1962 Colonial Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1820-1840. *University of California Anthropological Records* 20(5):151-214. Berkeley.

1976 *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Costo, Jeannette Henry, editor

1964 Ohlone: 1797-1915; Ohlone People: Known Well. *The Indian Historian* 1(1):10-11.

1965a Ohlone Burial Site Acquired by Indians; Wonderful News; Restoration. *The Indian Historian* 2(1):5.

1965b Ohlone Memorial Plans; Plan Contest; A National Shrine. *The Indian Historian* 2(2):12.

1965c The Vanishing Ohlone; Conference Set; The Program; Quitclaim Deed. *The Indian Historian* 2(3):4-5, 18.

1965d Ohlone Indians… Right of Way Action; Evening Event; Cemetery Clear. *The Indian Historian* 2(6):6.

Costo, Rupert, and Jeannette H. Costo

1995 *Natives of the Golden State: The California Indians*. Indian Historian Press, San Francisco.

Cowan, Robert G.

1956 *Ranchos of California*. Academy Library Guild, Fresno.

Culleton, James

1950 *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey*. Academy of California Church History, Fresno.

Cummings, Alton R.

1937 Washington Township, Alameda County, California. Typewritten manuscript for the Alameda County Library and Board of Supervisors, under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration.

Cutter, Donald C.

1990 *California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.

Dana, Richard Henry

1869 *Two Years Before the Mast and Twenty-Four Years After*. Sampson, Low and Son, and Marson: London. [Original printing, without added material, by Harper and Brothers in 1840.]

Davis, William Heath

1929 *Seventy Five Years in California*. John Howell Books, San Francisco

DeMassey, Ernest

1927 *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush*. Translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. California Historical Society, San Francisco.

Derenko, M. V., T. Grzybowski, B. A. Malyarchuk, I. K. Dambueva, G. A. Denisova, J. Czarny, C. M. Dorzhu, V. T. Kakpakov, D. MiŚcicka-Śliwka, M. WoŹniak, and I. A. Zakharov

2003 Diversity of Mitochondrial DNA Lineages in South Siberia. *Annals of Human Genetics* 67(5):391-411.

Dietz, Stephen A.

1976 *Echa-Tamal: A Study of Coast Miwok Acculturation.* Masters Thesis in Anthropology, San Francisco State University.

Dixon and Kroeber

1903 The Native Languages of California. *American Anthropologist* 5(1):1-26.

1912 Relationship of the Indian Languages of California. *American Anthropologist* 14(4):691-692.

1913 New Linguistic Families in California. *American Anthropologist* 15(4):647-655.

1919 Linguistic Families of California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 16(3):47-118. Berkeley.

Dorrington, Lafayette A.

1927 Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 23, 1927. Roseburg File (RG 75, Central Classified Files 1907-1939), Bureau of Indian Affairs Classified Files. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Driver, Harold E.

1937 Cultural Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada. *University of California Anthropological Records* 1:53-154. Berkeley.

Driver, Harold E., and James L. Coffin

1975 Classification and Development of North American Indian Cultures: A Statistical Analysis of the Driver-Massey Sample. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 65:Part 3. Philadelphia.

Driver, Harold E., and A. L. Kroeber

1932 Quantitative Expressions of Cultural Relationships. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 31:211-256.

Driver, Harold E., and William C. Massey

1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47:Part 2. Philadelphia.

Drucker, Philip

1937 Cultural Element Distributions: V, Southern California. *University of California Anthropological Records* 1:1-52. Berkeley.

Du Bois, Cora A.

1939 The 1870 Ghost Dance. *University of California Anthropological Records* 3(1):1-151. Berkeley.

Duhaut-Cilly, Auguste

1999 *A Voyage to California, the Sanswich Islands, & Around the World in the Years 1826-1829.* [Published in French in 1835.] Translated and editeed by August Frugé and Neal Harlow. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Dunlap, Carol

1982 *California People*. Peregrine Smith Books, Salt Lake City.

Dunn, Geoffrey

2002 Conquest and Destiny: The Story of "Cache" and "Tahoe." In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Dyen, Isidore

1956 Language Distribution and Migration Theory. *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America* 32(4):611-626.

Eagle (Nordwall), Adam Fortunate

1992 *Alcatraz! Alcatraz! The Indian Occupation of 1969-1971*. Heyday Books, Berkeley.

1997 Urban Indians and the Occupation of Alcatraz Island. In *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, edited by Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

East Bay Regional Park District

2005 *Coyote Hills Regional Park Draft Land Use Plan 2005,* East Bay Regional Park District, Oakland, California.

Elmendorff, William W.

1968 Lexical and Cultural Change in Yukian. *Anthropological Linguistics* 10(7):1-41.

Elsasser, Albert B.

1978 Development of Regional Prehistoric Cultures. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 37-57. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Engelhardt, Zephyrin

1924 *San Francisco or Mission Dolores.* Franciscian Herald Press, Chicago.

Erlandson, Jon M., and Kevin Bartoy

1995 Protohistoric California: Paradise or Pandemic? *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 9:304-309.

Eshleman, Jason A.

2002 Mitochondrial DNA and Prehistoric Population Movements in Western North America. Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology, University of California at Davis, Davis, California.

Eshleman, Jason A., and David Glenn Smith

2007 Prehistoric Mitochondrial DNA and Population Movements. Chapter 19 in *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*, edited by Terry L. Jones and Kathryn A. Klar. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Essene, Frank

1942 Cultural Element Distributions, XXI—Round Valley. *University of California Anthropological Records* 8:1-98. Berkeley.

Estenaga, Tomas

1828 *Missión de San Francisco Limites de la Missión y Terrenos*. Archives of California, Miscellany (BANC MSS C-A 62), Item 74. Copy manuscript prepared for H. H. Bancroft under direction of Thomas Savage during 1871-1877 from original destroyed at U.S. Surveyor General's office in 1906. The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Field, Les, Alan Leventhal, Dolores Sanchez, and Rosemary Cambra

1992 *A Contemporary Ohlone Tribal Revitalization Movement*. Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribal Press, San Jose, California.

Fitzgerald, Richard

1993 *Archaic Milling Cultures of the southern San Francisco Bay Region*. Coyote Press Archives of California Prehistory 35. Salinas.

Fitzgerald, Richard, and Judith Porcasi

2003 The Metcalf Site (CA-SCL-178) and its place in Early Holocene California Prehistory. *Society for California Archaeology Newsletter* 37(4):27-31.

Forbes, Jack D.

1969 *Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Naturegraph Publishers, Healdsburg, California.

1982 *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (Revised Edition). Naturegraph Publishers, Happy Camp, California.

Foster, Michael K.

1996 Language and the Culture History of North America. In *Languages.* Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17, edited by Ives Goddard, pp. 64-110. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Frederick, Mark

1996 *Data Recovery Plan for Chitactac Adams Heritage County Park Development, Santa Clara County*. Santa Clara County Parks and Recreation Department, Los Gatos, California.

Fredrickson, David A.

1973 Early Cultures of the North Coast of the North Coast Ranges, Californ*ia.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

1989 *Prehistory of the Laguna: An Overview*. Submitted to David W. Smith Consulting, Oakland. Copies available from Northwest Information Center, Department of Anthropology, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.

Fried, Morton

1975 *The Notion of Tribe.* Cummings, Menlo Park.

Galvan, Michael

1968 "People of the West": The Ohlone Story. *The Indian Historian* 1(2):9-13.

Galvin, John, editor

1971 *The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay, 1775*. John Howell Books, San Francisco.

Gatchet, Albert S.

1877 Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories. *Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries* 1(3):145-171. New York.

Gayton, Anna H.

1935 Areal Affiliations of California Folktales. *American Anthropologist* 37(4):582-599.

Gerstaecker, Friedrich

1946 *California Gold Mines*. Biobooks, Oakland.

Geary, Gerald J.

1934 *The Secularization of the California Missions (1810-1846).* Catholic University Press, Washington, D.C.

Geiger Maynard, and Clement Meighan, editors

1976 *As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815*. Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, California.

Gendar, Jeannine

1992 Tribal Status in CILS After 25 Years. *News from Native California*. 7(1):13-15.

Gerow, Bert A., with Ronald W. Force

1968 *An Analysis of the University Village Complex with a Reappraisal of Central California Archaeology*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Gifford, Edward W.

1917 Miwok Myths. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 12(4):139-194. Berkeley.

1926a Californian Anthropometry. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 22(2):217-390. Berkeley.

1926b California Indian Types. *Natural History* 26:50-60.

Gifford, Edward W. *continued*

1926c Miwok Cults. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 18(3):391-408. Berkeley

Gifford, Edward W., and Stanislaw Klimek

1936 Culture Element Distributions: II – Yana. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 37:71-100.

Gifford, Edward W., and A. L. Kroeber

1937 Culture Element Distributions: III – Pomo. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 37:117-254.

Goddard, Ives

1996 The Classification of the Native Languages of North America. In *Languages*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 17, edited by Ives Goddard, pp. 290-324. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Golla, Victor

2007 Linguistic Prehistory. Chapter 6 in *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*, edited by Terry L. Jones and Kathryn A. Klar. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Gomez, David

1991 A Sense of Place. *West Magazine*. San Jose Mercury News, September 1, 1991, pp. 12-27.

Gottesman, Ronald, editor

1999 *Violence in America*. Vol. I. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Groza, Randall G.

2002 An AMS Chronology for Central California Shell Beads. Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, San Francisco State University.

Haas, Lisbeth

1995 *Conquests and Historical Identies in California, 1769-1936.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Hackel, Steven W.

1998 Land, Labor and Production: The Colonial Economy of Spanish and Mexican California. In *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, edited by Ramon A. Gutierrez and Richard J. Orsi. University of California Press, Berkeley.

2005 *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850.* University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Hale, Horatio

1846 *Ethnography and Philology.* Volume 6 of United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842, by Charles Wilkes. C. Sherman, Philadelphia.

Hall, Frederic

1871 *The History of San José and Surroundings*. A. L. Bancroft, San Francisco.

Harrington, John P.

1921-1929 Chochenyo Fieldnotes. Manuscript on file in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. [Citation pages are from a photocopy of the complete set of notes, taken when they were on loan to the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. The page numbering is different than the reel/frame citation system used with the published microfilm of the notes.]

1942 Cultural Element Distributions, XIX: Central California Coast. *University of California Anthropological Records* 7:1-46. Berkeley.

Hartnell, William E. P.

2004 *The Diary and Copybook of William E. P. Hartnell, Visitador General of the Missions of Alta California in 1839 and 1840*. Translated by Starr Pait Gurcke and edited by Glenn J. Farris.

Heizer, Robert F.

1952 California Indian Linguistic Records: The Mission Indian Vocabularies of Alphonse Pinart. *University of California Anthropological Records* 15(1):1-84. Berkeley.

1955 California Indian Linguistic Records: The Mission Indian Vocabularies of H. W. Henshaw. *University of California Anthropological Records* 15(2):85-202. Berkeley.

1958 Radiocarbon Dates from California of Archaeological Interest. *University of California Archaeological Survey Reports* 44(10):1-16. Berkeley.

1966 *Languages, Territories, and Names of California Indian Tribes*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

1969 *Catalogue of the C. Hart Merriam Collection of Data Concerning California Tribes and Other American Indians.* Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

1972 *The Eighteen Unratified Treaties of 1851-1852 between the California Indians and the United States Government*. Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

1974 *The Costanoan Indians*. Robert F. Heizer, contributor and editor. Local History Studies Volume 18. California History Center, De Anza College, Cupertino, California.

1978 Introduction. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 1-5. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Heizer, Robert F., and Alan F. Almquist

1971 *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Hendry, George W., and Jacob N. Bowman

1940 *The Spanish and Mexican Adobes and other Buildings in the Nine San Francisco Bay Counties, 1775 to about 1850, Part 5—Contra Costa County*. Typed manuscript in seven volumes. Bancroft Library [mF868.S156 H4], University of California, Berkeley.

Henry, Louis

1980 *Techniques d'analyse en démographie historique*. Éditions de l'Institut national d'études démographiques, Paris.

Heron, David W.

2002 C. Hart Merriam and His Friends. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Hildebrandt, William R.

1983 *Archaeological Research of the Southern Santa Clara Valley Project: Based on a Data Recovery Program from Sites CA-SCl-54, CA-SCL-163, CA-SCL-178, CA-SCL-237 and CA-SCL-241 Located in the Route 101 Corridor, Santa Clara County, California.* Limited distribution technical paper prepared by Daniel, Mann, Johnson, and Mendenhall, Los Angeles, and San Jose State University, San Jose for the California Department of Transportation, District 4, Oakland.

Hildebrandt, William R., and Patricia Mikkelsen

1993 *Archaeological Test Excavations at Fourteen Sites Along Highways 101 and 152, Santa Clara and San Benito Counties, California, Volume I: Prehistory*. Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California. Prepared for the California Department of Transportation, District 4, Oakland. Limited distribution technical report.

Hinton, Leanne

1994 Keeping the Languages Alive. In *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*, edited by Leanne Hinton, pp. 189-247. Heyday Books, Berkeley.

Hittell, John S.

1869 *The Resources of California*. Fifth Edition. A. Roman and Company, San Francisco.

Hittell, Theodore H.

1885 *History of California*. Volumes I and II. Pacific Press Publishing House and Occidential Publishing Company, San Francisco.

Hodge, Frederick W., editor

1910 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* Part 2. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30. Washington.

Hoover, Mildred B., Hero E. Rensch, Ethel G. Rensch, William N. Abeloe, and D. E. Kyle

1990 *Historic Spots in California*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Hornbeck, David

1983 *California Patterns: A Geographical and Historical Atlas*. Mayfield Publishing Company, Palo Alto.

Hughes, Richard E.

1992 California Archaeology and Linguistic Prehistory. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48:317-338.

Hurtado, Albert

1988 *Indian Surival on the California Frontier*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

1999 *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Hylkema, Mark

1991 Prehistoric Native American Adaptations Along the Central California Coast of San Mateo and Santa Cruz Counties. Unpublished Master thesis, Department of Social Science, San Jose State University.

2002 Tidal Marsh, Oak Woodlands, and Cultural Florescence in the Southern San Francisco Bay Region. In *Catalysts to Complexity: Late Holocene Societies of the California Coast,* edited by Jon M. Erlandson and Terry L. Jones, pp. 233-262. Perspectives in California Archaeology, No. 6. Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Hynding, Alan

1982 *From Frontier to Suburb: The Story of The San Mateo Peninsula*. Star Publishing Company, Belmont, California.

Imrie, Russell (for Anne Marie Sayers)

2002 Costanoan-Ohlone Indian Canyon Resource. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 208-209. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Ivanhoe, Frank

1995 Secular Decline in Cranioskeletal Size over Two Millennia of Interior Central California Prehistory: Relation to Calcium Deficit in the Reconstructed Diet and Demographic Stress. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 5:213-253.

Ivanhoe, Frank, and P. W. Chu

1996 Cranioskeletal Size Variation in San Francisco Bay Prehistory: Relation to Calcium Deficit in the Reconstructed High-Seafoods Diet and Demographic Stress. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 5:213-253.

Jacobus, Patricia

1993 A Glimpse Into Valley Life 1,500 Years Ago: Unearthed Bones are Thought to Be Part Of an Ohlone Burial Ground. *Tri-Valley Herald*, ca. May 1993.

Jackson, Helen Hunt

1881 *Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes*. Harper and Brothers, New York.

1884 *Ramona: A Story*. Roberts Brothers, Boston.

Jackson, Robert H.

1983 Disease and Demographic Patterns at Santa Cruz Mission, Alta California. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 5(1-2):33-57.

1984 Gentile Recruitment and Population Movements in the San Francisco Bay Area Missions. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 6(2):225-239.

Jackson, Robert H. *continued*

1994 *Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

2002 Demographic Patterns at Santa Clara Mission, 1777-1840. In *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices*, edited by Russell Skowronek, pp. 84-92. University of Santa Clara Press.

Jackson, Robert H., and Edward Castillo

1995 *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

James, George W., editor and translator

1913 *The Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junípero Serra by Fray Francisco Palou.* Private Press of George Wharton James, Pasadena, California.

Jane, Cecil

1930 *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver and the Northwest Coast of America, Being the Narrative of the Voyage Made in the Year 1792 by the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana.* Translated with Introduction by Cecil Jane. The Argonaut Press, London.

Jennings, Peter

2002 Dedication Poem for Oche Watt Te Ou/Reflection. In *Urban Voices, The Bay Area American Indian Community, Community History Project, Intertribal Friendship House, Oakland, California*, edited by Susan Lobo, pp. 87-90. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Jochim, Michael A.

1998 *A hunter-gatherer landscape : southwest Germany in the late Paleolithic and Mesolithic.* Plenum Press, New York.

Johnson, John R.

1988 Chumash Social Organization: An Ethnohistoric Perspective. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Johnson, Troy, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne, editors

1997 *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

Jones, Terry L.

1998 *Archaeological Data Recovery at the Toro Creek Site, CA-Mnt-3, Monterey County, California.* Cultural Studes Office, Caltrans Environmental Program, California Department of Transportation, Sacramento, California.

Jones, Terry L., and Jennifer A. Ferneau

2002 Deintensification along the Central Coast. In *Catalysts to Complexity: Late Holocene Societies of the California Coast,* edited by Jon M. Erlandson and Terry L. Jones, pp. 205-232. Perspectives in California Archaeology, No. 6. Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles.

Jones, Terry L., and Deborah A. Jones

1992 Elkhorn Slough Revisited: Reassessing the Chronology of CA-MNT-229. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 10:163-186.

Jones, Terry L., and Douglas J. Kennett

1999 Late Holocene Climate Change and Cultural Ecology of the Central California Coast. *Quaternary Research* 51:74-82.

Jones, Terry L., and Kathryn A. Klar, editors

2007 *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Jones, Terry L., Nathan E. Stevens, Deborah A. Jones, Richard T. Fitzgeral, and Mark G. Hylkema

2007 The Central Coast: A Midlatitude Milieu. Chapter 9 in *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*, edited by Terry L. Jones and Kathryn A. Klar. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Jorgensen, Joseph G.

1969 *Salish Language and Culture: A Statistical Analysis of Internal Relationship, History, and Evolution.* Indiana University Publications Language Science Monographs Number 3. Bloomington, Indiana.

1980 *Western Indians*. W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco.

Justice, Noel D.

2002 *Stone Age Spear and Arrow Points of California and the Great Basin*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Kehl, Jacquelin J., and Linda Yamane

1995 *Ethnohistoric Genealogy Study: Tasman Corridor Light Rail Project, Santa Clara County, California.* Prepared by Woodward-Clyde Consultants, Oakland, California for the Santa Clara County Tranportation Agency.

2002 Some Effects of Statehood on California Indians. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native People of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 77-80. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Kelly, Isabel

1978 Coast Miwok. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 414-425. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Kelsey, C. E.

1971 *Census of Non-Reservation California Indians, 1905-1906.* Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Kemnitzer, Luis S.

1997 Personal Memories of Alcatraz. In *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, edited by Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

Ketchum, Edward

2002 Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

King, Chester

1973 Appendix I: Documentation of Tribelet Boundaries, Locations and Sizes, Extracted from San Juan Bautista Mission Records. In *Archaeological Impact Evaluation: San Felipe Division, Central Valley Project. Part I: The Southern Santa Clara Valley, California*, edited by Thomas King and Pat Hickman. On file, Northwest Information Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California,

1974 Appendix 2: Northern Santa Clara Ethnography. In *Environmental Impact Report: San Felipe Water Distribution Systems*, edited by Thomas King and Gary Berg, Environmental Science Associates. Submitted to Santa Clara Valley Water District, Santa Clara, California.

1977 *Matalan Ethnohistory. In Final Report of Archaeological Test Excavations for Construction of Freeway* 04-SCl-101, Post Miles 17.2/29.4, pp. 35-54. Archaeological Consulting and Research Services, Inc. Submitted to the California Department of Transportation, District 4, San Francisco.

1978a Historic Indian Settlement in the Vicinity of the Holiday Inn Site. In *Investigations at CA-SCl-128, the Holiday Inn Site*, edited by Joseph Winter, pp. 436-458.

1978b Protohistoric and Historic Archaeology. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 58-68. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1994 Central Ohlone Ethnohistory. In *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, edited by Lowell J. Bean, pp. 203-228. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

Kivisild, Toomas, Helle-Viivi Tolk, Jüri Parik, Yiming Wang, Surinder S. Papiha, Hans-Jürgen Bandelt, and Richard Villems

2002 The Emerging Limbs and Twigs of the East Asian mtDNA Tree. *Molecular Biology and Evolution* 19:1737-1751. Society for Molecular Biology and Evolution.

Klimek, Stanislaw

1935 Culture Element Distributions: I – The Structure of California Indian Culture. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 37:1-70.

Kniffen, Fred B.

1939 Pomo Geography. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 36(6):353-400. Berkeley.

Krantz, Grover S.

1977 *The Peopling of Western North America*. Society for California Archaeology Occasional Papers in Method and Theory in California Archaeology, No. 1.

Kroeber, Alfred L.

1904-1914 Field Notebooks 24, 52, 57. A. L. Kroeber Papers (BANC Film 2049). The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1904 The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 2(2):29-80.

1907 Indian Myths of South-Central California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 4(4):167-250.

1908 A Mission Record of the California Indians. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 8(1):1-27.

1910 The Chumash and Costanoan Languages. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 9(2):237-271.

1922 Elements of Culture in Native California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 13(8):259-328. Berkeley.

1923 The History of Culture in Native California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 20(8):123-142. Berkeley.

1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78. Washington.

1932 The Patwin and their Neighbors. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 29(4):253-423. Berkeley.

1936 Culture Element Distributions: III – Area and Climax. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 37:101-115.

1939 *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

1962 The Nature of Land-holding Groups in Aboriginal California. *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* 56. Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley.

Kroeber, Alfred L., and Clyde Kluckhohn

1952 *Culture; a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Random House, New York.

Land Case 2 ND

n.d. Transcript of the record of the Proceedings in Case No. 2. Rancho Suisun. Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Land Case 178 ND

n.d. Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 178, The United States vs. Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, Claimant, for the San Mateo Grant. Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Land Case 290 ND

n.d. Transcript of the record of the Board or U.S. Land Commissioners. U.S. District Court, Northern District of California. Case number 290. Land near the Mission of San Jose. Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Land Case 409 ND

n.d. Transcript of the record of the Board or U.S. Land Commissioners. U.S. District Court, Northern District of California. Case number 409. William G. H. Howard Claimant vs. the United States, Defendant, for the Place Named San Mateo. Manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Langsdorff, George H. von

1814 *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807. Part 2*. Henry Colburn, London.

La Perouse, Jean Francois de la

1989 *Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean Francois de la Perouse,* edited by Malcolm Margolin. Heyday Books, Berkeley.

Latham, Robert G.

1860 *Opuscula: Essays Chiefly Philological and Ethnological*. Williams and Norgate, London.

Latta, Frank

1949 *The Handbook of the Yokuts Indians*. Bear State Books, Oildale, California.

Leupp, F. E.

1909 Letter of January 5, 1909 by United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs F. E. Leupp to United States Senator Frank Flint of California. "In re California Indians to Date": An authorized account of the present status of the California Indians and what has been done up to 1909. *Fifth Bulletin of the Los Angeles Council of the Sequoya League*, Wayland Smith, editor, pages 3-13.

Leventhal, Alan, Les Field, Hank Alvarez, and Rosemary Cambra

1994 The Ohlone: Back from Extinction. In *The Ohlone Past and Present,* edited by Lowell John Bean, pp. 271-296. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

2003 *Muwekma Ohlone Tribe: A Brief History and The Recognition Process*. Limited distribution publication by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, Milpitas, California.

Levy, Richard

1976 *Costanoan Internal Relationships*. Manuscript prepared for the Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley by Richard Levy, Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky.

1978a Costanoan. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 485-495. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1978b Eastern Miwok. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 398-413. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1979 A Linguistic Prehistory of Central California: Historical Linguistics and Culture Process. Unpublished manuscript.

2002 The Names of Santa Cruz: Santa Cruz Mission Baptismal Records for 18 Awáswas Villages. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 183-200. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Lightfoot, Kent G.

2005 *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Lobo, Susan, Charlene Betsillie, Joyce Keoke, Marilyn LaPlante St. Germaine, Gerri Lira, and Sharon Mitchell Bennett

2002 Introduction. In *Urban Voices, The Bay Area American Indian Community, Community History Project, Intertribal Friendship House, Oakland, California*, edited by Susan Lobo, pp. xix-xxiii. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Lorenz, Joseph G., and David G. Smith

1996 Distribution of Four Founding mtDNA Haplogroups Among Native North Americans. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 101:307-323.

Loud, Llewelen L.

1913 *Walnut Creek Mounds Numbers 419-428*. Manunscript No. 365. Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Lugo, José del Carmen

1950 Life of a Rancher. *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 32 (3):185-236

Lydon, Sandy, and Linda Yamane

2002 The Challenges of Interpretation. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Maclay, Kathleen

2002 UC Berkeley "Breath of Life" Conference Strives to Revive California Indian Languages. Press Release, UC Berkeley Campus News, Media Relations, June 3, 2002.

Malhi, Ripan S., Jason A. Eshleman, Jonathan A. Greenberg, Deborah A. Weiss, Beth A. Schultz, Shook, Frederika A. Kaestle, Joseph G. Lorenz, Brian M. Kemp, John R. Johnson, and David Glenn Smith

2002 The Structure of Diversity within New World Mitochondrial DNA Haplogroups: Implications for the Prehistory of North America. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 70:905-919.

Mahr, August C., editor

1932 *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816.* Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Margolin, Malcolm

1978 *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area*. Heyday Books, Berkeley.

Martinot, Steve

2003 *The Rule of Racialization: Class, Identity, Governance*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

McCarthy, Francis F.

1958 *The History of Mission San Jose, California, 1797-1835.* Academy Library Press, Fresno.

McLendon, Sally, and John R. Johnson

1999 *Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains: Volumes I and II*. Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, and Hunter College, City University of New York. Submitted to the Archeology and Ethnography Program, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

Merriam, C. Hart

1910 *The Dawn of the World: Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Mewan Indians of California*. Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland.

1955 California Mission Baptismal Records. In *Studies in California Indians*, pp. 188-225. University of California Press, Berkeley.

1967 Ethnographic Notes on California Indian Tribes, Part III: Ethnological Notes on Central California Indian Tribes. *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey* 68:257-448. Berkeley.

1970 Papers on California Ethnography, Part III: Indian Rancheria Names in Four Mission Records. *Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility* 9:29-58. Berkeley.

Meyer, Jack, and Jeffrey S. Rosenthal

1997 *Archaeological and Goearchaeological Investigations at Eight Prehistoric Sites in the Los Vaqueros Reservoir Area, Contra Costa County, California.* Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University Academic Foundation, Rohnert Park, California. Submitted to the Contra Costa Water District, Concord, California. Copies available from the Northwest Information Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park.

Miller, Robert R.

1998 *Juan Alvarado: Governor of California, 1836-1842*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Milliken, Randall T.

1979 The Mission Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo. In *Report of Archaeological Investigations at Sanchez Adobe Park Historical District*, pp. 14-47. Stephen Dietz, principal author. Limited distribution technical paper prepared for the County of San Mateo, California by Archaeological Consulting and Research Services, Santa Cruz, California.

1981 Ethnohistory of the Rumsen: The Mission Period. In *Report of Archaeological Excavations at Nineteen Archaeological Sites for the State I Pacific Grove-Monterey Consolidation Project of the Regional Sewerage System*, Volume 1, edited by Stephen A. Dietz and Thomas L. Jackson, pp. 10-102. Archaeological Consulting and Research Services, Inc., Santa Cruz, California. Reprinted in 1987 as *Rumsen Ethnohistory*, Papers in Northern California Anthropology, 2. Northern California Anthropological Association, distributed by Coyote Press, Salinas, California.

Milliken, Randall T. *continued*

1983 The Spatial Organization of Human Population on Central California's San Francisco Peninsula at the Spanish Arrival. Masters Thesis in Cultural Resource Management. Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.

1987 *Rumsen Ethnohistory*, Papers in Northern California Anthropology, 2. Northern California Anthropological Association, distributed by Coyote Press, Salinas, California. [This study is a reprint of the 1981 study cited above as "Rumsen: The Mission Period," *Report of Archaeological Excavations at Nineteen Archaeological Sites for the State I Pacific Grove-Monterey Consolidation Project of the Regional Sewerage System*, with different page numbers.]

1990 Ethnogeography and Ethnohistory of the Big Sur District, California State Park System, during the 1770-1810 Time Period. Research paper submitted to the State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, under Agreement No. 48279021 with the Regents of the University of California.

1991 An Ethnohistory of the Indian People of the San Francisco Bay Area from 1770 to 1810. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

1993 Mission Period Indian History. In *Archaeological Test Excavations at Fourteen Sites along Highways 101 and 152, Santa Clara and San Benito Counties, California,* Volume 2. By William Hildebrandt and Patricia Mikkelsen. Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California. Prepared for the California Department of Transportation, District 4, Oakland. Limited distribution technical report.

1994 The Costanoan-Yokuts Language Boundary in the Contact Period. In *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region,* edited by Lowell John Bean, pp. 165-182. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 42. Sylvia Brakke Vane, Series Editor.

1995 *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Region, 1769-1810*. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

2002a History of Indian Assimilation into Mission Santa Clara. In *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices*, edited by Russell Skowronek, pp. 45-63. University of Santa Clara Press.

2002b The Spanish Contact and Mission Period Indians of the Santa Cruz-Monterey Bay Region. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native People of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 25-36. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

2002c *California Indians of the Mission San Jose Outreach Area*. Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California. Prepared for Archaeor Archaeological Consultants, Fremont California. Limited distribution technical report.

2006 *Ethnogeography of the South Coast Ranges, with Special Attention to Priest Valley, Monterey County*. Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California. Prepared for California Department of Transportation, District 5, San Luis Obispo. Limited distribution technical report.

2008 *Native Americans at Mission San Jose.* Malki-Ballena Press, Banning, California.

Milliken, Randall, James Nelson, William Hildebrandt, and Patricia Mikkelsen

1999 *The Moss Landing Hill Site: A Technical Report on Archaeological Studies at CA-Mnt-234.* Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California. Limited distribution technical report. Copies available through the Northwest Archaeological Information Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park.

Milliken, Randall, Richard Fitzgerald, Mark G. Hylkema, Randy Groza, Tom Origer, David G. Bieling, Alan Leventhal, Randy S. Wiberg, Andrew Gottsfield, Donna Gillette, Viviana Bellifemine, Eric Strother, Robet Cartier, and David A. Fredrickson

2007 Punctuated Culture Change in the San Francisco Bay Area. Chapter 8 in *California Prehistory: Colonization, Culture, and Complexity*, edited by Terry L. Jones and Kathryn A. Klar. Altamira Press, Lanham, Maryland.

Mills, Elaine L.

1985 *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957: A Guide to the Field Notes: Native American History, Language, and Culture in Northern and Central California.* The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Insititution 1907-1957, Volume 2. Kraus International Publications, White Plains, New York.

Monroy, Douglas

1990 *Thrown among Atrangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California.* University of California Press, Berkeley and London.

1998 The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society. In *Contested Eden: California Before the Gold Rush*, edited by Ramon A. Gutierrez and Richard J. Orsi. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Moratto, Michael J.

1984 *California Archaeology.* Academic Press, New York.

Murdock, George P.

1949 *Social Structure*. Macmillan Press, New York.

1954 *Outline of World Cultures*. Human Relations Area Files, New Haven.

Mutsun Language Foundation

2006 Mutsun Language Foundation Website. Electronic document, http://www.mutsunlanguage.com/pages/944594/index.htm, accessed on May 31, 2006.

Newman, Russell W.

1957 *A Comparative Analysis of Prehistoric Skeletal Remains from the Lower Sacramento Valley*. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey No. 39. Berkeley.

O.C.E.N. Bruchure Excerpt

2002 Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation Today. Selected text from Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation tribal brochure [no author stated] in *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Ogden, Adele

1941 *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848.* University of California Publications in History, volume 26. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Okrand, Marc

1977 *Mutsun Grammar*. Ph.D. Dissertation in Linguistics, University of California at Berkeley.

1989 More on Karkin and Costanoan. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 55:254-258.

Ortiz, Beverly R.

1994 Chocheño and Rumsen Narratives: A Comparison. In *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region,* edited by Lowell John Bean, pp. 99-164. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 42. Sylvia Brakke Vane, Series Editor.

Orozco, Patrick, and Lois Robin

2002 I'm an Indian, but Who Am I. In *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Palóu, Francisco, and Pedro Cambón

1783 *Informe de la Mission de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco, del Puerto del Propio Nombre, desde su Fundación hasta el año de 1781 inclusiva*. San Francisco. December 31, 1783. Archivo Generál de la Nación, Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, Segunda Serie, Tomo 2, Doc. 25. Archivo Historico de Hacienda. Mexico City. [Microfilm available at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.]

Parman, Donald L.

1994 *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*. Birmingham and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Payeras, Mariano

1995 *Writings of Mariano Payeras*. Translated and edited by Donald Cutter. Bellerophon Books, Santa Barbara.

Perkins, William

1964 *Three Years in California: William Perkins' Journal of Life at Sonora, 1849-1852.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Phillips, George H.

1981 *The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California History*. Boyd and Fraser, San Francisco.

1993 *Indians and Intruders in Central California, 1769-1849.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Pitt, Leonard

1966 *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Powell, John Wesley

1891 Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico. In *7th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1885-1886*, pp. 1-142. Washington.

Powers, Stephen

1877 *Tribes of California.* Contributions to North American Ethnology 3. Edited by John Wesley Powell. U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington.

Preston, William

1996 Serpent in Eden: Dispersal of Foreign Diseases into Pre-Mission California. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 18:3-37.

Price, Heather, Aimie Arrigoni, Eric Strother, Kyle Brown, Thomas Young, and Jennifer Price

2005 *Data Recovery, Burial Removal, and Construction Monitoring at the Canyon Oaks Site, CA-SCL-613/H, Pleasanton, Alameda County, California*. Volume 1: Archaeological Investigations. William Self Associates, Orinda. Submitted to KB Home South Bay, Pleasanton. Copies available from Northwest Archaeological Information Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park.

Priestley, Herbert Ingram, translator

1937 *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Radin, Paul

1924 Wappo Texts: First Series. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 19(1):1-147. Berkeley.

Ramirez, Alex

2002 Listen to the Water, by Alex Ramirez as told to Beverly Ortiz. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Rawls, James J.

1984 *Indians of California: The Changing Image*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Recognition Task Force

1997 The ACCIP Recognition Report, Equal Justice for California. A Report to Congress by The Advisory Council on California Indian Policy, September, 1997.

Reidla, Maere, Toomas Kivisild, Ene Metspalu, Katrin Kaldma, Kristiina Tambets, Helle-Viivi Tolk, Juri Parik, Eva-Liss Loogvali, Miroslava Derenko, Boris Malyarchuk, Marina Bermisheva, Sergey Zhadanov, Erwan Pennarun, Marina Gubina, Maria Golubenko, Larisa Damba, Sardana Fedorova, Vladislava Gusar, Elena Grechanina, Ilia Mikerezi, Jean-Paul Moisan, André Chaventré, Elsa Khusnutinova, Ludmila Osipova, Vadim Stepanov, Mikhail Voevoda, Alessandro Achilli, Chiara Rengo, Olga Rickards, Gian Franco De Stefano, Surinder Papiha, Lars Beckman, Branka Janicijevic, Pavao Rudan, Nicholas Anagnou, Emmanuel Michalodimitrakis, Slawomir Koziel, Esien Usanga, Tarekegn Geberhiwot, Corinna Herrnstadt, Neil Howell, Antonio Torroni, and Richard Villems

2003 Origin and Diffusion of mtDNA Haplogroup X. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 73:1178-1190.

Rensch, H. E., and E. G. Rensch

1938 Historic By-Ways to Spring: In the Land of the Suisunes. *National Motorist* April 1938, pp. 4-6. National Automobile Club.

Richards, Martin, and Vincent Macauley

2001 The Mitochondrial Gene Tree Comes of Age. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 68:1315-1320.

Robin, Louis

2002 The Pajaro Valley Ohlone Indian Council by Louis Robin with Patrick Orozco. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

Rockstroh, Dennis

1994 Homes to Rise Atop Ancient Ohlone Bones. *San Jose Mercury News*, June 25, 1994.

Rodriguez, Junius P.

1997 *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*. Volume II. ABC-Clio, Santa Barbara, California.

Rosenberg, Alec

2000 Forensic Dogs Help to Discover 13 More Ohlone Remains. *Daily Review*, April 6, 2000.

Rosenthal, Jeffrey, and Jack Meyer

2004 *Landscape Evolution and the Archaeological Record: A Geoarchaeological Study of the Southern Santa Clara Valley and Surrounding Regions*. Center for Archaeological Research at Davis, Publication 14. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

SCA-B Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel). *Libro de Bautismos,* Volume 1. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SCA-M Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel). *Libro de Casamientos*, Volume 1. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SCA-D Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel). *Libro de Difuntos*, Volume 1. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SCL-B Mission Santa Clara. *Libro de Bautismos,* 1778-1863 (3 vols.) University of Santa Clara Archives, Santa Clara, California.

SCL-M Mission Santa Clara. *Libro de Casamientos,* 1778-1863 (1 vol.) University of Santa Clara Archives, Santa Clara, California.

SCL-D Mission Santa Clara. *Libro de Entierros,* 1777-1866 (2 vols.) University of Santa Clara Archives, Santa Clara, California.

SCR-B Mission Santa Cruz. *Libro de Bautismos,* 1791-1857 (2 vols.) Chancery Office, Catholic Diocese of Monterey, Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SCR-M Mission Santa Cruz. *Libro de Casamientos,* 1791-1802 (1 vol.) Chancery Office, Catholic Diocese of Monterey, Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SFR-B Mission San Francisco de Asís (Dolores). *Libro de Bautismos,* 1776-1870 (2 vols.) Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at The Bancroft Library and LDS Family History libraries.)

SFR-M Mission San Francisco de Asís (Dolores). *Libro de Casamientos,* 1777-1859 (1 vol.) Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at The Bancroft Library and LDS Family History libraries.)

SFR-D Mission San Francisco de Asís (Dolores). *Libro de Difuntos*, 1776-1856 (2 vols.) Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at The Bancroft Library and LDS Family History libraries.)

SFS-B Mission San Francisco Solano. *Libro de Bautismos*, 1824-1839. Original and photocopy at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

SFS-D Mission San Francisco Solano. *Libro de Difuntos*, 1824-1839. Original and photocopy at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

SJB-B Mission San Juan Bautista. *Libro de Bautismos*, Volume 1. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SJB-M Mission San Juan Bautista. *Libro de Casamientos*, Volume 1. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SJB-D Mission San Juan Bautista. *Libro Primero de Difuntos*. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SJO-B Mission San Jose. *Libro de Bautismos*, 1797-1859 (2 vols.) Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries and The Bancroft Library.)

SJO-M2 Mission San Jose. *Libro de Casamientos* Vol. 2, 1860-1911. Archives of Saint Joseph's Parish, Fremont, California.

SJO-D Mission San Jose. *Libro de Difuntos,* 1797-1837 ((1 vol.) Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries and The Bancroft Library.)

SLO-B Mission San Luis Obispo. *Libro de Bautismos*. Photocopy at Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, California.

SOL-B Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. *Libro de Bautismos*. Chancery Office, Diocese of Monterey, 580 Fremont Blvd., Monterey, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries.)

SRA-B Mission San Rafael Arcangel. Libro de Bautismos. Volume 1. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries and The Bancroft Library.)

SRA-D Mission San Rafael Arcangel. Libro de Difuntos. Volume 1. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California. (Microfilm available at LDS Family History libraries and The Bancroft Library.)

Sandos, James

2004 *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions.* Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

San Mateo County

1896 Certificate of Death Edwin Domingo Evencio. San Mateo County Death Records, Volume A:229. On file, San Mateo County Recorder, Redwood City.

Sapir, Edward

1929 Central and North American Languages. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 5:138:141. Encyclopedia Britannica Company, London and New York.

Sawyer, Jesse O., Jr.

1964 The Implications of Spanish /r/ and /rr/ in Wappo History. *Romance Philology* 18(2):165-177.

1978 Wappo. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 256-263. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Sayers, Ann Marie

1994 Noso-n "In Breath So It Is In Spirit"—The Story of Indian Canyon. In *The Ohlone Past and Present,* edited by Lowell John Bean, pp. 297-336. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

2002 Today's Native Americans in the Santa Clara Area. In *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices*, edited by Russel Skowronek, pp. 13-18. City of Santa Clara and Santa Clara University.

Schlichter, Alice

1981 *Wintu Dictionary*. Reports from the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages #2. Department of Linguistics, University of California at Berkeley.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe

1853 *Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. Volume 2 of *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States; Collected and Prepared under the Direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs per Act of Congress of March 3rd, 1847* (6 volumes). Lippincott and Grambo, Philadelphia.

Schulman, Robin

2001 Reading Dr. Seuss in Mutsun. In *Canku Ota (Many Paths), An Online Newsletter Celebrating Native America*. Electronic document, http://turtletrack.org/Issues01/Co08252001/CO_08252001_DrSeuss.htm, accessed on May 31, 2006. [Originally printed in the *Los Angeles Times*, August 13, 2001.]

Scolari, Paul

2002 *Request for Quotation Q8158020405: Ethnohistory Study of Golden Gate NRA San Francisco and San Mateo Counties, CA*. National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, Building 201, Fort Mason, San Francisco.

Shanks, Ralph

2006 *Indian Baskets of Central California.* Costaño Books in association with The Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin, Novato, California

Shipley, William F.

1978 Native Languages of California. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 80-90. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Shoup, Laurence H., and Randall Milliken

1999 *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian*. Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

Soule, Frank, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet

1855 *The Annals of San Francisco*. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

Stanger, Frank M.

1938 A California Rancho Under Three Flags. *California Historical Society Quarterly* 17 (3):245-259.

1944 "The Hospice" or "Mission San Mateo." *California Historical Society Quarterly* 23 (3):247-258.

1963 *South from San Francisco; San Mateo County, California: its history and heritage.* San Mateo County Historical Association, San Mateo.

Stanger, Frank M., and Alan K. Brown

1969 *Who Discoverd the Golden Gate?* San Mateo County Historical Association, San Mateo, California.

Stewart, Omer C.

1942 Cultural Element Distributions, XVIII: Ute—Southern Paiute. *University of California Anthropological Records* 6:231-356. Berkeley.

1978 Litigation and Its Effects. In *California*. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, edited by Robert F. Heizer, pp. 705-712. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Suchey, Judy A.

1975 Biological Distance of Prehistoric Central California Populations derived from Non-metric Traits of the Cranium. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Riverside.

Talbot, Steve

1997 Indian Students and Reminiscences of Alcatraz. In *American Indian Activism, Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, edited by Troy Johnson, Joane Nagel, and Duane Champagne. University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago.

Taylor, Alexander

1861a Indianology of California, May 31, 1861. *The California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences.* San Francisco.

1861b Indianology of California, October 18, 1861. *The California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences.* San Francisco.

Taylor, Walter W.

1961 Archaeology and Language in Western North America. *American Antiquity* 27:71-81.

Teixeira, Lauren S.

1997 *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide.* Ballena Press, Menlo Park, California.

Tibesar, Antonine, editor

1955 *Writings of Junipero Serra*. Volume 1. Academy of American Franciscan History. Washington, D.C.

Titus, Michele D., and Phillip L. Walker

2000 Skeletal Remains from San Clemente Island. In *Continuing Reports on Investigations at San Clemente Island, conducted from 1983 through 1987 by Clement Meighan*, edited by Constance Cameron, pp. 78-87. Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quartery 36(2). Santa Ana, California

Torroni, Antonio, Theodore G. Schurr, Chi-Chuan Yang, Emoke J. E. Szathmary, Robert C. Williams, Moses S. Schanfield, Gary A. Troup, William C. Knowler, Dale N. Lawrence, Kenneth M. Weiss, and Douglas C. Wallace

1992 Native American Mitochondrial DNA Analysis Indicates That the Amerind and the Nadene Populations Were Founded by Two Independent Migrations. *Genetics* 130:5153-162.

Torroni, Antonio, Theodore G. Schurr, Margaret F. Cabell, Michael D. Brown, James V. neel, Merethe Larsen, David G. Smith, Carlos M. Vullo, and Doulas C. Wallace

1993 Asian Affinites and Continental Radiation of the Four Founding Native American mtDNAs. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 53:563-590.

Tremain, Kerry

2004 A Faith in Words: Berkeley Linguists are Helping California Tribes Work Against Time and the Odds to Revive Their Dying Languages. *California Monthly*, pp. 16-20.

Tumgoren, Serdar

2004 A Fractured Tribe Fights for Recognition, Whichever Faction of the Amah Mutsuns Gains Federal Recognition Could Determine the Future of Sargent Ranch. *Hollister Free Lance*. 131(245): A1, A6. December 11-13, 2004.

Tyler, S. Lyman

1973 *A History of Indian Policy*. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.

Uccello, Stephen

1995 Ohlone Day. *Newsletter of the Santa Cruz Archaeological Society* 25(6):4.

Uldall, Hans Jorgen, and William Shipley

1966 Nisenan Texts and Dictionary. *University of California Publications in Linguistics* 46:1-282).

U.S. Census Office

1860a Manuscript Census of San Francisco County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1860b Manuscript Census of San Mateo County. On file, Bancroft Library,University of California, Berkeley.

1860c Manuscript Census of Alameda County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1870a Manuscript Census of San Mateo County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1870b Manuscript Census of Alameda County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1870c Manuscript Census of San Francisco County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1880a Manuscript Census of San Mateo County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1880b Manuscript Census of Monterey County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1883 Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)... Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Census Office *continued*

1900a Manuscript Census of Alameda County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1900b Manuscript Census of San Mateo County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1900c Manuscript Census of Monterey County. On file, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

1902 Census Reports Volume I, Twelfth Census of the United States Population Part I... Census Office, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Census Bureau

1913 Thirteenth Census of the United States...Volume II, Population 1910. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1922 Fourteenth Census of the United States...Volume II, Population 1920. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1943 Sixteenth Census of the United States...Volume II, Population 1940. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

U.S. Congress, Senate Documents

1853 Correspondence between the Department of the Interior and the Indian Agents and Commissioners in California. 33d Congress, Special Session, March 4-April 11. Senate Executive Document No. 4 (Serial Nol 688). Washington.

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs

2006 Interment.net Transcription Library Listing of Burial Records for the Golden Gate National Cemetery, San Bruno, San Mateo County, California, provided by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs Database. Electronic document, http://www.interment.net/data/us/ca/sanmateo/ggate/, accessed May 20, 2006.

Vallejo, Mariano G.

1850 Testimony [translated by Joseph H. Scull]. In *Report on the derivation and definition of the names of the several counties of California by California*. Legislature. Senate. Select Committee on the Derivation and Definition of the Names of the Several Counties of the State of California. H. H. Robinson, State printer, San Jose. [Call Number xF859.V3, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.]

Voegelin, Erminie W.

1942 Cultural Element Distributions, XX: Northeast California. *University of California Anthropological Records* 7:47-252. Berkeley.

Wallace, William J., and Donald W. Lathrop

1975 *West Berkeley (CA-ALA-307): A Culturally Stratified Shellmound on the East Shore of San Francisco Bay*. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility, No. 29. Berkeley.

Wallace, Douglas C., K. Garriwson, and W. C. Knowler

1985 Dramatic Founder Effects in Amerindian Mitochondrial DNAs. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 68:149-155.

Webb, Edith

1952 *Indian Life at the Old Missions*. Warren F. Lewis, Los Angeles.

Whistler, Kenneth W.

1977 *Wintun Prehistory: An Interpretation based on Linguistic Reconstruction of Plant and Animal Nomenclature*. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of he Berkeley Linguistics Society, pp. 157-174. Berkeley Linguistics Society, Berkeley.

1980 Proto-Wintun Kin Classification: A Case Study in Reconstruction of a Complex Semantic System. Ph.D. Dissertation in Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

Whistler, Kenneth W., and Victor Golla

1986 Proto-Yokuts Reconsidered. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52:317-358.

White, Gregory G., editor

2002 *Cultural Diversity and Culture Change in Prehistoric Clear Lake Basin: Final Report of the Anderson Flat Project*. Center for Archaeological Research at Davis, Publication 13. Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

Wilkes, Charles

1845 *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*. Five volumes. Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia.

Willey, Gordon R., and Philip Phillips

1958 *Method and Theory in American Archaeology*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Williams, E. L.

1890 Narrative of a Mission Indian. In *The History of Santa Cruz County, California*, edited by Edward S. Harrison, pp. 45-48. Pacific Press, San Francisco.

Wissler, Clark

1917 *The American Indian: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*. Douglas C. McMurtrie, New York.

Wrigley, S. A.

1966 *An Introduction to English Historical Demography from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Yamane, Linda

2002a Santa Cruz Baskets. In *Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast,* edited by Linda Yamane, pp. 130-131. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

2002b *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast*, edited by Linda Yamane. Santa Cruz County History Journal No. 5. Museum of Art and History, Santa Cruz, California.

ORAL INTERVIEW REFERENCES

Alvarez, Hank, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Hank Alvarez, Dorothy Lameira, and Alan Leventhal by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, November 18, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Bonillas, T. Michael, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with T. Michael Bonillas by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 6, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Bonillas, Theodore W., Interview

2005 Transcript of Interview with Theodore W. Bonillas by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, June 6, 2005. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Carrier, Lisa, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Lisa Carrier and Marie Bonillas Ronquillo by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 7, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Cerda, Tony, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Tony Cerda by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 30, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Galvan, Philip, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Philip Galvan and Andrew Galvan by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 26, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Garibay, Sabrina, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Ruth Orta and Sabrina Garibay by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 17, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California

Higuera, Charlie, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Charlie Higuera and Paul Mondragon by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 19, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Ketchum, Edward A., Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Edward A. Ketchum and Valentin Lopez by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, October 11, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Lameira, Dorothy, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Hank Alvarez, Dorothy Lameira, and Alan Leventhal by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Leventhal, Alan, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Hank Alvarez, Dorothy Lameira, and Alan Leventhal by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, November 18, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Lopez, Valentin, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Edward A. Ketchum and Valentin Lopez by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, October 11, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Miranda, Richard, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Richard Miranda by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 12, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Mondragon, Joseph, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Joseph Mondragon and Irene Zwierlein by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 26, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Mondragon, Paul, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Charlie Higuera and Paul Mondragon by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 19, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Orta, Ruth, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Ruth Orta and Sabrina Garibay by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 17, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Ronquillo, Marie Bonillas, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Lisa Carrier and Marie Bonillas Ronquillo by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, August 7, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Sayers, Ann Marie, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Ann Marie Sayers and Kanyon Sayers-Roods by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 6, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Sayers-Roods, Kanyon, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Ann Marie Sayers and Kanyon Sayers-Roods by Bev Ortiz for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 6, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Zwierlein, Irene, Interview

2003 Transcript of Interview with Joseph Mondragon and Irene Zwierlein by Randall Milliken for Archaeological Consulting Services, Oakland, California, September 26, 2003. Oral History Collection, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California.

Appendix A.
J. P. Harrington Chochenyo Interview Excerpts with Commentary (By Randall Milliken)

This appendix contains transcriptions of selected J. P. Harrington notes from his interviews with two speakers of the Chochenyo dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan, María de los Angeles Colos and José Guzman, with contextual commentary by Randall Milliken. Harrington conducted most of the interviews with both individuals in Pleasanton, California, in 1921, then returned in 1929 to re-interview Jose Guzman. The excerpts chosen are pertinent to:

- San Francisco Bay Area ethnogeography.
- names of San Francisco Bay Area groups and languages.
- the relationship among the three dialects of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language.
- interaction between San Francisco Peninsula and East Bay Indian people in the late nineteenth century.

The excerpts are cited from Randall Milliken's set of photocopied Harrington notes, obtained during the 1980s from Catherine Callaghan. Callaghan photocopied the set in the late 1960s while they were at Berkeley, California on loan from the Smithsonian Institution. The original notes were subsequently returned to the Smithsonian Institution, where most, but not all, of them were filmed and made available to libraries in a somewhat different order. Our page references follow Callaghan's order, not the reel/frame system of the microfilm Harrington material.

The Harrington notes are indented below. Our contextual observations are not indented. Note that we have substituted the standard English letter combination "sh" for the symbol Harrington used for the voiceless palatal fricative, a symbol which was not available on the computer used for the current transcription. Common abbreviations are "Inf." for the chief informant, Angela Colos and "Nesc." for "does not know." (Cited references are listed in the main bibliography of this report.)

Names Applied to People from Various Areas

The following excerpt shows the terms typically used by the Mission San Jose people for themselves and for people from other missions.

- The Chocheños called the Juaneños 'uhráimas
- The Ind. name of the Chocheños is lisiánish Impt.

- Nesc. Ind. name of Clareños or Doloreños or Rafeléños (Harrington 1921-1929:57).

This reference and others suggest that the Mission San Jose Indians used the term Chocheño for themselves as a slang derivative of "Jose-eño." (The latter term never appears in any Harrington notes.) The next entry supports this interpretation of Chocheño as a reference to a mission community that derives from a Spanish slang term.

> The San José Indians were of many tribes – gathered at the mission. They are called Chocheños. Inf. knows the Carmeleños. There were some of them here at Pleasanton.… They committed several murders here (Harrington 1921-1929:110).

Colos also used directional terms for groups of people, a typical practice among California natives.

> I asked inf. how to say Abajeños, but inf. never heard the term. But inf. knows how to say Arribeños. ´awáshtush Arribeños. When I asked if these were the Indians of Oakland. Inf. said no, that they were from the *estero* (with a gesture to the north), evidently meaning Martinez way (Harrington 1921-29:110)

The reference to "Awashtush" recalls Father Palou's interpretation of a similar term as a reference to San Francisco Bay. Other evidence suggests it meant "northerners." On a separate sheet, Harrington recorded contrasting terms for northerners and southerners:

- 'awashtush are the people of Sonoma, Napa & all up there …
- Kakóntush, abajeños. Includes Juaneños, Monterreyanos (Harrington 1921-29:368).

On still another sheet Harrington repeated a Chochenyo term for southerners and provided terms for the people to the east and west.

- Jakmui, The east, knows well jakmuitush (l.q.) …
- Rámai = ag. *al otro lado del mar* – in S. Francisco
- kakóntush. abajeños. Ind. Carmeleños (Harrington 1921-29:286)

Language and People of the East Bay

Angela Colos passed on other names that could be applied to the Indian people of the local Mission San Jose area.

> Lisjanis, ch. *tribu*. They said that S. José was an early mission. They called the Inds. here sometimes *los viejos cristianos* (Harrington 1921-29:62).
>
> lisjánes were the San José – this name covered up as far as S. Lorenzo Angela thinks. Sing[ular]. Lisjan. *Yo soy lisján*. The Doloreños were not lisjanes, nor were the Clareños (Harrington 1921-29:95 [supplemental box 22]).
>
> hásan, *mujer en la lengua de Lecianos*. Inf.s mother said that the Lecianos called women hásan (Harrington 1921-29:457).

We suggest that the "Lisjanes" refers to the people who lived at "Alisal," the late nineteenth century Indian village near Pleasanton. (Of note, Uldall and Shipley [1966:216] record "Lisjan" as a placename for Pleasanton in their *Nisenan Texts and Dictionary*.)

The term Nepe was also applied to East Bay Indians, and may actually refer to the original local people who spoke what is now called Chochenyo Costanoan, in contrast to the inland people who brought the Plains Miwok language to Alisal.

> Call the local Inds. (of S. Lorenzo) *los* Nepes. So called because they use nép'e, *este* = the Acuenas (Harrington 1921-29:184).
>
> Népe, *este*. *nupe is no word in Choch. (Harrington 1921-29:293).
>
> The Nepes say kamniknish, *Hombre*, instead of tráesh, man

Jose thinks miw is a helawali word. Angela that it was an

Akwena word (Harrington 1921-29:301).

Colos, says Harrington, thought one of the words in the list above was a "helawali" word, in reference to one of the Miwok-speaking groups. If "Nepe" is the word she meant, it lends credence to the idea that Nepe was the Miwok term for speakers of Chochenyo Costanoan.

The word "Acuena," mentioned in in the set above, seems to have been another term applied to the East Bay area people.

> The Inds. & Span. Col.s used to speak of the Indians in fun as los acuénas. Borrowed from the Ind. 'akwéna no hay, probably.
>
> Inf. does not know origin of the *tribu*, but point out the resemblance.
>
> José & inf. both heard the Inds. spoken of as *los acuénas*. Sing. Acuena José
>
> kept using the term in fun all the afternoon (Harrington 1921-29:358).

The word Muwekma, a term used by a modern descendent organization, appears in the notes with the meaning "person" and "people."

> Ménem hishmetr múwékma, *tu eres buena gente* (Harrington 1921-29:247).
>
> holshe wáka muwékma, *bonito es esa gente* (Harrington 1921-29:297).
>
> 'rí'te muwékma jakájin, *hay mucha genta enfermos* (Harrington 1921-29:362).

San Francisco Peninsula People and Language

Angela Colos remembered interacting with people from the San Francisco Peninsula at some time during her youth.

> The Inds. of *Yerba Buena* said (the Doloreños): pétlei = *sientate*, but here at S. Jose the same word = *acuestate*! Once S. Jose Ind. entered and stood & that they would say tshaurai but they said petlei. And they had just put a big *sandia* there to eat. Why do they tell me to lie down? (Harrington 1921-29:30).
>
> Francisco Solis was Doloreño, Angela volunteers!!! He once came here to *pasearse aque en un baile que hicieron aqui*. Angela met him here, but José did not. He came here from Mission Dolores, where he lived. He was not yet old, still well preserved, a widower & had 2 daughters who may be still living in S.F. Inf. heard he died, supposes he died at S.F. (Harrington 1921-29:95 [supplemental box 22]).
>
> Uncle was good fustero. Went to live at San Mateo. Had plenty of money when he left. … Uncle married a Span. Cal. Woman here & sold ranch and gave ½ money to suegro & ½ to suegra who were still living. He did not have hair white when he left here. Inf. once saw him dance once here at rancho of the Moragas … He wore the red headdress, & all. Venima was uncle's younger brother [sic]– she was married to a Russian man. Inf. once heard her father & others talking and joking in Russian. (Harrington 1921-29:23-24).

At one point Harrington brought out the "Costano" word list that was taken from Pedro Alcantara of Mission Dolores in 1850 and published by Schoolcraft (1853). The following selections include a portion of the notes from that session:

> The S.F. voc.
>
> trátresh himhen, un hombre or
>
> Some said himen & other himhen –
>
> *Siempre le suben la palabra un poquito*

hímen traresh, un hombre.

'áitakishmak, 2 or more women

shiníshmin, muchachos Pl only

Never say 'shiníshmak – no such word. Carefully obtained

'shiníshmatshis, *muchachos*. Pl. only (Harrington 1921-29:189)

Some of the material points to constrasts beteween the San Francisco and East Bay dialects:

Todo lo que hablan in Dol. has

'átre (ch.) – if it is no, if it is yes,

nunca falta el 'átre. Dol. 'átré,

No? No es verdad? (used just like ger.

Nicht wahr).

Dol. 'átretamkisha, *no digas asi* [*nada*]

= Choch. Júwa tem ki.

Choch. Júwatem jisha nómo,

no bailes aquí = Dol. 'átretam jisha!

(Harrington 1921-29:198)

More comments are made about San Francisco people on another sheet:

José heard Pedro Alcantara mentioned much as at S. Clara

when there were lots of people still at S. Clara

Inf. heard a real Dol. named Pedro Nolasco talking to a compadre

Doloreño named Tadeo ´átretamshali kumpa, no hables nada (malo) compadre

(Harrington 1921-29:211).

Tells story of going to S. Francisco (?) to baptize child. Bought watermelon for $1.50. Inf. was sick here for 2 weeks thereafter (Harrington 1921-29:238).

A somewhat cryptic entry on still another sheet discusses interaction between Doloreños and Chocheños:

Tells story of the sit down. At time if …[illegible]… a man from here went up to S. Fran.c The Doloreños had lots of fine crops. Man arrived there and spoke with indearment to his friends, "Lie down!" Man remained standing. "Why do you not sit down?" another who spoke Choch. Wen

Júwatem musun wáka, do not believe or *hacer caso* in him!

Pétlei kimak makin, *nosotros decimos acuestate* (man said). (Harrington 1921-29:266).

Colos tells about how her aunt used to come from Yerba Buena to visit her family on the east side of the bay.

Forgets name of Benina's father – they talked idioma & joked with inf's father in idioma & sang. Jose Dolores was only son of this younger sister. They lived still when inf's father died – came from *la Yerba Buena* as they said. Used to come in *balsa de tules* on *Domingos*. Gabriel was doctor – *curaba los enfermos* (Harrington 1921-1929:281).

Another note, not in any useful context, claims a difference between Clareño and San Francisco speech:

> Clar. & Franc. had dif. Idiomas (Harrington 1921-29:323).

It must be remembered that Coast Miwok and Patwin, as well as the Ramaytush dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan, may have been spoken in San Francisco at the time of Angela Colos' youth, whereas the Tamyen dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Yokuts were the languages of the historic people at Mission Santa Clara.

One note provides the term that led Richard Levy (1978a) to call the San Francisco dialect Ramaytush:

> They call the *lado de San Francisco* rámai', All the side (lado) where the San Francisco is ([illeg.]) – San Mateo, etc., = rámai. Call the people rámáitush (Harrington 1921-29:368).

People and Languages at Missions South of Mission San Jose

One note supports a large amount of other material that places the Costanoan dialects of Mission Santa Clara and Mission San Jose as nearly identical.

> The Clareños were much intermarried with the Chocheños. The dialects were similar (Harrington 1921-29:14).

Angela's family interacted with people from Mission San Juan Bautista:

> The Chocheños called the Juaneños 'uhráimas (Harrington 1921-29:57).
>
> Inf.s padrasto went to S. Juan when *muchacho* & brot many Juaneño, Antoniano & other songs. He was good *cantor & bailador* (Harrington 1921-29:277)
>
> San Juan Song (p. 452)
>
> Were Juaneños married here, _ixed their songs (Harrington 1921-29:455).
>
> [San Juan songs] (Harrington 1921-29:467-478).
>
> All the Juaneño words sound as if they are *medio enojados*. Santiago Piña was inf.s *padrasto*. Was an Ind. who knew Juaneño songs. He was brot up by Piña family. Could read & pray. He died at Kaufman ranch ½ mile Nilesward of where inf. lives here (Harrington 1921-29:479).

Other People and Languages (Not Exhaustive)

A comment was taken down about Indians of Sonoma, where Mission San Francisco Solano had brought in speakers of Coast Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin. The supplied words are Patwin:

> The Sonomeños say mem for water, & call fire po' & wood tok' (Harrington 1921-29:65).

The consultants were asked about the term Olhone, and got an answer referring to the Volvon local tribe of the Mount Diablo area:

> Olhones = wolwolum evidently they were of the sierra Mount Diablo ward.
>
> Nesc. Polya. Inf. says that the tribes along the coast all had names
>
> (Harrington 1921-29:181).

The consultants were asked about the Saclans, a local tribe that moved to Mission Dolores from the Lafayette area of the East Bay in 1795, the fled the mission for a few years:

> José knows Saklanikma and that they talked the lang. like Angela speaks – talk Akwena but not the straight Akwena like Angela speaks (Harrington 1921-29:223).

Harrington may have been going down a list of local tribe names found in Mission San Jose baptismal records. He records a comment that relates to the Anizumne group, Plains Miwoks of the Rio Vista area on the lower Sacramento River:

> José's tia Paula was Angela's comadre was an 'anisum – the 'anisum also talked helawali – from Stockton way (Harrington 1921-29:300).

Appendix B.
San Francisco Peninsula Local Tribes (By Randall Milliken)

This appendix provides information about the specific local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula at a greater level of detail than was necessary in the main body of the report. The text for each group repeats some information previously published in Appendix 1 of *Time of Little Choice* (Milliken 1995). But important details, including references to specific mission register entries, have been added to the material below. (Citations to tables, figures, and references refer to materials within the main report and in Appendix F.)

Peninsula Groups along San Francisco Bay

Four local tribes of the San Francisco bayshore moved to Mission Dolores in their entirety. They were the Yelamu people of San Francisco, Urebure of San Bruno, Ssalson of San Mateo, and Lamchin of Redwood City.

Yelamu – The Yelamu local tribe held the tip of the San Francisco Peninusula north of San Bruno Mountain (see Figures 1 and 12). The greater part of the Peninsula lands of the GGNRA, including the Presidio, Fort Funston, Fort Mason, Fort Miley, Lands End, Ocean Beach, and Alcatraz Island, were within their territory. The Yelamu, no more than 160 individuals, spent much of the year split into three semisedentary village groups. One group moved seasonally along Mission Creek, from Sitlintac on the bay shore to Chutchui two or three miles further inland. The second group moved between Amuctac and Tubsinte villages in the Visitation Valley area, and a third cluster of families lived seasonally near the beach area facing the sea and the Golden Gate (Petlenuc). Fathers Palóu and Cambón wrote of them as the "Aguazios" in one report: "They [the Ssalsons] have married among those of this place, who are called Aguazios (which translates as `Northerners')" (Palóu and Cambon 1783). Clearly, they were only "Aguazios" in relation to the more southerly Ssalsons. The Yelamu were tied by marriage to villages on the east side of San Francisco Bay; two of the three wives of Yelamu tribal captain Guimas, for example, were from the present Oakland-Richmond area (Milliken 1983:146). Most Yelamu people were baptized between 1777 and 1784 at Mission Dolores; 1781 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 5).

Urebure – The people of the San Bruno Creek area just south of San Bruno Mountain on the San Francisco Peninsula seem to have been a single village splinter group. Their home area was just northeast of the Sweeney Ridge GGNRA parcel (see Figures 1 and 12). Only 40 of them were baptized, including 19 adults. Their captain, said to be from "Urebure and other places" at baptism, was called "Captain

of San Bruno" at his son's baptism (SFR-B 35, 40). Another member of the group was "born at San Bruno, the place called by the natives Siplichiquin" (SFR-B 34). The group was entirely absorbed into the Mission Dolores community by the end of 1785. The Mexican Buriburi land grant, centered on San Bruno, probably included more land in the Millbrae area on the south than was in the original Urebure group territory. Urebure people were baptized between 1777 and 1785; 1783 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 6).

Ssalson – The Ssalsons lived in at least three main villages along San Mateo Creek, near the west shore of San Francisco Bay and in the San Andreas Valley (see Figures 1 and 12). Mission register entries provide the names of some villages of this regional group (see Brown 1973a:9-12). For instance, a child was baptized at Mission Dolores from "Oturbe on the Arroyo of San Mateo, called by the heathen Salsson" (SFR-B 174). Also, a man came from "the Nation called by its natives the Salsones" (SFR-B 498) had a son from "Altagmu village in the area of San Matheo" (SFR-B 133). The Ssalson villages of Altagmu, Aleitac, and Uturbe were said to be along branches of the Arroyo of San Matheo, certainly San Mateo Creek (SFR-B 173, 175, 176, 177, 213). Of a probable pre-mission population of around 210, 176 Ssalsons were baptized. Most of them went to Mission Dolores from 1780 through 1793; 1788 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 6).

Lamchin – The Lamchin local tribe held the bay shore of the San Francisco Peninsula and adjacent interior valleys from present day Belmont south to present day Redwood City. The Phleger Estate GGNRA parcel was almost certainly within their lands (see Figures 1 and 12). Some of their specific villages are named in mission register entries. One child was baptized from "Cachanigtac of the Lamchin Nation" (SFR-B 554). Another child of Lamchin parents came from "Cachanigtac, commonly called Las Pulgas [The Fleas]," probably on Pulgas Creek in the present city of San Carlos (Brown 1973a:16). Supichom was another village mentioned often in the Mission Dolores registers. Other Lamchin villages mentioned are Usséte, Guloisnistac, and Oromstac (Milliken 1983). Multiple Lamchin headmen were named, including Sapecse (SFB-1176), Guatmas (SFR-B 1192), and Gimas (SFR-B 1233). The pre-mission population was probably around 240 (see Table 4). Most Lamchin people moved to Mission Dolores between 1784 and 1793, but a few went to Mission Santa Clara in those years; 1791 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 6).

Peninsula Groups along the Coast

The four local tribes that moved to Mission Dolores from the Pacific Coast south of the Golden Gate in the 1780s and early 1790s were the Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, and Oljon groups. Oljon territory is actually closer to Mission Santa Clara than to Mission Dolores (see Figure 12). However, they were attracted north in the late 1780s and early 1790s to a Mission Dolores farm and chapel in the present city of Pacifica. That site, the outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo, eventually became the headquarters of Mexican Period Rancho San Pedro, and most recently, Sanchez Adobe County Park. The four coastal groups are described here.

Aramai – Aramai is a regional name for the area of two small village communities, Pruristac at Pacifica and Timigtac at Rockaway Beach. The presumed hinterlands of these communities include the Milagra Ridge, Mori Point, and Sweeney Ridge GGNRA parcels (see Figures 1 and 12). The total group from the two villages probably included no more than 53 people at Spanish contact. Yet two of its families were intermarried with one another, so they were not isolated patrilineages. Like the people of nearby Urebure to the east, the Pruristac and Timigtac people seem to have been independent bands, rather than members of any of the adjacent multi-village local tribes. The headman of Pruristac, 70-year-old Yagueche (SFR-B 319), was the oldest male in a family that had direct marriage ties to the south and east. Yagueche had been born at Satumnumo in Chiguan lands (now the Princeton area) to the south, where his 60-year-old brother Camsegmne was headman. Yagueche's daughter Torpete (SFR-B 309) lived at Urebure as one of the wives of headman Loyexse (SFR-B 306), while another daughter, Lulits

(SFR-B 308) was the wife of Urebure headman Loyexse's son Ssurire (SFR-B 307). These links might suggest that Urebure, Aramai, and Chiguan together formed a single local tribe. However, each group had just as many complex family ties with other neighboring groups as they did with each other (Milliken 1983). ThePruristac and Timigtac people moved to Mission Dolores in the 1779-1786 period; the average year of adult baptism was 1784 (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 7). Mission Dolores priests built the outstation and chapel of San Pedro at Pruristac in 1787 (Milliken 1995:102, 108).

Chiguan – The tiny Chiguan local tribe held the Pacific coast of the San Francisco Peninsula in the present Half Moon Bay area (see Figures 1 and 12). The group's pre-mission population was probably only about 51 people. Two Chiguan villages were named in the Mission Dolores Baptismal Register. One was Ssatumnumo, said to be "about three leagues south of `The Mussels' [San Pedro Valley]" i.e., in the Princeton area (SFR-B 337). The other village was Chagúnte, "about a league hither from said place [Ssatumnumo]," perhaps at the present town of Half Moon Bay (SFR-B 337). Explorer diaries suggest that the villages were only seasonally occupied. Camsegmne (SFR-B 345), contact period headman of the Chiguan, was the 60-year old younger brother of the 70 year old headman of Pruristac in Aramai to the north, Yagueche (SFR-B 319). The small Chiguan group consisted of approximately 51 people, of whom 44 were baptized between 1783 and 1791; 1788 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 7).

Cotegen – The Purisima Creek watershed and nearby small creeks on the coast south of Half Moon Bay was the home of the Cotegen local tribe. No GGNRA lands are within the area that they probably inhabited (see Figures 1 and 12). One of their towns was "Ssalaime, the principal place of the Cotegenes" (SFR-D 216). Another village location was Torose (Milliken 1983:85). Cotegen outmarriages were predominately with the Oljon to the south and Chiguan to the north; fewer links can be identified from mission records to the larger bayshore groups to their east. The pre-mission Cotegen population is estimated to have been 65 people (see Table 4). Most members of the group moved to Mission Dolores or its outstation of San Pedro between 1786 and 1791; also, we tentatively identify five people baptized at Mission Santa Clara from the San Bernardino District as Cotegens. The average year of adult Cotegen baptism was 1790 (Appendix F:Table 1). The man who provided the only first-person Ramaytush word list available to linguists, Pedro Alcantara, was a Cotegen (by birth and paternal line, with a Yelamu mother) who was baptized at Mission Dolores as a child in 1786 (SFR-553).

Oljon – The Oljon were a local tribe on the lower drainages of San Gregorio Creek and Pescadero Creek on the Pacific Coast, west of the Santa Clara Valley (see Figure 12). Village names mentioned in Mission Dolores records include Zucigim (SFR-B 569) and Pructaca (SFR-B 588). Their headman was Lachi or Lachigi (SFR-B 1003), a man with four co-wives (Milliken 1983:171). People from this group who went to Mission Santa Clara were lumped together as "San Bernardino" people, with all other people from the Santa Cruz mountains and coast. Cross-references to Mission Dolores relatives suggest that they were the same people as the Solchequis subgroup of "San Bernardino" people at Santa Clara. We estimate a pre-mission Oljon population of 157 people (see Table 4). Most of the 135 Oljons and Solchequis who were ever baptized joined the missions between 1786 and 1793; 1790 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 7).

Groups of the Mission Dolores-Mission Santa Clara Overlap Region

Local tribes from three regions of the Santa Cruz mountains and bayshore that moved mainly to Mission Santa Clara also sent some people north to join Mission Dolores. They were the Olpens (alias Guemelentos) of Portola Valley, the Puichons of the Palo Alto and Los Altos areas, and the Quirostes of the coast in the Point Año Nuevo area. Were they Ramaytush speakers? Were they Tamien speakers? Perhaps the Quirostes were Awaswas speakers. Most likely, each group spoke a unique dialect along a clinal path between the better documented languages of the missions to their north, east, and south.

Olpen – The only San Francisco Peninsula local tribe lacking either coastal or bayshore lands that went to Mission Dolores was the group known both as Olpens and Guemelentos in the Mission Dolores registers. From a few hints in the records that indicate their homeland was in the upper drainage of San Francisquito Creek, we infer that they held interior hill and valley lands of La Honda Creek on the coast side, as well as the Corte de la Madera Creek portion of the upper San Francisquito Creek watershed (see Figure 12). Ten related individuals, alternatively called "Olpens" and "Guemelentos" were listed at Mission Dolores from this area. Additionally, four Acsaggis, one a woman from the "Acsaggis family in the vicinity of Sorontac at the source of San Francisquito Creek (SFR-B 676)" are now considered to have been from this area, although they have elsewhere been considered equivalent to Achistaca at Mission Santa Cruz (cf. Milliken 1995:234). Other Mission Dolores converts are inferred to have been Olpens, Guemelentos, or Acsaggis, due to their time of baptism and family links. Mission Santa Clara probably absorbed the greater part of the local tribe under the general district designation "San Bernardino." At Mission Santa Clara one "San Bernardino" district person was explicitly identified as a "Guemerenta" (SCL-B 256) and another as an Olpen (SCL-B 2429). The overall pre-mission population of these groups was about 286 (see Table 4). The 227 explicitly and tentatively identified Olpens moved to the two missions between 1786 and 1804; 1794 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Tables 2 and 7).

Puichon – The Puichon were the largest local tribe on the west shore of San Francisco Bay. Their lands were along lower San Francisquito Creek and lower Stevens Creek, now the areas of Palo Alto, Los Altos, and Mountain View (see Figure 12). Their San Francisquito Creek village of Ssipùtca was mentioned six times in the Mission Dolores baptismal records. At Santa Clara they were lumped into the "San Bernardino" district with other people from west of Mission Santa Clara. Some of them were identified more specifically as being from the rancheria of San Francisquito (SCL-B 1463, SCL-D 1065). Nuclear family ties of family groups that sent people to both missions suggest that those few San Bernardino people who were further identified as "Auloquis" were probably from the group identified as Puichons at Mission Dolores. The Puichons have been lumped with other Santa Clara Valley groups (including the Tamiens of the Santa Clara vicinity and the Alsons of the Alviso area) for the population density study reported in Table 4. That study projects a pre-mission population of 6.3 persons per square mile for the area at large. A newer study, not ready for publication, suggests that the Puichon area had a still higher population density of 7.8 persons per square mile, the highest of any Costanoan-speaking local tribe. Puichon/Auloquis people went to Mission Dolores between 1781 and 1794 and to Mission Santa Clara between 1781 and 1805; 1792 was the average year of adult baptism (Appendix F:Table 1).

Quiroste – The Quiroste local tribe lived on the Pacific Coast in the Whitehouse Creek and Año Nuevo Creek area, and possibly inland beyond Butano Ridge (see Figure 12). We do not understand the exact inland extent of Quiroste territory, due to the absence of good locational data in the Mission Santa Clara records. Quiroste individuals were among the earliest San Francisco Peninsula coastal groups baptized at Mission Dolores. Sujute, wife of an Oljon, was "from Churmutcé, farther south than the Oljons" (SFR-B 679, October 27, 1787). Uégsém, wife of a Cotegen, was from "the family of the Quirogtes of the village of Mitine to the west of Chipletac" (SFR-B 711, October 19, 1788). Quirostes led a resistance against Spanish intrusion in the early 1790s under a leader named Charquin (SFR-B 1002). Most Quirostes went to Mission Santa Clara under the San Bernardino District label. A few of them (12 individuals) went to Mission Santa Cruz under the designations "Mutenne" (SCR-B 186), "San Rafael" (SCR-B 187), and "San Rafael, alias Mitine" (SCR-B 316) in 1793 and 1794. Although their lands were much closer to Santa Clara than to San Francisco, about one third of them were baptized at Mission Dolores, possibly to be kept near the Presidio in light of their past resistance activities (Appendix F:Table 1). Average year of Quiroste adult baptism was 1793.

Appendix C.
The Unique Social Formation of the Mission System (By Laurence H. Shoup)

The detailed studies of the specific histories of local groups in chapters 4-6 portrays demographic and immigration events from one historical moment to the next, but fails to capture either the daily life experiences of Indian people within the missions or the contextual processes that were controlling those experiences. This appendix provides that contextual information for the Mission Period. (Citations to tables, figures, and references refer to materials within the main report.)

Colonial Strategy for Territorial Control

The Spanish colonists who arrived in the Bay Area in the 1770s were sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, who was the direct agent of the Spanish king. The king and viceroy were pursuing traditional imperial goals: developing a colony, seizing and controlling the land and labor of the local Indian population, and preventing rival nations (Russia and England especially) from taking over California and threatening Mexico's northern frontier. In addition, the Spanish leadership was motivated by personal philosophy to aid the Catholic church in bringing the Indian people of the New World into its fold.

In the process of seizing power and expropriating the native lands of coastal California, Spanish goals and tactics had to take account of demographic realities. Availability of Spanish manpower for colonization was very limited, while there were much larger numbers of Indians. Therefore the natives themselves had to be converted and used as the labor force for the new colony. This dictated the careful strategy the Spanish had to follow. The new colonists had several factors working in their favor. One was their technological superiority in the military field. They had guns, swords, lances, horses, leather and sheepskin armor, making the Spanish soldier on horseback by far the most formidable fighting man of that time and place. A second factor was their centralized leadership and unity of command. A third was the Machiavellian attitudes and actions of their leaders, using duplicity to achieve hidden goals destructive to the colonized peoples. A final factor was the array of material culture they commanded, including the animals and seeds they brought for food, the beads and clothing they wore and the buildings they conceived and built. This material culture dazzled the native people and was a key factor in initially attracting them to the missions. As one missionary expressed it:

> They can be conquered first only by their interest in being fed and clothed, and afterwards they gradually acquire knowledge of what is spiritually good and evil. If the missionaries had nothing to give them, they could not be won over (Palou [1786] in Milliken 1995:82-83).

The Spanish and later the Mexican colonial system had three structural elements, the military presidio, the Indian mission, and the civilian agricultural pueblo. In California, the presidio and mission were the most important, the pueblo least important.

The Pueblos –There were only three civilian pueblos in California, at San Jose, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles in the distant south. The pueblos were always small and partially dependent upon Indian labor, non-Christian Indians at first, emancipated Mission Indians later on. The mission communities themselves were eventually supposed to become civil pueblos, with the mission churches devolving into parish churches, as christianized native Californians became sufficiently acculturated and trained in western ways. This, of course, never happened.

The Presidios – The presidios were at the heart of state power. It was the political, military and administrative center, commanded by the military governor housed in the Presidio of Monterey. Three other presidios also existed—at San Francisco, Santa Barbara and San Diego. The soldiers at the presidios made up the police and military force. The governor, appointed by the Spanish king, was an absolute ruler, a local king, commanding the military and sanctioning the use of state violence. He also controlled all government functions, administrative, legislative and judicial. Land ownership, very important in this agricultural colony, was also under the purview of the governor, who enforced the "right" of the king of Spain to own virtually all of California. This political system was, therefore, a hierarchical absolutist state that choreographed the activities of vast numbers of people across a large part of the world, in stark contrast to the loose hierarchy and almost libertarian organization of the numerous native local tribes.

The Missions – The missions made up the second part of the power structure of Spanish and Mexican California into the 1830s. They were the most important economic institution of the colony. The missions were a type of totalitarian religious commune in which the Catholic priests ruled the Indian neophytes, who were seen as perpetual children. The missions were the places where the bulk of the production needed to sustain the colony took place. Native people made up the labor force necessary to sustain the 21 California missions and the entire colonial enterprise. Indians did all the planting, harvesting, cooking, animal husbandry, weaving, construction, wood cutting and other economic activities at the missions (Webb 1952:84; Forbes 1982:41).

Life and Death at the Missions

The California missions—located along the coastal strip from San Diego in the south to Sonoma in the north—were organized by Catholic priests of the Franciscan order, men who were given significant independence by the governor in handling the Indians so long as production was assured. A barter system was set up, and the missions exchanged some of their surplus production with the Spanish authorities for some items that they could not produce (such as some tools, iron, cloth, and glass beads), and, as time went on, increasingly for worthless promises to pay from the military officials who ruled the colony. Soon the entire colony came to depend upon the missions and Indian labor to produce the necessities of survival on this frontier. The priests were the labor organizers and brokers in this hierarchical system (Shoup and Milliken 1999:49-60). During the sixty years from 1769 to 1829, this production system developed into a powerful economic institution.

At their peak, the 21 missions housed about 30,000 Indians, controlled about 8 million acres of land, had extensive field crops (especially wheat and corn) and as many as 420,000 cattle, 320,000 sheep, and more than 60,000 horses and mules (Hittell 1885 II:207; Hornbeck 1983:56-57). The

Indians, whose options were restricted when the Spanish colonialists seized their land and resources to use for grazing Spanish livestock and raising Spanish crops, were attracted into the missions with a combination of goods (food, beads, cloth) and promises of security (including security from Spanish violence), and salvation. In exchange, the Indians lost much of their culture, their freedom and, once baptized by the priests, they could not leave except with permission. Their lives were totally controlled and regulated 24 hours a day for their entire lives. The only exception was when, once a year or so, they were given permission and a pass to return to their villages for a few weeks' holiday. Running away, along with numerous other disciplinary infractions, both minor and major, were punished by solitary confinement, flogging, branding, the use of stocks, hobbles (chaining to weights), and other humiliations (Cook 1943a:91-101; Jackson and Castillo 1995:44; Jackson 1994a:126, 165-166; Castillo 1978a:101). As one contemporary observer later recalled:

> Indians belonging to the missions could not leave them without special permission... Frequently they were sent to work in the towns or the presidios under contract. They were not paid for the work they did...I do not know whether or not the padres sometimes exceeded their authority in delivering punishments. I do know that they frequently castigated the Indians who had committed faults with lashes, confinement and chains. On some occasions I saw Indians working in chains...and I also saw them in stocks (Lugo [1877] 1950:226-227).

In addition, since the missions were very unhealthy places and the Indians, not surprisingly, were very depressed living there, their immune systems were reduced and often could not resist the new diseases introduced by Europeans. Syphilis may have been the most deadly of the new diseases, because it not only slowly killed adults, but also killed infants and led to sterility. A virulent form of syphilis was spread by Spanish soldiers to Indian women early on (Sandos 2004:115-127). Colonial officials spoke against the common practice of soldiers assaulting Indian women, which the scholar Sherburne Cook called "notorious," but they never instituted effective deterrents (Cook 1943a:24-25). California mission founder Father Junipero Serra himself stated that some of the Spanish soldiers were so evil that sometimes "...even the children who came to the mission were not safe from their baseness"(in Tibesar 1955:362-363). Cook concluded that it is:

> clear that from the time the Spanish first set foot in California there was ample opportunity for the introduction of syphilis to the native population, not at one but at many places. Indeed, since there were soldiers stationed at every mission, since the troops were continually moving around from one place to another, and since this military group was itself generously infected, the introduction may be regarded as wholesale and substantially universal (Cook 1943a:25).

Beginning in 1793-1794, the reports of Spanish officials frequently mention syphilis as a serious health problem. As time went on and the mission population was increasingly saturated with chronic venereal disease, the Indians easily succumbed to the maladies which arrived all too regularly—measles, dysentery, typhoid, tuberculosis, typhus and pneumonia. Since huge numbers were dying of disease at the missions, the missionaries seldom faced the need, after 1798, to build new mission facilities to house the new tribal people their Christian Indian evangelists were constantly recruiting from greater and greater distances.

About 85,000 Indians were baptized in the missions during 1769-1834, but so many died or ran away that there were only 15,000 left in the mission system in 1834 (Hornbeck 1983:48-49). As the free Indians near the missions were depleted, the Spanish had to go further and further east into the interior of California, the Central Valley and the Sierra foothills to find new converts. Indians in places remote from the missions had more options and were thus more reluctant to come to live in a distant and alien institution. Indians who came from these distant areas could and did escape from the missions and return to their homelands. Some of them actively resisted Mission Indian envoys

sent to bring them back. Such actions led to Spanish military raids with devastating results for the defenders of the fugitives. Many Central Valley local tribes arrived *en masse* at the missions within a year or two after such Spanish attacks.

One effect of cheap Indian slave/peon labor was the almost total lack of technological advances during the entire Mission Period. Even though windmills and water-powered mills were well known to the Spanish and Mexicans, these labor-saving devices were almost entirely missing from the early California economy. As was the case for other similar economies in the historical past, there was no incentive for technological innovation.

Mission Social Formation: A Special Form of Peonage

Since Indians were at the bottom of a rigid caste system from which there was no legal escape, and because their labor was forced, the system was labeled by contemporary observers, as well as later scholars, as "slavery" or "practical slavery" (Bannon 1964:191; Archibald 1978:181; Hittell 1885 II:59, 77, 210; Caughey 1940:193). For example, Jean F. La Perouse, a French visitor to the missions in the 1780s concluded that even by this early date the California missions were all too much like the slave plantations of Santo Domingo (La Perouse [1786] 1989:41, 81). The 1997 *Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery* pointed out that Mission Indians were held in "virtual slavery...were tied to the mission lands...and had every aspect of their lives controlled by the priests" (Rodriguez 1997:605).

The Indians were not bought and sold, however, as slaves usually were. So the concept of peonage is needed to fully understand the mission labor system. In a sense the Indians became debt peons when they joined the missions, except this debt was religious, not monetary. One scholar recently argued that the Indians in the mission system had the status of spiritual debt peons (Sandos 2004:178-179).

The mission system was thus a form of class exploitation which tried to morally justify itself in two key ways. The first justification was a paternalism under which the Indian was seen as a perpetual child, who always needed the assistance of the "people of reason". Under this paternalism the forced labor of Indians was viewed as a fair return for the mission's protection, direction and for the new goods and foods it offered. This paternalism represented an attempt to overcome one of the fundamental contradictions of the mission system—the impossibility of the mission Indian slave/peon ever becoming what he or she was supposed to become—an independent citizen equal to a 'person of reason'. (As a perpetual child, the Indian never had this chance so long as he or she stayed in the mission and obeyed, as so many did.)

The second justification for the mission system was that mission lands and property were being held in trust as a community asset for all the Indians. While many of the priests were undoubtedly sincere, this concept was essentially a dead letter, since it was the king and later the Mexican state which actually held title. This left the way open to expropriate and distribute all mission property to leading official families during the 1830s (see text Chapter 8). A precedent had been set during the earlier period (1769-1832), when about 50 provisional land grants had been given, in scattered areas of California, to retired military men and their families (Hornbeck 1983:58).

In summary, the dominant social formation during the Mission Era can be characterized as a type of unfree labor system, best called the mission labor system, which was a combination of slavery and spiritual debt peonage where surpluses were coercively extracted from the Indian primary producer. This unpaid forced labor system operated within the context of a rigidly hierarchical caste system where colonial domination, racism, sexism, violence, and military force were constants. The two office holding groups, the ruling class of military officers and priests, directly benefited from the labor of tens of thousands of Indian slaves/peons, who were born, lived, worked and died in the missions, presidios and pueblos of early California.

Appendix D.
Race, Class, and Violence in the Early American Period (By Laurence H. Shoup)

In the late 1840s, the ex-Mission Indians of west-central California were beginning to rebound from the demographic disaster caused by the disease-ridden mission system. Although they occupied a low rung in the Rancho Period caste system (tribal Indians were seen as a still lower class or caste), their recognized skills made them an integral part of rancho society. Little changed in the first two years of United States occupation, 1846-1847. But news of the gold discovery of early 1848 led to the world-wide migration to California in 1849-1850. By 1850 California's population was well over 100,000. By 1852 it was over 200,000. California became a state in 1850, part of a United States that was arguing about the future of slavery, but which had no doubts about the manifest destiny of white America.

The early American period was certainly the most difficult period for tribal Indians of northern and eastern California. And it may also have been the most difficult time for the family groups of the mission areas as well. This appendix augments and amplifies Chapter 9's analysis of the attitudes and behaviors of the new American rulers that pushed California Indians to the margins of society after 1847. (Citations to tables, figures, and references in this appendix refer to materials within the main report.)

Race and Racialization

The newly arrived and dominant Anglo-Americans brought with them assumptions of white male superiority, with reciprocal racist conceptions toward people of color generally and Indian people specifically. America in the 19th century had a white supremacist class system, a sociopolitical construction based on racial as well as economic hierarchies. Those defined as European-Americans ("whites") served as the elite or ruling class over all other people. Whereas whites were dominant, people of color were "racialized," seen as inferior, and denigrated, excluded, and exploited. They were outside the community and deprived of full social, economic and political rights. Those who were racialized, including American Indians, Asians, and Africans, had a different skin tone and culture than whites. Furthermore, the whites were, in general, socialized to feel and act superior, to control and even to terrorize non-white individuals and groups. One result was the rapid development after 1848 of a kind of double race/class structure in California (see Almaguer 1994, Heizer and Almquist 1971, Martinot 2003).

First, all whites were ranked above all people of color. Secondly, this double race/class structure also ranked people of color, with Indians at the bottom. Indians were, therefore, immediately categorized as inferiors outside of the new community the whites were creating. This ranking allowed any white to have control over and act with impunity toward any indigenous or other person of color. This created and reinforced an inner social cohesion and consensus in white society and opened the door to uncontrolled violence against any person of color (see Martinot 2003). Violence in effect became law and the racialized victims had no recourse since they were excluded both from the white community and full social, political and economic rights. Since whites were dominant, property, civil rights, security of the person, the right to have a family, and to have education and health care could be denied at the will of any white person with only one exception. This exception was if another powerful white person stood as a protector.

This new, highly racialized social structure of 1850s California can be contrasted with the earlier Mexican/Californio society. Indians in the 1840s, although they were peons and treated as inferiors and subordinates, were also accepted as a part of the community. They were members of the Catholic Church and were in relationships of reciprocity with those who ruled. The dominant socio-economic system of the 1840s Rancho Era can be called a "padrone" system, characterized by reciprocal obligations and relationships between padrone and peon within a very unequal but unitary community. In exchange for the peon's labor, the padrone made sure each peon and his family had the minimum essentials of life. In the Mexican California of the 1830s and 1840s, color and genetic background played a subtle role, but all members of the community recognized mutual dependence within a single class structure. Race was not the central factor in people's very survival that it was soon to become.

New Class System under the United States

At the same time that the new system of racialization was being imposed, a new economic system was also being established, along with a closely related class system. This economic and class system stressed accumulation of capital and other property as the supreme goal of life. The purpose of institutional racism was to internally solidify white society by giving some preferential treatment to even the poorest of whites, as well as to foster rapid capital accumulation at the expense of everyone else, especially people of color. In contrast, many cultures, including Native American and early Christian, led lives in which sufficiency in material goods—both shared and communal—was the norm. This was, to an extent, reflected in the California mission and later ranchero society, where generosity toward strangers and leisure time activities like religious holidays and fiestas were an integral part of a shared locally centered life.

The new class system entered California with the Gold Rush. The dynamic, ever-expanding system called capitalism commodified everything in order to increase capital. The padrone system was overturned in favor of the cold consideration of profit and loss. Human relationships became largely an aspect of the market. The type of person who was born into or rose to the top of such a society had a certain mentality, one which by necessity turns away from human and ecological needs and focuses on the requirements of capital accumulation. The system imposed powerful norms of conduct upon the rich and those desiring to be rich, creating a moral universe within which behavior was shaped and given structure. The conduct of the "capitalists," those who succeeded in the capitalist marketplace of the time was characterized by a ruthless willingness to reduce people to the profitable and unprofitable and jettison the latter. As one chronicler of 1850s San Francisco put it:

> [San Francisco] ... is a place for work—real, useful, hard work... If lazy, or incapable of such work, the sooner the useless thing takes his departure, the better for himself and the place (Soule et al. 1855:423).

Those who got rich in California gradually coalesced into a class, a group of people with common relationships to each other and property. They also commonly perceived those outside their class as inferiors with fewer or, in the case of people of color, virtually no rights. Characteristic of the rising capitalist class of California was William Howard, who displaced San Mateo County Indians from lands that he claimed (see Chapter 9). Howard and many other white Californians used the ownership of property as a means of domination over other people, including Indians, disempowering and often destroying them. White supremacy and property shared a common conceptual framework—the right to exclude. Capitalist-based ownership of property allows the owner to exclude others from using it, and to employ the courts, police and military to enforce ownership rights, using violence if necessary.

Racialization and white supremacy also helped the rich neutralize the ongoing class conflict between landed and landless whites, since the confiscated lands of Indian peoples could be distributed to landless whites based on white skin privilege. This promoted a kind of class leveling and solidarity within white society at the expense of indigenous peoples. Racialization was thus fundamental to the organization of class in California and throughout the United States (see Martinot 2003).

Genocide and Enslavement

The specifics of the racialization system in California varied depending upon the marginalized group and its relationships with the powerful. The Chinese in California at this time were able to find work because they served as an efficient and inexpensive labor force for powerful combines like the Central Pacific/Southern Pacific Railroad and Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Despite having powerful protectors and defenders, they were subjected to all manner of discriminatory laws, random violence, exploitation, and expulsion from some areas. Chinese women were commonly bought and sold as servants and prostitutes in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

California Indians lacked powerful white defenders throughout the late nineteenth century. Their land was desired at the same time that their labor was not needed. This made them expendable. Yet at the beginning of the American Era, in 1848, Indians were still by far the largest non-white group in the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas. This made them the number one early target for racialization, discrimination, violence, enslavement and expropriation. White settlers had a strong economic interest in oppressing indigenous people, using violence to either enslave or exclude them, then seizing their land, resources and property. During roughly the same era, settler colonial systems worldwide carried out similar actions toward native people in places as diverse as Australia and South Africa, to cite but two prominent examples. The struggle over control of the land is a fundamental context for understanding Bay Area Indian history.

Throughout the 19th and well into the 20th century, the state and national governments facilitated this ongoing process against Indians through a series of laws and policies whose effect was to separate native people from their land and leave them landless, stateless, homeless, outside the larger community, and subject to the whim and caprice of the white population. California Governor Peter H. Burnett set the tone in January, 1851, when he said in his annual message: "... a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct..." (in Heizer and Almquist 1971:26).

Genocidal Attacks on Non-Mission Indians

The "war of extermination" that Governor Burnett spoke about had both extra-legal aspects (warfare and conquest), as well as legal aspects (discriminatory laws passed by legislatures and enforced by the courts and police). In parts of California to the north and east of the Bay Area, the

invasion of the European-Americans into tribal lands and the resulting destruction of Indian food sources and means of life frequently led to native resistance and conflict. Beginning in the 1850s and extending well into the 1860s and even 1870s, there were innumerable small but violent episodes of war and massacre between Native Americans and the newly arrived European Americans, with heavy losses on the Indian side (Forbes 1982:69).

The California state governments of the early 1850s officially encouraged settler wars of extermination against the tribal native peoples of northern and eastern California in order to sieze their land. (The Mission Indians, who had already lost their lands, remained near their Mexican patrons in the towns and on the titled ranches of the south and central Coast Ranges.) In some areas federal appropriations were handed out to pay for mass murder of Indians (Gottesman 1999:79). Often pay was unnecessary. John S. Hittell described a common pattern in 1869:

> The Indians were driven from their hunting grounds and fishing places by the whites, and they stole cattle for food; and to punish and prevent them from stealing, the whites made war on them...Such has been the origin of most of the Indian wars which have raged (Hittell 1869:388).

There was broad participation by the newly arrived population in this genocide, and government at all levels helped lead the attacks. As Jack Forbes points out, this

> makes the sequence of events all the more distressing since it serves to indict not a group of cruel leaders, or a few squads of rough soldiers, but, in effect, an entire people; for the conquest of the Native Californian was above all else a popular, mass enterprise (Forbes 1982:69).

And as H. H. Bancroft observed:

> The California valley cannot grace her annals with a single Indian war bordering on respectability. It can boast, however, a hundred or two of as brutal butcherings, on the part of our honest miners and brave pioneers, as any area of equal extent in our republic (Bancroft in Caughey 1940:381)

These wars of terror and massacre were usually small in scale because the tribal society of Northern California was local and decentralized. Due to the lack of large group cohesion inherent in their local tribe (tribelet) socio-political structure, and to a shortage of firearms, the Indians suffered from a consequent lack of numbers, firepower and mobility. These facts doomed their attempts to repel the invaders and protect their families, lands and rights. During the 1850s, they were killed by the thousands and had to flee either to remote and inhospitable places or accept life on a reservation.

Legalized Kidnapping and Enslavement

The racialized legal and political process, which promoted disempowerment, enslavement and genocide, included a series of 1850s and early 1860s laws passed by the California state legislature, backed up by court decisions. These laws resulted in the following impacts on California Indians:

- prevented Indians from testifying in court, becoming citizens, serving on juries or attending school
- gave whites the right to obtain and control Indian children as "servants"
- gave whites the right to contract with a county for the labor of any Indian convicted of a crime
- made a heavy monetary fine and up to 25 lashes the penalty for any Indian convicted of stealing a horse, cow or mule

- made the arrest and forced labor for the highest bidder for four months the penalty for any Indian found "strolling or loitering, begging or leading a profligate life"
- authorized the expenditure of the sum of $1.51 million during the 1850s (a huge sum for the time) for the "suppression of Indian hostilities"
- prohibited the transfer of firearms or ammunition to Indians
- authorized the indenture to whites of any "vagrant" Indian for "employment and training" up to the age of 40 for men and 35 for women (Heizer and Almquist 1971:39-64; Almaguer 1994:132-138; Williams 1939:68)

These laws allowed the enslavement of Indians all over California during the 1850s and 1860s, a practice which also extended to children.

Anthropologist and historian Sherburne Cook estimated that between three and four thousand Indian children were kidnapped and sold during the 1852-1867 years alone, along with an unknown number of Indian men seized for labor and Indian women taken for labor, concubinage and prostitution (Cook 1943b:61). It should be added that during the Rancho Era raiding had also taken place to kidnap Indians to use as servants/peons, but since demand was relatively low, sale was usually not the motivating force. Among the adults, women were especially at risk. As historian Tomas Almaguer points out:

> In the early 1850s, Indian women were routinely captured and either held as concubines by their kidnappers or sold to other white men for their personal use. One Anglo pioneer in Trinity County reported that traffickers of Indian women had even devised a system which classified them into "fair, middling, inferior, [and] refuse" categories of merchandise (Almaguer 1994:120).

After detailed study of white settler kidnapping and rape of Indian women, Cook concluded :

> There can be no question that crimes of violence perpetrated on Indian women by white men were numbered... very likely by thousands... indeed, it would not be overstating the situation to say that during the decade 1850-1860 no single squaw in northern California could consider herself absolutely safe from violence at the hands of white men (Cook 1943b:87).

The clear result of white attacks on Indian women was that by 1860 there were substantially fewer Indian women than men in every age group. As historian Albert Hurtado recently summed up:

> The Gold Rush was a deadly period for California Indians, male and female alike. During the 1850s their population declined from about 150,000 to 30,000, but Indian women evidently died at a more rapid rate than men, a circumstance that limited the ability of Indian society to recover demographic losses. The deficit of Indian women intensified competition for potential wives in some Indian communities (Hurtado 1999:89-90).

Serial indenture, a form of semi-slavery, was another product of the racialized legal system. The Los Angeles Indian "slave" mart of the 1850s was reported by early settler Horace Bell:

> These Indians were Christians, docile even to servility, and the best of laborers. Then came the Americans ... and the ruin of those once happy and useful people commenced. The cultivators of vineyards commenced paying their Indians with aguardiente, a veritable firewater and no mistake. The consequence was that on being paid off on Saturday evening, they would meet ... and pass the night in gambling, drunkenness and debauchery... By four o'clock on Sunday afternoon Los Angeles Street … would be crowded with a mass of drunken Indians, yelling and fighting. Men and women, boys and girls, tooth and nail ... frequently with knives,

but always in a manner that would strike the beholder with awe and horror.

> About sundown the pompous marshall, with his Indian special deputies, who had been kept in jail all day to keep them sober, would drive and drag the herd to a big corral in the rear of the Downey Block, where they would sleep away their intoxication, and in the morning they would be exposed for sale, as slaves for the week. Los Angeles had its slave mart...only the slave at Los Angeles was sold fifty-two times a year as long as he lived, which did not generally exceed one, two, or three years ... Those thousands of honest, useful people were absolutely destroyed in this way (Bell in Caughy and Caughy 1976:124-125).

Contemporary observers often conveniently claimed that this was not slavery but merely a kind of servitude, even though violence and murder were often involved in capturing the enslaved Indians, who were then sold. Thus government surveyor William H. Brewer could write in 1863 that:

> It has for years been a regular business to steal Indian children and bring them down to the civilized parts of the state, even to San Francisco, and sell them—not as slaves, but as servants to be kept as long as possible. Mendocino County has been the scene of many of these stealings, and it is said that some of the kidnappers would often get the consent of the parents by shooting them to prevent opposition (Brewer [1863] 1966:493).

In 1861 Indian Agent W. P. Dole was more blunt in his description of the practice of enslavement of Indians in northwest California:

> In the frontier portions of Humboldt and Mendocino Counties a band of desperate men have carried on a system of kidnapping for two years past. Indian children were seized and carried into the lower counties and sold into virtual slavery. These crimes against humanity so excited the Indians that they began to retaliate by killing the cattle of the whites. At once an order was issued to chastise the guilty.... A company of United States troops, attended by a considerable volunteer force, has been pursuing the poor creatures from one retreat to another. The kidnappers follow at the heels of the soldiers to seize the children, when their parents are murdered, and sell them to the best advantage (Dole [1861] in Cook 1943b:58-59).

When a relative few of these crimes reached the courts, the European-American perpetrators were invariably set free to prey on the innocent again (Cook 1943b:59-60).

Somewhat Improved Conditions after 1870

By the early 1870s there began to be some modifications of the 1850s and 1860s era system of oppressive and destructive racialization imposed on the Indian peoples. In 1872, for example, prior laws prohibiting Indians from testifying in court were repealed by omission from the newly codified set of California laws (Heizer and Almquist 1971:48; Rawls 1984:203-218). In 1879 Indians were also technically granted the right to vote, but this right was usually refused in practice, since a high level of reading and writing of English was required. Indians had to go to court in the second decade of the twentieth century to try to enforce this supposed right. In spite of minor modifications, the basic system of disenfranchisement continued in place in California well into the twentieth century.

Appendix E.
Ohlone/Costanoan Groups and Federal Recognition Process (By Beverly R. Ortiz)

The following is a chronological list (by date of intent to petition) of all Ohlone/Costanoan groups known to have applied for Federal recognition as of June 21, 1998, when the information was copied from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) website. The pertinent section of the BIA website is no longer available, due to pending legal action.

Costanoan Band of Carmel Mission Indians, Petition 110

c/o Anthony Miranda

Letter of Intent to Petition: 9/16/1988

Note: This effort was based, at least in part, on the research of tribal members Johnny and Delia Casados. It has since been refiled as Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe, Petition 143, according to the tribe's website (see below).

Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe, Petition 111

aka Costanoan Families of the San Francisco Bay; formerly Ohlone/Costanoan Muwekma Tribe

c/o Rosemary Cambra

Letter of Intent to Petition:	5/9/1989
Documentation received:	10/1/1995
BIA letter of previous recognition:	5/24/1996
Technical Assistance (TA) Letter from BIA Branch of Acknowledgement and Recognition:	10/10/1996
Response received:	11/14/1996 and 3/28/1997
TA letter:	6/30/1997
Partial response received:	1/16/1998

Note: In Fall 1981 Rosemary Cambra approached a professor at De Anza College and "asked for help to research her family history and write a small publication for her, her mother and children in order to know and appreciate their Ohlone heritage, since little has been made available to the general public and

schools" (Olsen et.al. 1985:2). This marked the beginning of an effort to seek federal recognition for The Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe, funded partially from Ohlone Families Consulting Services profits. In December of 1999, to expedite their petition, which was expected to take up to 20 years to complete, the Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe sued the Department of Interior/BIA in federal court to expedite their petition. Muwekma won their case in 2002, and the court ordered their petition fast tracked. The petition was analyzed and on September 9, 2002, Neal McCaleb, a Department of Interior Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs, denied it. McCaleb stated that the tribe failed to meet 25 CFR Part 83.7(a), 38.7(b), and 83.7(c), i.e., that it hasn't been identified as an Indian entity on a "substantially continuous" basis since 1927 (the year until it last had "unambiguous previous Federal Acknowledgment), and that it had not maintained a "continuous community" or "political influence or authority" over its members since 1927. McCaleb concluded that Muwekma "does not exist within the meaning of federal law." Muwekma responded that this was an unlawful political decision, and filed a still-pending suit in U.S. District Court. Their attorney also argued that the entire federal recognition process is grossly unfair, since it requires all tribes to document a continuous community during periods of history when both governmental and society-wide economic, social and cultural policies were stifling and/or destroying tribal identity, preventing the maintenance of the tribe (Maddox 1996; Harper et.al. 2000; Urbina 2001; Indianz.Com 2001; Darling 2002; *Oakland Tribune* 6/6/2002:Local 6; Reynolds 2005). For more about the tribe from its own perspective see electronic document www.muwekma.org.

Indian Canyon Band of Costanoan/Mutsun Indians, Petition 112

c/o Ann Marie Sayers

Letter of Intent to Petition: 6/9/1989

Documentation received: 7/27/1990

Obvious Deficiency (OD) Letter from BIA Branch of Acknowledgement and Recognition: 8/23/1991

Note: This petition has since been withdrawn. For more about this tribal organization from its own perspective see electronic document www.indiancanyon.org.

Amah/Mutsun Band of Ohlone/Costanoan Indians, Petition 120

c/o Irene Zwierlein

Letter of Intent to Petition: 9/18/1990

Note: The Amah/Mutsun Band received its impetus to form following a meeting about Indian housing programs attended by Irene Zwierlein and her brother in San Jose. Zwierlein's sister had spent years researching the family's genealogy. When Zwierlein and her brother's heritage was questioned at the meeting, she subsequently produced these genealogical documents, she was encouraged to "get your people together and do something for them." Zwierlein met with elder Joseph Mondragon, who organized a meeting with other elders from the San Juan Bautista vicinity, and the decision was made to develop a constitution and file a letter of intent to petition for recognition with the BIA (Zwierlein Interview 2003). In 2000, after new officers were elected by the Amah group at large, some tribal members (including Irene Zwierlein and Joseph Mondragon), chose to form a separate entity under the old officers, who retained the group's non-profit organization status as its founding officers. The group with the newly elected officers (Charlie Higuera as chair, succeeded by Valentin Lopez) renamed themselves the Amah Mutsun Tribal Band of Costanoan/ Ohlone Indians (Niekerk 2004:1A,6A; Tumgoren 2004a:1A,6A). For more information regarding the latter group from its own perspective, see www.amahmutsun.org. On August 31, 2003, Irene

Zwierlein (Interview 2003) submitted her tribe's petition for federal acknowledgement to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. On September 29, 2003, Zwierlein received a letter from R. Lee Flemming, Director of the Branch of Acknowledgement and Recognition, US Department of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs, stating that the Amah Mutsun petition had been placed on the "Ready, Waiting for Active Consideration" list by the BIA. The letter noted that the Amah Mutsun would be notified when their petition got on the actual "active consideration" list (copy of letter courtesy Irene Zwierlein).

Esselen/Costanoan Tribe of Monterey County, Petition 131

c/o Ms. Joan P. Denys

Letter of Intent to Petition: 11/16/1992

Withdrawn: 11/15/1996 (merged with another petitioner)

Note: This petition has been merged with petition 132.

Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation, Petition 132

c/o Ms. Loretta Wyer

Letter of Intent to Petition: 2/3/1992

Documentation received: 8/23/1995

TA letter: 5/21/1996

Note: For more about this tribe from its own perspective see electronic document www.esselennation.com.

Costanoan-Rumsen Carmel Tribe, Petition 143

c/o Tony Cerda

Intent to Petition: 8/24/1994

Note: In 1995 this tribe achieved non-profit status (Cerda 2002). For more about this tribe from its own perspective see electronic document www.crc.nativeweb.org.

Costanoan Ohlone Rumsen-Mutsen Tribe, Petition 147

c/o Patrick Orozco

Intent to Petition: 12/7/1994

Partial documentation received: 1/26/1995

Limited TA letter: 3/14/1995

Note: This petition is still active.

Appendix F: Multi-Page Tables Documenting the Indian Experience at the Ohlone/Costanoan Missions and Adjacent Missions to the North (By Randall Milliken)

This appendix contains 17 complex tables which cover seven themes relevant to the understanding of Ohlone/Costanoan history.

- Table F-1 presents an overview of the changing population size of each relevant mission from its foundation up through 1834.
- Tables F-2 to F-5 track the years of mission absorption of the specific local tribes that went to Mission Dolores. The separate tables track distinct language groups.
- Tables F-6 to F-13 show the dramatic yearly changes in the numbers of people (and population proportions) from various geographic and language groups at Mission Dolores up through the year 1817.
- Table F-14 lists the viable Mission Indian nuclear family groups at Mission Dolores from the 1820s through the early 1850s, with information about the varied geographic and language backgrounds of the family members.
- Table F-15 tracks Mission Dolores San Francisco Bay Costanoan, Bay Miwok, and Coast Miwok descendents who moved to other missions before 1834, together with information about their families at those missions, where relevant.
- Table F-16 documents marriages between local Indian people and Hispanic immigrants at Ohlone/Costanoan missions during the Mission Period and initial Rancho Period (up through 1839). It includes comparative information showing how few such marriages occurred, relative to the large numbers of exclusive Indian and exclusive Hispanic marriages.
- Table F-17 portrays a reconstructed census of Indians who may have been alive at Mission Dolores at the outset of secularization at the end of 1834.

List of Appendix F Tables

Table F1. Year-end Counts of Indian Residents from 1770 to 1834 at Missions that took in Ohlone/Costanoan Local Tribes.

Table F2. Yearly Tribal Baptisms of Local Tribes from San Francisco and San Mateo Counties at Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara.

Table F3. Yearly Tribal Baptisms of Costanoan and Bay Miwok-speaking Groups That Moved from the East Bay to Mission Dolores, and in Some Cases also to Mission San Jose (JO).

Table F4. Yearly Tribal Baptisms from Coast Miwok Groups at Missions Dolores, San Jose, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano.

Table F5. Yearly Baptisms of Patwin and Wappo Local Tribes and Regional Groups at Missions Dolores, San Jose, and San Francisco Solano, 1810-1834

Table F6. Change Over Time in the Yelamu population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

Table F7. Change Over Time in the Bay Shore Peninsula Population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans (Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin, Puichon, Olpen) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

Table F8 Change Over Time in the San Mateo Coast Population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans (Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, Oljon, Quiroste) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

Table F9. Change Over Time in the East Bay Population of San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoans (Huchiun, Huchiun-Aguasto, Carquin) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

Table F10. Change Over Time in the Population of Bay Miwoks (Saclan, Tatcan, Volvon, Chupcan) at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

Table F11. Change Over Time in the East Bay Population of Bilingual San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok Jalquins at Mission Dolores, 1778-1817.

Table F12. Change Over Time in the North Bay Population of Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

Table F13. Change Over Time in the Combined Patwins (Napa, Malacas, Suisun, Tolenas) and Wappo (Canicaymus) Populations at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Table F15. Mission Dolores Costanoan and Bay Miwok Descendants who moved to other Missions, together with their Families, as of 1834.

Table F16. Hispanic-California Indian Marriages at Central California Missions between 1773 and 1840.

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834.

Table F1. Year-end Counts of Indian Residents from 1770 to 1834 at Missions that took in Ohlone/Costanoan Local Tribes. (Missions are listed south-to-north, from the left.)

	Soledad	Carmel	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San Jose	Dolores	Total
1770	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
1771	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	21
1772	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	28
1773	-	154	-	-	-	-	-	154
1774	-	244	-	-	-	-	-	244
1775	-	250	-	-	-	-	-	250
1776	-	327	-	-	-	-	-	327
1777	-	440	-	-	41	-	32	513
1778	-	472	-	-	91	-	73	636
1779	-	457	-	-	111	-	126	694
1780	-	446	-	-	189	-	176	811
1781	-	412	-	-	243	-	204	859
1782	-	432	-	-	301	-	188	921
1783	-	614	-	-	338	-	215	1,167
1784	-	645	-	-	466	-	260	1,371
1785	-	711	-	-	475	-	250	1,436
1786	-	694	-	-	557	-	354	1,605
1787	-	707	-	-	647	-	426	1,780
1788	-	720	-	-	672	-	426	1,818
1789	-	732	-	-	787	-	429	1,948
1790	-	712	-	-	910	-	525	2,147
1791	9	770	-	86	957	-	590	2,403
1792	118	800	-	155	1,001	-	622	2,696
1793	213	835	-	233	1,062	-	711	3,054
1794	193	860	-	332	1,418	-	913	3,716
1795	240	876	-	507	1,541	-	872	4,036
1796	289	835	-	523	1,424	-	790	3,861
1797	322	832	86	491	1,360	33	710	3,834
1798	345	738	296	504	1,382	154	645	4,064
1799	444	720	347	478	1,343	189	603	4,124
1800	512	747	625	472	1,318	277	635	4,586
1801	565	705	766	442	1,322	460	778	5,038
1802	563	688	958	437	1,291	622	814	5,373
1803	627	591	1,017	437	1,271	729	1,051	5,723
1804	687	591	1,112	461	1,240	779	1,103	5,973
1805	688	587	1,112	481	1,469	809	1,139	6,285
1806	679	550	1,068	466	1,406	662	886	5,717
1807	651	562	1,072	474	1,401	637	828	5,625
1808	625	550	950	485	1,410	544	906	5,470
1809	595	533	902	442	1,398	571	1,010	5,451
1810	598	511	700	507	1,332	545	1,057	5,250
1811	575	485	666	462	1,371	961	1,214	5,734
1812	549	455	638	437	1,348	1,172	1,224	5,823
1813	547	448	633	398	1,347	1,151	1,205	5,729
1814	531	432	607	388	1,306	1,149	1,180	5,593
1815	500	423	580	368	1,306	1,298	1,113	5,588
1816	500	405	575	358	1,336	1,508	1,091	5,773
1817	527	402	608	408	1,336	1,576	1,060	5,917
1818	519	390	582	410	1,321	1,675	955 [a]	5,852

(continued)

Table F1. Year-end Counts of Indian Residents from 1770 to 1834 at Missions that took in Ohlone/Costanoan Local Tribes. (Missions are listed south-to-north, from the left.)

	Soledad	Carmel	San Juan Bautista	Santa Cruz	Santa Clara	San Jose	Dolores	Total
1819	417	397	660	381	1,313	1,670	898 [a]	5,736
1820	436	381	843	461	1,359	1,754	884 [a]	6,118
1821	450	374	1,098	479	1,388	1,754	1,228 [b]	6,771
1822	532	341	1,222	499	1,394	1,620	958	6,566
1823	506	317	1,248	474	1,395	1,746	208	5,894
1824	512	306	1,221	461	1,450	1,806	265	6,021
1825	454	295	1,166	429	1,403	1,796	238	5,781
1826	409	277	1,146	428	1,428	1,783	232	5,703
1827	373	275	1,108	410	1,462	1,800	241	5,669
1828	333	234	986	364	1,369	1,766	236	5,288
1829	327	233	969	333	1,269	1,641	229	5,001
1830	342	229	964	320	1,226	1,745	219	5,045
1831	336	209	928	298	1,184	1,886	210	5,051
1832	339	185	916	284	1,125	1,713	204	4,766
1833	348	183	888	235	1,096	1,456	138	4,344
1834	350	188	875	152	1,108	1,795	136	4,604

Note: [a] Milliken's database counts for Mission Dolores are presented here for the years 1818-1820, because the official year-end counts published by Bowman (1956) is artificially high through the inclusion of people also counted at Mission San Rafael;
[b] Milliken's database count for Mission Dolores is presented here for 1821, because the official year-end count of 1106 published by Bowman (1956) is artificially low, possibly through a double subtraction of people transferred to Mission San Rafael.

Table F2. Yearly Tribal Baptisms of Local Tribes from San Francisco and San Mateo Counties at Mission Dolores (FR) and Mission Santa Clara (CL).

	Bay Shore Groups								Pacific Coast Groups								Groups West of Santa Clara					
	Yelamu	Urebure	Ssalson		Lamchin				Aramai	Chiguan	Cotegen		Oljon				Puichon		Olpen		Quiroste	
	FR	FR	FR	CL	FR	CL			FR	FR	FR	CL	FR	CL			FR	CL	FR	CL	FR	CL
1777	27	4	-	-	1	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	3	-	-	-	-
1778	38	3	1	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-
1779	16	5	5	-	7	-			7	1	-	-	-	-			-	2	-	-	-	-
1780	9	4	21	-	-	-			3	-	-	-	-	-			-	1	-	-	1	-
1781	5	2	5	-	7	-			5	-	-	-	-	-			6	9	-	1	-	-
1782	7	12	7	-	4	-			2	-	1	-	-	-			1	7	-	-	-	-
1783	6	3	7	-		-			12	5	-	-	-	-			-	30	-	1	-	-
1784	16	5	8	-	3	-			5	7	1	-	-	-			-	18	-	-	-	-
1785	1	2	5	-	2	-			4	2	-	-	-	-			2	13	-	-	-	-
1786	8	-	47	-	7	-			9	11	7	-	10	-			1	27	1	-	-	-
1787	2	-	7	-	6	-			-	9	5	-	22	-			10	17	5	-	1	-
1788	-	-	1	-	1	-			-	-	1	-	1	-			2	27	1	-	1	-
1789	-	-	1	1	7	-			-	-	2	1	9	-			2	33	-	3	1	-
1790	-	-	27	-	53	2			-	1	1	1	1	1			23	25	1	12	-	14
1791	-	-	3	-	7	-			-	8	21	1	23	-			4	4	2	11	21	1
1792	-	-	5	-	17	3			-	-	-	-	32	5			4	24	3	26	13	12
1793	-	-	20	-	40	-			-	-	2	3	16	9			36	21	36	26	12	20
1794	-	-	2	-	9	6			-	-	-	8	1	5			5	45	13	57	-	89
1795	-	-	-	-	-	7			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	9	-	22	-	-
1796	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	3	-	-	-	-
1797	-	-	-	1	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	4	-	2	-	-
1798	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	3	-	-	-	1
1799	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	6	-	2	-	-
1800	-	-	1	1	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	18	-	-	-	-
1801	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	4	-	1	-	-
1802	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	1	-	-
1803	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	1	-	-	-	-
1804	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-			-	3	-	-	-	-
Subtotal	135	40	173	3	171	18			47	44	41	14	115	20			96	353	62	165	50	137
Total	135	40	176		189				47	44	55		135				449		227		187	

Note: People who were counted as "Unidentified Peninsula" in *Time of Little Choice* (Milliken 1995:270) have been tentatively assigned in this table to one local tribe or another through a variety of inferential techniques.

Table F3. Yearly Tribal Baptisms of Costanoan and Bay Miwok-speaking Groups That Moved from the East Bay to Mission Dolores (FR), and in Some Cases also to Mission San Jose (JO).

	Unknown	Chochenyo Costanoan		Bi-lingual		Bay Miwok								Karkin Costanoan
	Probable Huchiun	Huchiun	Huchiun-Aguasto	Jalquin/Irgin		Saclan		Ta:can		Volvon		Chupcan		Carquin
Year	FR	FR	FR	FR	JO	FR	JO	FR	JO	FR	JO	FR	JO	FR
1779	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
1780	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1781	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1782	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1783	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1784	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1785	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1786	9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1787	1	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
1788	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1789	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1790	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1791	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1792	2	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1793	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1794	24	165	-	-	-	65	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1795	5	5	-	-	-	78	-	8	-	-	-	2	-	3
1796	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1797	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1798	-	-	-	-	2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1799	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1800	-	14	-	-	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1801	-	65	-	26	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1802	-	5	-	46	66	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	4
1803	-	44	18	5	49	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
1804	-	5	-	-	14	1	-	127	-	2	6	12	1	7
1805	-	22	43	-	5	5	-	5	-	20	44	5	-	1
1806	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	32	-	1	-	-
1807	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-
1808	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	1
1809	-	-	23	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	99
1810	-	-	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	30	-	33
1811	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	63	-
1812	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
1813	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1814	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1815	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
Subtotal	70	384	95	77	152	168	3	157	4	54	54	87	66	149
Total	70	384	95	229		171		161		108		153		149

Table F4. Yearly Tribal Baptisms from Coast Miwok Groups at Missions Dolores (FR), San Jose (JO), San Rafael (RA), and San Francisco Solano (FS).

Community	San Francisco Bay Shore Communities				Pacific Coast Communities						Inland Sonoma County Communities				Yearly Count	Year
	Huimen	Tamal Aguasto	Omiomi	Alaguali	Guaulen	Olema	Echatamal	Echacolom	Segloque	Geluatamal	Chocuyen	Olompali	Petaluma	Licatiut		
Region	Richardson Bay	San Rafael	Novato Creek	Tolay Creek	Bolinas Bay	Olema Creek	Nicasio Creek	South Tomales Bay	North Tomales Bay	Bodega Bay	Sonoma Valley	San Antonio Creek	Petaluma	Bloomfield/ Cotati		
Year	FR	FR RA	FR JO RA	FR JO RA	FR	FR RA	FR RA	FR RA	FR RA	FR RA	FR JO RA FS	FR JO RA	FR JO RA FS	RA FS		
1783	2														2	1783
1784	3														3	1784
1785	0														0	1785
1786	7														7	1786
1787	5				1										6	1787
1788	0				0										0	1788
1789	1				0										1	1789
1790	5				0										5	1790
1791	3				0										3	1791
1792	0				0										0	1792
1793	0				0										0	1793
1794	16	2			1										19	1794
1795	30	11			0										41	1795
1796	1	0			0										1	1796
1797	0	0			0										0	1797
1798	1	1			0										2	1798
1799	0	0			0										0	1799
1800	6	36			14										56	1800
1801	46	15			21										82	1801
1802	12	51	2		22	3									90	1802
1803	13	96	8		41	56	21								235	1803
1804	3	1	0		0	1	0								5	1804
1805	0	4	0		7	44	0								55	1805
1806	5	4	2		0	4	7								22	1806
1807	0	0	0		0	33	0								33	1807
1808	1	42	6		2	14	69	5							139	1808
1809	0	5	1		0	39	10	10							65	1809
1810	0	6	23		0	8	0	30		1					68	1810
1811	1	1	170	2	0	1	0	4		0		1			180	1811
1812	0	7	24	4	0		1	15		0		2			53	1812
1813	0	0	32	2	0			29	1	0		23			87	1813
1814	2	1	19	2	2			7	0	0	8	7	1		49	1814
1815			2	3				1	0	0	34 74	4	2 2		122	1815
1816			11 1	30 73				63	6	1	18	74 7	41 49		374	1816
1817			26	14 18		3	2	15 12	3 9		0	44 112 2	11 25 3		299	1817
1818		3	5	3		7	0	53	29	13	0 1	4 43	6 2	9	178	1818
1819		1	2			0	1	37	60	10	0 0	11	4	3	129	1819
1820		0	2			1	1	22	40	7	1 1	3	7	9	94	1820
1821		1	3			0		1	45	8	0	4	44	25	131	1821
1822			3			3		7	1	2	4	8	5	35	68	1822
1823								2	9	2			0	3	16	1823
1824								0	6	2	3		0 5	18 11	45	1824
1825								0	0	0			1	4	5	1825
1826								0	1	13				0	14	1826
1827								0	0	12				0	12	1827
1828								0	0	0				0	0	1828
1829								0	0	0				0	0	1829
1830								0	0	0				0	0	1830
1831								0	1	23				1	25	1831
1832								4		3					7	1832
Total	163	283 5	326 1 15	57 91 3	111	203 14	108 4	179 138	10 201	2 95	42 93 6 3	155 123 71	55 82 66 5	107 11	2828	
	163	288	342	151	111	217	112	317	211	97	144	349	208	118	2828	

Table F5. Yearly Baptisms of Patwin and Wappo Local Tribes and Regional Groups at Missions Dolores (FR), San Jose (JO), and San Francisco Solano (FS), 1810-1834.

	Napa		Suisun			Malaca			Tolena			Ululato			Canicaymo [a]	
Year	FR	JO	FR	JO	FS	FR	JO	FS	FR	JO	FS	FR	JO	FS	FR	JO
1808	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1809	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1810	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1811	2	-	71	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1812	8	-	57	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1813	1	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1814	16	26	21	-	-	-	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	9	-
1815	27	121	122	-	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	8	-
1816	-	7	18	-	-	5	-	-	5	34	-	9	-	-	2	-
1817	-	2	2	-	-	23	-	-	-	17	-	5	-	-	-	-
1818	-	7	3	-	-	19	-	-	-	1	-	0	-	-	-	2
1819	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	0	-	-	-	-
1820	-	-	2	-	-	8	-	-	1	63	-	3	-	-	-	8
1821	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	214	-	-	201	-
1822	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	-	-	7	-
1823	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1824	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	28	-	-
1825	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	2	-	-
1826	-	-	-	-	2	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	26	4	-	-
1827	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	2	4	-	-
1828	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
1829	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
1830	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1831	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1832	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	8	-	-	1	-	-	21	-	-
1833	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1834	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Subtotal	56	163	328	1	3	58	8	11	18	136	4	281	36	65	227	10
Total	219		332			77			158			382			237	

Note: [a] The term Canicaymo was a blanket label for the four most southerly Wappo-speaking local tribes – Caymos, Canijolmano, Huiluc, and Mayacma – by the Mission Dolores scribes. Wappo speakers baptized at Mission San Francisco Solano were identified with their specific local tribe names.

Table F6. Change Over Time in the Yelamu Population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group			50% In-group [a]				
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Year-end Total [b]	% of Mission Population
1777	27	1	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	81.3%
1778	38	2	62	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	84.9%
1779	16	6	72	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	72.5	64.2%
1780	9	4	77	5	2	3	0.5	0	1	81	50.9%
1781	5	10	72	2	0	5	0	0.5	0.5	77.5	44.0%
1782	7	10	69	3	1	7	1	0	1.5	77.5	41.2%
1783	6	2	73	0	1	6	0.5	0.5	1.5	80.5	37.4%
1784	16	7	82	2	0	8	2	0	3.5	93.5	36.0%
1785	1	9	74	3	2	9	1	2.5	2	85	34.0%
1786	8	3	79	2	1	10	2.5	0.5	4	93	26.3%
1787	2	4	77	6	2	14	2	1.5	4.5	95.5	22.4%
1788	0	0	77	2	3	13	3	1.5	6	96	22.5%
1789	0	3	74	1	0	14	3	2.5	6.5	94.5	22.0%
1790	0	3	71	3	3	14	3.5	3	7	92	17.5%
1791	0	2	69	0	1	13	3	0.5	9.5	91.5	15.5%
1792	0	7	62	2	1	14	2.5	4	8	84	13.5%
1793	0	4	58	0	1	13	2.5	1.5	9	80	11.3%
1794	0	4	54	2	2	13	2	2	9	76	8.3%
1795	0	8	46	1	2	12	2.5	2.5	9	67	7.7%
1796	0	5	41	1	0	13	1.5	3.5	7	61	7.7%
1797	0	6	35	0	1	12	1.5	2	6.5	53.5	7.5%
1798	0	3	32	0	3	9	2.5	1	8	49	7.6%
1799	0	6	26	0	0	9	2	2.5	7.5	42.5	7.0%
1800	0	1	25	1	1	9	1	1.5	7	41	6.5%
1801	0	1	24	0	0	9	2	1	8	41	5.3%
1802	0	2	22	0	2	7	1	0.5	8.5	37.5	4.4%
1803	0	2	20	0	0	7	1	0.5	9	36	3.4%
1804	0	0	20	0	1	6	0.5	1	8.5	34.5	3.1%
1805	0	2	18	0	0	6	2.5	3	8	32	2.8%
1806	0	8	10	0	0	6	0	2.5	5.5	21.5	2.4%
1807	0	1	9	0	1	5	0.5	0.5	5.5	19.5	2.4%
1808	0	0	9	0	1	4	0.5	0	6	19	2.1%
1809	0	0	9	0	0	4	0.5	0.5	6	19	1.9%
1810	0	2	7	0	0	4	0	0.5	5.5	16.5	1.6%
1811	0	0	7	0	0	4	0	0.5	5	16	1.3%
1812	0	0	7	0	0	4	0.5	0.5	5	16	1.3%
1813	0	1	6	0	0	4	1	0.5	5.5	15.5	1.3%
1814	0	1	5	0	1	3	0.5	0	6	14	1.2%
1815	0	3	2	0	0	3	0	0	6	11	1.0%
1816	0	0	2	0	0	3	1	0.5	6.5	11.5	1.1%
1817	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0.5	6	11	1.0%
Total	135	133		36	33		52	46			

Note: [a] The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one Yelamu parent as 0.5 persons;
[b] The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" Year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" Year-end counts.

Table F7. Change Over Time in the Bay Shore Peninsula Population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans (Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin, Puichon, Olpen) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group			50% In-group [a]				
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Year-end Total [b]	% of Mission Population
1777	5	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	15.6%
1778	4	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	12.3%
1779	17	0	26	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	26.5	23.5%
1780	25	2	49	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	49.5	31.1%
1781	20	6	63	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	63	35.8%
1782	24	8	79	0	0	0	1	0.5	0.5	79.5	42.3%
1783	10	7	82	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0.5	82.5	38.4%
1784	16	8	90	4	1	3	3	0	3.5	96.5	37.1%
1785	11	12	89	3	1	5	1.5	2.5	2.5	96.5	38.6%
1786	56	12	133	0	0	5	1.5	1.5	2.5	140.5	39.7%
1787	26	12	147	3	2	6	2	1.5	3	156	36.6%
1788	5	10	142	6	3	9	3	0.5	5.5	156.5	36.7%
1789	12	7	147	4	3	10	3	2.5	6	163	38.0%
1790	105	9	243	3	1	12	2	3.5	4.5	259.5	49.4%
1791	15	20	238	3	5	10	4.5	1.5	7.5	255.5	43.3%
1792	33	27	244	3	2	11	2	2.5	7	262	42.1%
1793	99	35	308	12	11	12	2.5	2.5	7	327	46.0%
1794	29	42	295	6	4	14	2	3	6	315	34.5%
1795	0	58	237	4	8	10	3.5	2.5	7	254	29.1%
1796	0	32	205	1	4	7	0.5	2.5	5	217	27.5%
1797	0	19	186	7	6	8	4.5	3	6.5	200.5	28.2%
1798	0	21	165	7	3	12	3	2	7.5	184.5	28.6%
1799	0	13	152	6	8	10	4	4.5	7	169	28.0%
1800	1	8	145	7	5	12	4	4.5	6.5	163.5	25.7%
1801	0	6	139	2	5	9	4.5	3.5	7.5	155.5	20.0%
1802	0	32	107	3	6	6	3	1.5	9	122	14.4%
1803	0	6	101	2	2	6	2	1.5	9.5	116.5	11.1%
1804	0	10	91	2	3	5	2	2.5	9	105	9.5%
1805	0	6	85	2	2	5	3	3	9	99	8.7%
1806	0	14	71	0	1	4	1.5	5	5.5	80.5	9.1%
1807	0	11	60	2	1	5	2.5	1.5	6.5	71.5	8.6%
1808	0	2	58	1	1	5	2	1.5	7	70	7.7%
1809	0	5	53	0		5	0	1	6	64	6.3%
1810	0	2	51	0	1	4	1	1	6	61	5.8%
1811	0	2	49	0	1	3	0.5	0.5	6	58	4.8%
1812	0	3	46	0	1	2	1	1.5	5.5	53.5	4.4%
1813	0	0	46	0	0	2	1.5	2.5	4.5	52.5	4.4%
1814	0	2	44	0	0	2	2.5	1.5	5.5	51.5	4.4%
1815	0	5	39	0	0	2	1	1	5.5	46.5	4.2%
1816	0	5	34	0	0	2	0	1	4.5	40.5	3.7%
1817	0	3	31	0	0	2	2.5	1.5	5.5	38.5	3.6%
Total	513	482		93	91		79	73.5			

Note: [a]The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one bay shore Peninsula parent as 0.5 persons; [b]The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F8. Change Over Time in the San Mateo Coast Population of San Francisco Bay Costanoans (Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, Oljon, Quiroste) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group			50% In-group [a]				
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Year-end Total [b]	% of Mission Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
1779	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	7.1%
1780	4	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	7.5%
1781	5	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	9.1%
1782	3	2	17	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	17	9.0%
1783	17	2	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	32	14.9%
1784	13	4	41	0	0	0	1.5	0	1.5	42.5	16.3%
1785	6	10	37	3	2	1	1	0	2.5	40.5	16.2%
1786	37	4	70	2	0	3	1.5	1.5	2.5	75.5	21.3%
1787	39	6	103	3	1	5	1.5	1.5	2.5	110.5	25.9%
1788	3	10	96	2	1	6	1	0	3.5	105.5	24.8%
1789	12	9	99	1	3	4	1.5	2	3	106	24.7%
1790	4	7	96	3	2	5	2	1.5	3.5	104.5	19.9%
1791	74	15	155	1	2	4	2.5	1	5	164	27.8%
1792	44	39	160	2	4	2	1	2	4	166	26.7%
1793	64	35	189	2	0	4	1	1.5	3.5	196.5	27.6%
1794	1	49	141	5	4	5	1.5	2	3	149	16.3%
1795	0	24	117	1	2	4	3	2	4	125	14.3%
1796	0	13	104	0	1	3	0.5	2	2.5	109.5	13.9%
1797	0	15	89	3	0	6	1	1.5	2	97	13.7%
1798	0	9	80	2	1	7	1	1	2	89	13.8%
1799	0	6	74	0	0	7	0.5	1	1.5	82.5	13.7%
1800	0	3	71	1	0	8	1	1	1.5	80.5	12.7%
1801	0	1	70	1	1	8	0.5	0.5	1.5	79.5	10.2%
1802	0	14	56	1	1	8	0.5	0	2	66	7.8%
1803	0	2	54	1	0	9	0.5	0	2.5	65.5	6.2%
1804	0	4	50	0	1	8	0	0.5	2	60	5.4%
1805	0	5	45	2	2	8	0.5	1	1.5	54.5	4.8%
1806	0	6	39	0	1	7	0.5	1	1	47	5.3%
1807	0	10	29	0	0	7	1.5	1	1.5	37.5	4.5%
1808	0	0	29	0	0	7	1.5	0.5	2.5	38.5	4.2%
1809	0	0	29	0	0	7	0	1	1.5	37.5	3.7%
1810	0	0	29	0	0	7	0	0	1.5	37.5	3.5%
1811	0	1	28	0	1	6	0.5	0	2	36	3.0%
1812	0	1	27	0	0	6	0	0	2	35	2.9%
1813	0	0	27	0		6	0.5	0	2.5	35.5	2.9%
1814	0	2	25	0	0	6	0	0	2.5	33.5	2.8%
1815	0	2	23	0	0	6	0	0	2.5	31.5	2.8%
1816	0	2	21	0	1	5	0.5	0.5	2.5	28.5	2.6%
1817	0	2	19	0	0	5	1	1	2.5	26.5	2.5%
Total	334	315		36	31		31.5	29			

Note: [a] The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one San Mateo Coast parent as 0.5 persons; [b] The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F9. Change Over Time in the East Bay Population of San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoans (Huchiun, Huchiun-Aguasto, Carquin) at Mission Dolores, 1777-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group		Year-end	50% In-group [a]		Year-end	Year-end	% of Mission
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Total [b]	Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
1779	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1.8%
1780	10	1	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	6.9%
1781	4	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	8.0%
1782	4	0	18	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	18.5	9.8%
1783	1	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	19.5	9.1%
1784	3	1	21	2	2	0	0.5	0	1	22	8.5%
1785	1	4	18	0	0	0	0.5	0	1.5	19.5	7.8%
1786	10	0	28	0	0	0	1.5	1	2	30	8.5%
1787	12	2	38	1	0	1	1.5	1.5	2	41	9.6%
1788	1	0	39	0	0	1	2	1	3	43	10.1%
1789	1	0	40	2	1	2	0.5	2	1.5	43.5	10.1%
1790	0	0	40	0	0	2	4	2.5	3	45	8.6%
1791	12	2	50	0	0	2	2	1.5	3.5	55.5	9.4%
1792	35	4	81	1	0	3	2.5	3	3	87	14.0%
1793	1	7	75	2	1	4	2.5	0.5	5	84	11.8%
1794	187	5	257	4	1	7	2.5	3	4.5	268.5	29.4%
1795	11	63	205	1	7	1	2.5	2	5	211	24.2%
1796	2	10	197	3	1	3	1.5	2	4.5	204.5	25.9%
1797	2	23	176	5	4	4	2	1.5	5	185	26.1%
1798	0	17	159	7	5	6	3	1	7	172	26.7%
1799	0	7	152	4	3	7	3.5	4.5	6	165	27.4%
1800	14	13	153	5	3	9	3.5	3.5	6	168	26.5%
1801	69	16	206	7	5	11	4.5	2.5	8	225	28.9%
1802	9	20	195	7	4	14	3.5	4	7.5	216.5	25.6%
1803	64	20	239	5	5	14	2	2	7.5	260.5	24.8%
1804	16	19	236	7	5	16	2	2	7.5	259.5	23.5%
1805	66	30	272	6	8	14	2	2	7.5	293.5	25.8%
1806	3	85	190	0	6	8	0.5	3	5	203	22.9%
1807	0	20	170	3	3	8	1.5	1.5	5	183	22.1%
1808	11	17	164	2	2	8	2	1.5	5.5	177.5	19.6%
1809	124	24	264	2	0	10	2	1	6.5	280.5	27.8%
1810	39	38	265	8	4	14	5	2.5	9	288	27.2%
1811	2	28	239	9	6	17	2.5	2.5	9	265	21.8%
1812	3	34	208	10	6	21	6	4	11	240	19.6%
1813	2	11	199	3	3	21	3.5	3.5	11	231	19.2%
1814	1	12	188	6	8	19	3.5	3.5	11	218	18.5%
1815	0	22	166	7	13	13	3	2	12	191	17.2%
1816	0	27	139	5	8	10	2.5	4	10.5	159.5	14.6%
1817	0	16	123	5	4	11	1.5	2.5	9.5	143.5	13.5%
Total	722	599		129	118		84	74.5			

Note: [a]The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one East Bay Costanoan parent as 0.5 persons; [b]The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F10. Change Over Time in the Population of Bay Miwoks (Saclan, Tatcan, Chupcan, Volvon) at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group		Year-end	50% In-group [a]		Year-end	Year-end	% of Mission
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Total [b]	Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1779	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.9%
1780	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1781	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1782	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1783	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1784	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1786	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1787	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1788	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1789	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1790	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1791	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1792	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1793	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.1%
1794	66	0	67	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	67.5	7.4%
1795	89	26	130	2	2	0	0	0.5	0	130.0	14.9%
1796	0	13	117	0	0	0	0	0	0	117.0	14.8%
1797	0	5	112	1	1	0	0	0	0	112.0	15.8%
1798	8	8	112	0	0	0	0	0	0	112.0	17.4%
1799	1	5	108	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	108.0	17.9%
1800	3	13	98	2	1	1	0.5	0.5	0	99.0	15.6%
1801	2	5	95	5	5	1	1.5	1	0.5	96.5	12.4%
1802	4	12	87	1	0	2	1	0.5	1	90.0	10.6%
1803	1	5	83	3	3	2	1	0.5	1.5	86.5	8.2%
1804	141	21	203	4	3	3	2	0	3.5	209.5	19.0%
1805	35	22	216	6	2	7	2.5	2.5	3.5	226.5	19.9%
1806	47	58	205	4	5	6	2.5	3.5	2.5	213.5	24.1%
1807	0	27	178	5	4	7	2	2	2.5	187.5	22.6%
1808	1	27	152	7	7	7	2.5	0.5	4.5	163.5	18.0%
1809	11	17	146	5	3	9	0	0.5	4	159.0	15.7%
1810	34	18	162	3	2	10	3.5	1	6.5	178.5	16.9%
1811	28	22	168	0	2	8	1	2	5.5	181.5	15.0%
1812	1	16	153	7	8	7	3	2.5	6	166.0	13.6%
1813	0	17	136	5	2	10	2.5	2	6.5	152.5	12.7%
1814	0	16	120	2	8	4	3	1.5	8	132.0	11.2%
1815	1	24	97	5	3	6	2.5	4	6.5	109.5	9.8%
1816	0	16	81	5	7	4	2	0.5	8	93.0	8.5%
1817	1	10	72	2	2	4	1.5	1.5	8	84.0	7.9%
Total	476	404		74	70		35.5	27.5			

Note: [a]The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one Bay Miwok parent as 0.5 persons; [b]The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F11. Change Over Time in the East Bay Population of Bilingual San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok Jalquins at Mission Dolores, 1778-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
			Year-end	100% In-group		Year-end	50% In-group [a]		Year-end	Year-end	% of Mission
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Count	Total [b]	Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1778	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	1.4%
1779	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.9%
1780	0	0	1	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	1.5	0.9%
1781	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	1.5	0.9%
1782	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	1.0	0.5%
1783	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.9%
1784	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.8%
1785	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.8%
1786	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.6%
1787	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1788	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1789	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1790	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1791	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.0	0.2%
1792	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1793	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1794	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1795	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1796	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1797	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1798	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1799	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1801	26	0	26	1	1	0	0	0	0	26.0	3.3%
1802	46	5	67	1	0	1	0.5	0	0.5	68.5	8.1%
1803	5	8 [a]	64	2	2	1	0.5	0.5	0.5	65.5	6.2%
1804	0	11	53	1	1	1	0	0	0.5	54.5	4.9%
1805	0	7	46	0	1	0	0	0.5	0	46.0	4.0%
1806	0	8 [a]	38	0	0	0	1	1	0	38.0	4.3%
1807	0	6	32	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	32.0	3.9%
1808	0	4 [a]	28	2	1	1	1	0.5	0.5	29.5	3.3%
1809	0	1	27	0	1	0	0	0.5	0	27.0	2.7%
1810	0	2	25	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	25.0	2.4%
1811	0	2 [a]	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	23.0	1.9%
1812	0	2	21	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	21.5	1.8%
1813	0	1	20	0	0	0	1.5	1	1	21.0	1.7%
1814	0	0	20	0	0	0	0.5	1.5	0	20.0	1.7%
1815	0	5	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	15.0	1.3%
1816	0	5	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10.0	0.9%
1817	0	1	9	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	9.0	0.8%
Total	79	70		7	7		7.5	7.5			

Note: [a] The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one Jalquin parent as 0.5 persons;
[b] The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F12. Change Over Time in the Population of Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group			50% In-group [a]				
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Year-end Total [b]	% of Mission Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1779	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1780	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1781	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1782	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1783	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.0	0.9%
1784	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.0	1.5%
1785	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.0	1.6%
1786	7	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.0	3.1%
1787	6	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	17.0	4.0%
1788	0	1	16	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	16.5	3.9%
1789	1	1	16	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	16.5	3.8%
1790	5	0	21	0	0	0	0	0	0.5	21.5	4.1%
1791	3	0	24	2	1	1	0	0.5	0	25.0	4.2%
1792	0	1	23	1	1	1	0.5	0	0.5	24.5	3.9%
1793	0	0	23	1	1	1	0	0	0.5	24.5	3.4%
1794	19	2	40	0	0	1	0	0.5	0	41.0	4.5%
1795	42	14	68	3	3	1	0	0	0	69.0	7.9%
1796	1	12	57	1	1	1	0	0	0	58.0	7.3%
1797	0	11	46	2	1	2	0	0	0	48.0	6.8%
1798	2	5	43	2	1	3	0.5	0.5	0	46.0	7.1%
1799	0	0	43	1	2	2	1	1	0	45.0	7.5%
1800	56	8	91	2	3	1	0.5	0	0.5	92.5	14.6%
1801	82	8	165	7	4	4	1	1.5	0	169.0	21.7%
1802	90	20	235	14	6	12	2	2	0	247.0	29.2%
1803	236	49	422	7	5	14	1.5	1	0.5	436.5	41.5%
1804	5	46	381	15	18	11	1.5	1	1	393.0	35.6%
1805	55	47	389	17	13	15	1.5	1	1.5	405.5	35.6%
1806	22	130	281	10	20	5	0.5	2	0	286.0	32.3%
1807	33	23	291	7	3	4	0.5	0	0.5	295.5	35.7%
1808	139	31	399	9	4	10	0.5	0.5	0.5	409.5	45.2%
1809	65	49	415	12	13	3	1	0.5	1	419.0	41.5%
1810	68	63	420	14	9	15	1.5	1	1.5	436.5	41.3%
1811	180	77	523	23	14	24	1	0.5	2	549.0	45.2%
1812	53	55	521	22	21	25	2.5	1	3.5	549.5	44.9%
1813	87	79	529	22	21	26	1	2	2.5	557.5	46.3%
1814	49	61	517	17	18	25	2.5	2	3	545.0	46.2%
1815	45	114	448	19	22	22	1	1.5	2.5	472.5	42.5%
1816	228	161	515	18	23	17	2.5	3.5	1.5	533.5	48.9%
1817	113	128	500	15	17	15	1.5	1.5	1.5	516.5	48.7%
Total	1,697	1,197		263	245		26.5	25			

Note: [a] The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one Coast Miwok parent as 0.5 persons; [b] The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F13. Change Over Time in the Combined Patwins (Napa, Malacas, Suisun, Tolenas) and Wappo (Canicaymus) Populations at Mission Dolores, 1779-1817.

	Tribally-born People			Mission Descendants						Total Group	
				100% In-group			50% In-group [a]				
Year	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Baptisms	Deaths	Year-end Count	Year-end Total [b]	% of Mission Population
1777	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1778	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1779	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1780	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1781	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1782	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1783	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1784	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1786	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1787	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1788	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1789	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1790	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1791	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1792	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1793	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1794	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1795	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1796	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1797	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1798	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1799	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1800	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1801	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1802	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1803	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1804	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1805	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1806	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1807	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1808	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0%
1809	1	0	1	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	1.5	0.1%
1810	20	1	20	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	20.0	1.9%
1811	71	3	88	1	1	0	1	0	1	89.0	7.3%
1812	79	24	143	8	3	5	0.5	1	0.5	148.5	12.1%
1813	9	14	138	2	4	3	3	0.5	3	144.0	12.0%
1814	51	24	165	5	4	4	3.5	3	3.5	172.5	14.6%
1815	168	85	248	5	7	2	1.5	3	2	252.0	22.6%
1816	43	62	229	5	3	4	2	2.5	1.5	234.5	21.5%
1817	35	45	219	3	3	4	1	1.5	1	224.0	21.1%
Total	477	258		29	25		13	12			

Note: [a] The birth and death columns labeled "50% in-group count each individual mission-born child that has only one Wappo or Patwin parent as 0.5 persons; [b] The "Year-end total" column includes whole persons from the "Tribally-born" and "100% In-Group Mission Descendants" year-end counts, along with total "half persons" from the "50% In-group" year-end counts.

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 1							
FR-M 1257	husband	FR-B 3211	10/11/1805		Barsabas	-	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
06/02/1810	wife	FR-B 3833	12/12/1809		Maria Guadalupe	03/10/1834	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
	child	FR-B 4412	08/15/1811	M	Mariano dela Asumcion	09/15/1813	
	child	FR-B 4850	07/21/1814	M	Barsabas	07/09/1816	
	child	FR-B 5690	06/09/1817	F	Columba	09/19/1818	
	child	FR-B 5841	12/11/1819	F	Mercuria	06/18/1822	
	child	FR-B 6484x	03/01/1825	M	Antonio	03/07/1825	
	child	FR-B 6488	01/24/1826	F	Antonia	-	
	child	FR-B 6529	04/26/1830	M	Juan de la Cruz	-	
Family 2							
FR-M 1276	husband	FR-B 2175	03/03/1801		Pantaleon	-	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
10/01/1810	wife	FR-B 3830	12/12/1809		Caridad	-	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
	child	FR-B 4422	09/23/1811	F	Tecla	01/19/1814	
	child	FR-B 4746	06/13/1813	F	Antonia de Padua	06/16/1813	
	child	FR-B 4897	10/15/1814	M	Calixto	03/16/1816	
	child	FR-B 5698	07/21/1817	F	Liberata	-	
	child	FR-B 5871	04/17/1820	M	Feliciano [alias Felix]	11/08/1836	
	child	FR-B 6463	02/28/1823	M	Tomas	-	
	child	FR-B 6485	03/07/1825	M	Domingo	-	
	child	FR-B 6499	03/20/1827	F	Andrea	10/26/1850	
	child	FR-B -*	-	F	Josefa	04/14/1831	
Family 3							
FR-M 1514	husband	FR-B 3102	02/28/1805		Tiberio	-	Guaulen Coast Miwok
09/07/1813	wife	FR-B 4272	04/13/1811		Toribia	05/12/1829	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5678	05/03/1817	F	Josefa de la Cruz	05/09/1817	
	child	RA-B 205	10/25/1818	M	Fruto	-	
	child	RA-B 326	10/27/1819	M	Serafino	07/21/1821	
	child	FR-B 6393	04/06/1822	M	Francisco Antonio	-	
	child	FR-B 6482	08/01/1824	M	Bernardo	08/14/1824	
Family 4							
FR-M 1604	husband	FR-B 189	10/22/1780		Miguel Jacobo	-	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
07/13/1815	wife	FR-B 3840	12/12/1809		Columba	11/26/1833	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
	child	FR-B 5715	09/11/1817	F	Jacinta	11/20/1817	
	child	FR-B 5828	10/14/1819	M	Juan Nepomuceno	10/20/1819	
	child	FR-B 5917	05/18/1821	M	Crispin	-	
	child	FR-B 6484	01/14/1825	M	Francisco Solano	10/16/1826	
Family 5							
FR-M 1685	husband	FR-B 3072	11/10/1804		Faustino	10/08/1826	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
01/09/1817	wife	FR-B 2697	03/05/1803		Saula	-	Olema Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5768	05/26/1818	F	Urbana	05/31/1818	
	child	FR-B 5844	12/29/1819	M	Juan Evangelista	-	
	child	FR-B 6331	11/21/1821	F	Maria Eulalia	11/30/1821	
	child	FR-B 6474	07/22/1823	F	Antonia	08/14/1823	
	child	FR-B 6490	03/23/1826	M	Benito Carranza	11/20/1827	
Family 6							
FR-M 1698	husband	FR-B 4482	04/03/1812		Paulino	07/05/1837	Omiomi Coast Miwok
02/08/1817	wife	FR-B 3409	07/14/1807		Lucia	-	Olemoloque Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5795	11/26/1818	M	Pedro de Alexandria	11/27/1818	
	child	FR-B 5887	06/24/1820	F	Wilibrorda	-	
	child	FR-B 6479	02/04/1824	M	Jose Antonio	-	

(continued)

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 7							
FR-M 1729	husband	FR-B 3172	09/23/1805		Zoylo Guaica	-	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
03/11/1817	wife	FR-B 4267	04/13/1811		Lamberta Joboc	-	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5894	10/03/1820	F	Francisca	10/03/1820	
	child	FR-B 6389	03/05/1822	F	Maria Antonia	03/09/1822	
	child	FR-B 6465	03/26/1823	M	Teodorico	03/26/1823	
	child	FR-B 6512x	06/06/1828	M	Fernandino	04/22/1828	
	child	FR-B 6532x	06/06/1831	M	Jose	04/19/1834	
	child	FR-B 7058	12/25/1836	F	Maria Francisca	-	
Family 8							
FR-M 1768	husband	FR-B 3747	07/03/1809		Evodio	-	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
04/27/1818	wife	JO-B 0218	10/12/1799		Maria del Pilar	-	Saclan Bay Miwok
	child	FR-B 6451	09/12/1822	F	Manuela	09/19/1822	
	child	FR-B 6483	11/15/1824	F	Francisca	-	
	child	FR-B 6506	01/10/1828	M	Francisco Solano	05/16/1829	
	child	FR-B '-*		M	Agaton	10/23/1830	
	child	FR-B 7014	07/26/1834	F	Maria Cristina	07/31/1834	
	child	FR-B 7052	09/17/1836	M	Crescenciano	-	
	child	FR-B 7123	04/07/1840	M	Jose Florentino	-	
Family 9							
FR-M 1769	husband	FR-B 1292	05/02/1793		Francisco de las Llagas	-	Acssagis Bay Costanoan
04/27/1818	wife	FR-B 3839	12/12/1809		Benita	03/15/1842	Huchiun-Aguasto Bay Costanoan
	child	FR-B 5808	03/18/1819	F	Salvadora	09/13/1819	
	child	FR-B 5885	06/12/1820	F	Antonia de Padua	-	
	child	FR-B 6458	10/26/1822	F	Francisca	07/01/1828	
	child	FR-B 6501	05/14/1827	M	Jose de los Reyes	-	
	child	FR-B 6522	06/05/1829	M	Jose Antonio	-	
	child	FR-B 6533	06/07/1831	F	Maria Presentación Carmen	-	
Family 10							
FR-M 1775	husband	FR-B 2661	02/22/1803		Nestor	-	Olema Coast Miwok
05/09/1818	wife	FR-B 3988	05/15/1810		Maxima	11/12/1838	[unknown] Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5867	03/16/1820	F	Maria Manuela	-	
	child	FR-B 6470	06/10/1823	M	Felipe Santiago	-	
	child	FR-B 6493	08/08/1826	F	Maria Antonia	-	
Family 11							
FR-M 1789	husband	FR-B 2135	02/13/1801		Juan Nepomuceno	05/30/1841	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
11/13/1818	wife	FR-B 3674	02/18/1809		Carlota	-	West Marin Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5839	12/02/1819	M	Tomas	12/07/1819	
	child	FR-B 5904	01/04/1821	M	Jose Oriol	01/09/1821	
	child	FR-B 6400	07/15/1822	F	Maria Encarnacion	07/23/1822	
	child	FR-B 6477	01/18/1824	M	Francisco Antonio	-	
	child	FR-B 6495	12/06/1826	F	Maria Teresa Jesus	-	
	child	FR-B 6515	12/01/1828	M	Miguel	08/21/1832	
	child	FR-B 6993	07/31/1833	M	Jose Ygnacio Refugio	-	
	child	FR-B 7111	01/26/1839	F	Paula	01/29/1839	
Family 12							
FR-M 1792	husband	FR-B 3847	12/23/1809		Ranulfo	-	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
11/13/1818	wife	FR-B 3823	12/09/1809		Magna	-	Carquin Karkin Costanoan
	child	FR-B 5836	11/29/1819	M	Diego	07/20/1841	
	child	FR-B 6466	03/27/1823	F	Antonia	-	
	child	FR-B 6525	03/14/1830	F	Margarita de Cortona	10/02/1835	
	child	FR-B 7007	04/14/1834	F	Maria Tiburcia	04/19/1834	
	child	FR-B 7050	06/24/1836	F	Margarita	07/04/1836	

(continued)

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 13							
FR-M 1796	husband	FR-B 410	01/30/1785		Pablo Ramos	-	Baja Calif./Yelamu Bay Costanoan
01/19/1819	wife	FR-B 4051	10/22/1810		Barbara	-	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5897	11/05/1820	F	Catarina Eulalia	11/11/1820	
	child	FR-B 6471	07/06/1823	F	Maria Basilia Carmen	11/09/1824	
	child	FR-B -*		F	Engracia	06/12/1826	
	child	FR-B 6500	04/28/1827	M	Jose Trinidad	-	
	child	FR-B 6523	06/12/1829	M	Jose Antonio Ramon	-	
Family 14							
FR-M 1799	husband	FR-B 0340	01/14/1784		Hilario	11/09/1830	Yelamu Bay Costanoan
01/19/1819	wife	FR-B 4265	04/13/1811		Antusa	-	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5878	05/17/1820	M	Pasqual	09/20/1820	
	child	FR-B 6327	12/11/1821	M	Francisco	-	
	child	FR-B 6482	09/03/1824	F	Dominga	-	
	child	FR-B 6508	01/20/1828	F	Juana Valesia	03/11/1846	
	child	FR-B 6517	05/07/1829	M	Luis	05/05/1829	
	child	FR-B 6527	06/24/1830	M	Juan Bautista [alias Pedro]	06/30/1830	
	child	FR-B 6528	06/24/1830	F	Rosalia [alias Paula]	06/24/1830	
Family 15							
FR-M 1807	husband	FR-B 4017	06/30/1810		Juan de Prado	-	Huchiun-Aguasto Bay Costanoan
06/09/1819	wife	FR-B 3737	06/29/1809		Paulina	07/13/1834	Carquin Karkin
	child	FR-B 5880	05/26/1820	M	Ysidro	08/28/1820	
	child	FR-B -*		M	Jose Antonio	04/30/1828	
	child	FR-B 6502	05/28/1827	M	Salvador de Horta	-	
	child	FR-B 6521	05/08/1829	M	Salvador	05/18/1829	
	child	FR-B -*		F	Maria Benvenuta	08/18/1834	
Family 16							
FR-M 1815	husband	FR-B 2729	05/31/1803		Sabel	-	Aguasto Coast Miwok
08/17/1819	wife	FR-B 4169	03/07/1811		Tomasa de Aquino	08/23/1838	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 6475	07/25/1823	F	Francisca Paula	-	
	child	FR-B 6497	01/14/1827	M	Agapito	02/20/1828	
Family 17							
FR-M 1821	husband	FR-B 5852	01/22/1820		Cenobio	12/05/1830	Ululato Patwin
01/22/1820	wife	FR-B 5855	01/22/1820		Cenobia	04/01/1832	Ululato Patwin
	child	FR-B 6461	11/05/1822	F	Venancia	-	
	child	FR-B 6494	11/04/1826	M	Jose Antonio	-	
Family 18							
FR-M 1828	husband	FR-B 3310	02/22/1806		Teodorico [at RA in 1830s]	-	Huimen Coast Miwok
05/18/1820	wife	FR-B 4166	03/02/1811		Alodia	-	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 5902	12/18/1820	F	Maria Expectacion	04/21/1823	
	child	FR-B -*		F	Francisca	12/01/1824	
	child	FR-B 6481	03/06/1824	F	Catarina	-	
Family 19							
FR-M 1848	husband	FR-B 0553	09/25/1786		Pedro Alcantara	-	Cotegen Bay Costanoan
11/13/1820	wife	FR-B 5025	03/02/1815		Crisanta	04/26/1843	Suisun Patwin
	child	-* -	-	M	Antonio	12/18/1825	
	child	-* -	-	F	Feliciana Valois	03/16/1830	
	child	FR-B 6504	05/30/1827	M	Fernandino [Bernardino]	-	
	child	FR-B 6524	03/14/1830	F	Maria de la Cruz	-	
Family 20							
FR-M 1963	husband	FR-B 861	10/31/1790		Elisio	-	Puichon Bay Costanoan
10/15/1821	wife	FR-B 3319	03/04/1806		Sincletica	12/31/1838	Tatcan Bay Miwok
	child	FR-B 6401	07/17/1822	M	Francisco Antonio	11/17/1822	
	child	FR-B 6482	10/01/1824	M	Alexando	10/12/1824	
	child	FR-B 6496	12/02/1826	F	Maria de la Concepcion	-	
	child	FR-B 6503	05/20/1827	F	Maria Josefa	-	

(continued)

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 21							
FR-M 2001	husband	FR-B 1434	11/15/1794		Celso	08/14/1844	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
06/22/1823	wife	FR-B 4805	03/27/1814		Petronila	12/08/1842	Tolenas Patwin
	child	FR-B 6489	02/13/1826	M	Leandro	04/04/1826	
	child	FR-B 6511	02/20/1828	F	Petra Alexandrina	05/04/1829	
	child	FR-B 6516	05/01/1829	F	[name missing in entry]	-	
	child	FR-B 7042	11/24/1835	M	Ponsiano Clemente	-	
	child	FR-B 7121	07/02/1839	F	Ysabel de la Visitacion	10/20/1840	
Family 22							
FR-M 2004	husband	FR-B 4900	12/09/1814		Ambrosio	-	Chucuyen Coast Miwok
02/09/1824	wife	FR-B 4625	12/21/1812		Cirila	04/03/1831	Chucuyen Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 6486	07/04/1825	M	Rafael	07/14/1825	
	child	FR-B 6498	02/04/1827	F	Antonia	-	
Family 23							
FR-M 2005	husband	FR-B 0518	03/17/1786		Aniceto	-	Yelamu Bay Costanoan
02/24/1824	wife	FR-B 4453	01/26/1812		Agustina [alias Justina]	-	Suisun Patwin
	child	FR-B 6510	02/04/1828	F	Rafaela	-	
	child	FR-B 6518	05/08/1829	F	Perpetua	05/08/1829	
	child	FR-B '-*		M	Tomas	01/30/1832	
	child	FR-B 6991	06/08/1832	F	Maria Trinidad Refugio	-	
	child	FR-B 7045	01/09/1836	M	Apolinario	01/13/1836	
	child	FR-B '-*		F	Ygnacia	02/19/1837	
	child	FR-B 7077	01/08/1838	M	Julian	01/12/1838	
Family 24							
No record	husband	FR-B 3432	08/12/1807		Teofilo	08/16/1844	Olema Coast Miwok
abt 1825	wife	FR-B 3766	07/04/1809		Teotima	-	Chupcan Bay Miwok
	child	FR-B 6487	01/15/1826	M	Jose Salvador	-	
	child	FR-B 6512	04/04/1828	M	Jose Guadalupe	-	
Family 25							
No record	husband	FR-B 0853	10/31/1790		Evencio	-	Puichon Bay Costanoan
abt 1826	wife	FR-B 2076	06/25/1800		Geronima	-	Saclan Bay Miwok
	child	FR-no entry	abt 1826	M	Pedro [20 at marriage in 1846	-	
	child	FR-B 6509	01/21/1828	F	Manuela	-	
	child	FR-B 6520	05/13/1829	M	Francisco Solano	-	
	child	FR-B 6526	03/16/1830	F	Maria Ygnacia	-	
	child	FR-B 7028	02/12/1835	M	Felipe de Jesus	-	
	child	FR-B 7091	06/07/1838	M	Bonifacio	-	
	child	FR-B 7131	11/15/1840	M	Lucas	02/24/1844	
	child	FR-B 7169	03/02/1844	M	Jose de Jesus	-	
Family 26							
FR-M 2022	husband	FR-B 1817	03/16/1795		Domiciano	11/23/1838	Huimen Coast Miwok
08/01/1827	wife	FR-B 4487	04/03/1812		Tecla	-	West Marin Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 6513	06/20/1828	M	Francisco de Paula	-	
	child	FR-B 6534	03/14/1832	F	Maria Gertrudis	-	
	child	FR-B 7093	06/14/1838	M	Feliciano	-	
Family 27							
FR-M 2028	husband	FR-B 5003	03/01/1815		Remigio	12/04/1842	Suisun Patwin
06/14/1830	wife	FR-B 4068	12/02/1810		Estefana [alias Luisa]	-	Chupcan Bay Mwk/Suisun Patwin
	child	FR-B 6530	04/28/1831	F	Maria de Jesus	-	
	child	FR-B 6535	06/01/1832	F	Maria del Rosario	-	
Family 28							
No record	husband	FR-B 2535	12/17/1802		Eloy	11/28/1838	Huimen Coast Miwok
abt 1831	wife	FR-B 4265	04/13/1811		Antusa	-	Omiomi Coast Miwok
	child	FR-B 6998	10/06/1833	F	Maria Francisca	10/12/1833	
	child	FR-B 7092	06/14/1838	F	Emiliana	07/04/1841	

(continued)

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 29							
CR-M 786	husband	CR-B 1837	10/11/1820		Francisco Borja [al. Llagas]		Tomoi Mutsun/Uypi Awaswas Cst
04/12/1833	wife	CR-B 1640	12/14/1816		Maria Concepcion		Tejey Yokuts
	child	CR-B 2222	06/08/1834	M	Jose Felix	-	
	child	CL-B 10294	03/25/1843	M	Jose Encarnacion	-	
	child	CR-B 2706	06/12/1844	M	Joaquin de la Cruz	-	
	child	FR-B 7227	08/23/1847	F	Maria Jesus de Gracia	-	
	child	CL-B 11055	07/27/1851	M	Jose de Refugio		
	child	FR-B 7362	12/19/1853	F	Maria Manuela	01/11/1853	
	child	FR-B 7396	03/26/1855	F	Maria Estefana	-	
Family 30							
FR-M 2137	husband	FR-B 4999?	03/01/1815		Samuel [at SFS in 1820s]	-	Suisun Patwin
01/23/1838	wife	FR-B 5861	02/07/1820		Siriaca [at SFS in 1820s]	-	Saclan Bay Miwok
	child	FR-B 7095	07/22/1838	F	Maria Magdalena	-	
	child	JO-B 7756	11/22/1839	F	Maria Regina Ludovina	-	
	child	FR-B 7142	06/03/1841	M	Andres	-	
Family 31							
FR-M 2143	husband	FR-B 2437	05/19/1802		Prudencio	05/03/1850	Huchiun Bay Costanoan
03/12/1840	wife	FR-B 4453	01/26/1812		Faustina [Agustina]	-	Suisun Patwin
	child	CL-B 10238	06/28/1842	F	Juana Rita	-	
	child	FR-B 7230	08/31/1847	M	Jose Crisanto	-	
Family 32							
FR-M 2147	husband	FR-B 2729	05/31/1803		Sabel	-	Habasto Coast Miwok
02/17/1841	wife	JO-B not identified			Bernarda	-	[unknown]
	child	FR-B 7162	02/12/1843	F	Maria Hilaria	10/01/1844	
	child	FR-B -*		M	Cipriano	10/01/1844	
Family 33							
FR-M 2148	husband	FR-B 5844	12/29/1819		Juan Evangelista of Family 5	-	Huch. Bay Cost./Olema C. Miwok
04/17/1841	wife	FR-B 6499	03/20/1827		Andrea of Family 2	10/26/1850	Huch. Bay Cost./Carq. Karkin Cst
	child	FR-B 7166	03/22/1843	F	Maria Benventura	-	
	child	FR-B 7209	06/13/1846	M	Jose Domingo	04/11/1855	
Family 34							
CL-M 2797	husband	FR-B 6504	05/30/1827		Bernardino Alcantara-Fam. 1	-	Cotegen Bay Cost./Suisun Patwn
04/18/1843	wife	CL-B 8599?	12/28/1833		Mariana [alias Maria]	-	"Tulares" (Albisu household)
	child	CL-B 10361	11/13/1843	F	Juana	11/16/1843	
	child	FR-B 7231	09/19/1847	M	Jose Francisco	-	
	child	CL-B 11071	11/16/1851	F	Maria Crisanta	-	
	child	FR-B 7371	03/17/1854	F	Maria Refugio Aniceta	12/20/1854	
	child	FR-B -	04/05/1858	M	Espiridion	-	
	child	FR-B -	04/22/1862	F	Maria	-	
Family 35							
Not found	husband	not identified			Jose Raymundo		[unknown]
in 1840s	wife	not identified			Maria Ignacia		[unknown]
	child	FR-B 7203	06/07/1846	M	Jose de los Santos	-	
	child	FR-B 7261	10/25/1849	M	Jose Silvistre	-	
Family 36							
CL-M 2874	husband	FR-B 6477	01/18/1824		Francisco Antonio of Fam. 11	-	Huchiun Bay Cost./Coast Miwok
02/12/1846	wife	FS-B 1324	06/14/1835		Marina		Ollatoy [Patwin or Nisenan]
	child	FR-B 7255	03/04/1849	M	Jose Francisco	-	
	child	FR-B 7316	04/14/1852	M	Jose Francisco	-	
Family 37							
FR-M 2157	husband	FR-B 6507	01/12/1828		Juan Agustin	-	Saclan/Chupcan Bay Miwok
06/20/1846	wife	RA-B 1924	03/04/1840		Maria Raymunda Guadalupe	-	Satiyomi [Pomo]
	child	FR-B 7228	08/23/1847	M	Juan Bautista	-	
	child	FR-B 7300	10/07/1851	M	Felipe Jesus Isidro	10/02/1852	
	child	FR-B 7380	07/19/1854	M	Jose Antonio Guadalupe	-	
	child	FR-B -	01/07/1857	M	Juan Agustin	-	

(continued)

Table F14. Mission Dolores Nuclear Families with Two or More Children during the 1820s through 1850s.

Marriage # and Date	Status	Baptismal #	Date of Baptism	Sex	Spanish Personal Name	Date of Death	Parent's Group and Language
Family 38							
FR-M 2162	husband	FR-no entry	abt 1826		Pedro Evencio of Family 25	-	Puichon Bay Cost./Saclan Miwok
12/17/1846	wife	FS-B 1166	06/13/1834		Pastora	-	Churuptoy Patwin
	child	FR-B 7310	05/25/1852	F	Maria Benita	-	
	child	FR-B 7425	02/23/1856	F	Maria Jesus Brigida		
	child	FR-B -	07/04/1858	M	Pedro Domingo	-	
	child	FR-B -	08/03/1862	F	Catarina Angelisum	-	
Family 39							
Not found	husband	not identified			Jose Isidro		[unknown]
in 1840s	wife	not identified			Maria del Refugio		[unknown]
	child	FR-B 7236	11/22/1847	F	Maria Diluvina Trinidad	-	
	child	FR-B 7290	04/20/1851	F	Ysidora	-	
Family 40							
Not found	husband	FR-B 1946?	05/04/1798		Juan Diego	-	Saclan Bay Miwok
in 1840s	wife	FR-B 6532?	05/01/1832		Maria del Rosario of Fam. 27		Suisun Patwin/Chupcan Miwok
	child	FR-B 7248	10/14/1848	F	Maria Fortunata	-	
	child	FR-B 7263	04/15/1850	F	Maria Francisca Teresa	-	
	child	FR-B 7315	04/14/1852	M	Maria de Dolores	03/28/1853	
	child	FR-B 7368	03/10/1854	F	Maria Dolores	-	
Family 41							
FR-M 2178	husband	CR-B 1998	04/28/1822		Jose Juvenal	-	Partacsi Bay Costanoan
02/23/1849	wife	CR-B not identified			Maria Bernarda		[unknown]
	child	CL-B 10938	09/04/1849	M	Jose Francisco	-	
	child	FR-B 7299	10/06/1851	M	-	-	

Note: *Asterisk indicates an infant recorded in the Mission Dolores death register without having been recorded in any baptismal register.

Table F15. Mission Dolores Costanoan and Bay Miwok Descendants who moved to other Missions, together with their Families, as of 1834 (in age order by family head).

Family Member Name	Relationship	Age	Baptism #	Baptism Date	Local Tribe and Language	Date of Recorded Death
AT MISSION CARMEL						
Respicio	husband	46	SFR-B 985	11-11-1791	Quirosze SF Bay Costanoan parents	no info
Ynes Sccosta	wife	52	SCA-3 664	1-30-1782	Rumsen Rumsen parents	no info
Tiburcio	husband	27	SFR-B 3996	5/29/1810	Chupcan Bay Miwok father/Suisun Patwin mother	
Maria Rosario Liberata	wife	15	SCA-3 3146	11/9/1819	Rumsen Rumsen parents	
AT MISSION SANTA CRUZ						
David Santana	husband	48	SCR-B 0413	2-16-1795	Sayanta Awaswas	Not checked
Josefa Patrocinio	wife (2nd marriage)	23	SFR-B 4307	5-5-1811	Arama: SF Bay Costanoan father/Huchiun SF Bay Cost. mother	None
Eulogio	son by 1st husband	8	SCR-B 2096	3-9-1826	Mision - Cotoni Awaswas father	Not checked
Benito Abad	son by 1st husband	6	SCR-B 2134	3-21-1828	Mision - Cotoni Awaswas father	Not checked
Gaudiosa	dghtr by 1st husband	4	SCR-B 2163	3-8-1830	Mision - Cotoni Awaswas father	Not checked
Juan Diego	son by 1st husband	2	SCR-B 2192	11-12-1832	Mision - Cotoni Awaswas father	Not checked
Juan	son of this couple	0	SCR-B 2227	10-23-1834	Mision	Not checked
AT MISSION SAN JOSE						
Crispin	widower	52	SFR-B 3324	3-7-1806	Julpun Bay Miwok	SJO-D 4-26-1837
Anastacia	daughter	20	SJO-B 3645	12-23-1817	Mission	Not found
Moyses	dghtr's husband	23	SJO-B 3613	11-24-1817	Passasime Yokuts	SJO-D 12-17-1840
Bruno	widower	51	SFR-B 3151	8-22-1805	Volvon Bay Miwok	SJO-D 9-13-1838
Pedro Antonio	son	12	SFR-B 6398	6-3-1822	Mission	Not found
Peregrino	husband	41	SFR-B 4354	5-22-1811	Chupcan Bay Miwok	SJO-D 1-10-1837
Gelasia	wife	48	SJO-B 5445	1-10-1826	Ululato Patwin	SJO-D 3-23-1837
Yvon	husband	47	SJO-B 0327	8-22-1800	Tuibun SF Bay Costanoan	None
Efrena	wife (2nd marriage	37	SJO-B 2842	01-15-1815	Napa Patwin	None
Liberato	son by 1st husband	15	SJO-B 4084	12-11-1819	Mision - Jalquin bilingual father [SFR-B 2322]	None
Efrena	dghter by 1st husbd	2	SJO-B 6658	6-17-1832	Mision - Jalquin bilingual father [SFR-B 2322]	None
Nicolas	husband [a]	45	SFR-B 4355	5-22-1811	Chupcan Bay Miwok father/Suisun Patwin mother	Not found
Agueda	wife [a]	30	SFS-B 45	4-17-1824	Ululato Patwin	Not found
Zenobio	husband	38	SFR-B 3144	7-2-1805	Volvon Bay Miwok	Not found
Eudocia	wife	29	SJO-B 1607	3/13/1808	Cholbon Yokuts	Not found
Francisco	son	11	SJO-B 4635	9/22/1823	Mission	
Placida	daughter	5	SJO-B 6027	4/6/1829	Mission	
Pastor	husband	38	SJO-B 1237	10-4-1804	Ssaoan SF Bay Costanoan	none
Gertrudis	wife	28	SFR-B 3763	7-3-1809	Carquin Karkin	12-9-1838 at JO
Jacome	husband	37	SFR-B 3249	11/4/1805	Chupcan Bay Miwok	
Lucia	wife	30	SFR-B 6207	6/16/1821	Suisun Patwin	
Coleto	husband	32	SJO-B 3694	1/24/1818	Julpun Bay Miwok	Not found
Maria Rosario	wife	19	SFR-B 5190	10/1/1815	Tatcan Bay Miwok	SJO-D 9-23-1845 (Sn. Lorenzo)
Rosalia	daughter	2	SJO-B 6698	5/29/1833	Mission	
Maximo	husband	32	SFR-B 3993	5/29/1810	Chupcan Bay Miwok	Not found
Nabora	wife	22	SJO-B 6281	12/30/1830	Ochejamne Plains Miwok	SJO-D 3-18-1835
Roberto	husband	30	SFR-B 4209	3/28/1811	Chupcan Bay Miwok father /Suisun Patwin mother	
Norberta	wife	21	SJO-B 6262	12/29/1830	Ochejamne Plains Miwok	

(continued)

Table F15. Mission Dolores Costanoan and Bay Miwok Descendants who moved to other Missions, together with their Families, as of 1834 (in age order by family head).

Family Member Name	Relationship	Age	Baptism #	Baptism Date	Local Tribe and Language	Date of Recorded Death
Enrique	husband	25	SFR-B 4022	7/16/1810	Saclan Bay Miwok	Not found
Eufrasia	wife	20	SJO-B 2739	9/12/1814	Tuibur. SF Bay Costanoan father/Josmite Yokuts mother	SJO-D 10-12-1838
Tadeo	son	4	SJO-B 6175	10/28/1830	Mision	SJO-D 8-5-1835
Eufrasia	daughter	2	SJO-B 6681	3/23/1833	Mision	SJO-D 8-11-1836
Salvio	widower	73	SFR-B 2319	11-28-1801	Jalquin SF Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok	
Pelagio	widower	60	SFR-B 2940	2/13/1804	Tatcan Bay Miwok	SJO-D 8-30-1841
Benigno	widower	58	SFR-B 2312	11-28-1801	Seunen SF Bay Costanoan father, Jalquin bilingual mother	
Segundo[b]	widower	54	SFR-B 2927	2/8/1804	Tatcan Bay Miwok	SFR-D 12-14-1838 [a]
Cancio	widower	52	SFR-B 2376	2-12-1802	Jalquin SF Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok	None
Jacinto	widower	47	SFR-B 4104	1/12/1811	Chupcan Bay Miwok	SJO-D 12-13-1836
Maria Asencion	orphan	13	SFR-B 6322	8-16-1821	Mission-Jalquin bilingual father, Chupcan Bay Miwok mother	None
AT MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO						
Odorico	husband	61	SFR-B 2317	11-28-1801	Jalquin SF Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok	None
Maria Rosario	wife	39	SFR-B 5962	6-15-1821	Ululato Patwin	None
Joaquin	husband	48	SFR-B 5516	9-23-1816	Alaguali Coast Miwok	Not found
Sebastiana	wife (3rd marriage)	51	SFR-B 3804	12-1-1809	Saclan Bay Miwok	Not found
Francisca Xaviera	dghtr by 1st husband	19	SFR-B 5032	3-11-1815	Mission - Carquin Karkin Costanoan father [SFR-B 3803]	Not found
Francisco Pule	dghtr's husband	21	SFS-B 133	8-14-1825	Libayto Patwin	Not found
Juan Pablo	grandson	3	SFS-B 820	9-3-1831	Mission	Not found
Ciriaca	dghtr by 2nd husb.	14	SFR-B 5861	2-7-1820	Mission - Saclan Bay Miwok father [SFR-B 1555]	Not found
Adriano	dghtr's husband	26	SFR-B 3775	8/28/1809	Carquin Karkin Costanoan	1-1-1836 at FS
Petronio	husband	35	SFR-B 5099	4-25-1815	Suisun Patwin	
Emerenciana	wife (2rd marriage)	42	SFR-B 4475	4-3-1812	Tolena Patwin	
Petra Regalada	dghtr by 1st husband	19	SFR-B 5114	5-13-1815	Mission - Carquin Karkin Costanoan father [SFR-B 3895]	
Delfino	son by 1st husband	7	SFS-B 377	11-14-1827	Mission - Carquin Karkin Costanoan father [SFR-B 3895]	
Emerencia	dghtr by 1st husband	4	SFS-B 628	1-12-1830	Mission - Carquin Karkin Costanoan father [SFR-B 3895]	
Cesario	husband	49	SFR-B 1835	4-8-1795	Huchiun SF Bay Costanoan father/Carquin Karkin mother	to be researched
Germara	wife	26	SRA-B 0679	5-10-1822	Huiluc Wappo	to be researched
Pablo	husband	31	SFR-B 3735	6/29/1809	Huchiun Aguasto SF Bay Costanoan	to be researched
Josefa	wife	14	SFS-B 009	4/4/1824	Malaca Patwin	
Felipe Benicio	husband	26	SFR-B 4871	8/22/1814	Carquin Karkin Costanoan	
Magna	wife	25	SFS-B 261	11/11/1826	Aloquiome Wappo/Lake Miwok	
Cira	widow [c]	49	SFR-B 3812	12/1/1809	Carquin Karkin Costanoan	

Note: [a] Nicolas and Agueda married at Mission San Jose on May 16, 1831 [SJO-M 1917]; [b] Segundo's child died at Mission San Jose in 1829 and his wife died at at Mission San Jose in 1830; [c] Cira's Mission Dolores second husband, Cayetano [SFR-B 3849] died at San Francisco Solano in 1824 and her daughter Petra Bautista [SFR-B 5214] died at San Francisco Solano in 1828, after which time no more is known about Cira.

Table F16. Hispanic-California Indian Marriages at Central California Missions between 1773 and 1840.

Marriage Record	Marriage Date	Husband			Wife				Comment on Progeny
		Baptismal Record	Name	Home Group	Baptismal Record	Name	Home Group		
Mission San Francisco Solano [also 351 Indian-only and 6 Razon-only marriages]									
FS-M 0018	01/09/1825	CR-B unknwn	Robles, Jose Rafael	Razon-Branciforte	FR-B 4179	Leandra	Baja/Saclan Miwok Parents		not followed
Mission San Rafael [also 592 Indian-only and 6 Razon-only marriages]									
No Hispanic-Indian marriages									
Mission Dolores [also 1,978 Indian-only and 83 Razon-only marriages]									
FR-M 0014	04/08/1779	no data	Olbera, Diego	Razon-Queretero, Mex.	FR-B 0063	Josefa Maria	Yelamu SF Bay Costanoan		No children
FR-M 0065	10/31/1783	no data	Ramos, Jose	Razon-Tulancingo, Mex.	FR-B 0095	Francisca Xaviera	Aramai SF Bay Costanoan		1 chld, gndchldn
FR-M 0102	01/05/1786	no data	Valencia, Jose Manuel	Razon	FR-B 0061	Maria Rosa	Jalquin SF Bay Cost./Miwok		No children
FR-M 0508	06/25/1795	no data	Higuera, Ygnacio	Razon	FR-B 0102	Maria Soledad	Ureburi SF Bay Costanoan		No children
FR-M 0999	11/06/1805	no data	Barbosa, Jose Anacleto	Razon	FR-B 0102	Maria Soledad	Ureburi SF Bay Costanoan		No children
FR-M 1047	09/29/1806	no data	Aguilar, Jose Antonio	Razon	FR-B 0102	Maria Soledad	Ureburi SF Bay Costanoan		No children
FR-M 1506	07/08/1813	CA-3 659	Garcia, Felipe	Razon-Sinaloa parents	JO-B 0897	Maria Ygnacia	Ssouyen SF Bay Costanoan		3 children, gndchldn
Mission San Jose [also 2,401 Indian-only and 18 Razon-only marriages]									
JO-M 2379	01/07/1840	no data	Benites, Francisco	Razon-Jalisco	JO-B 7495	Fabiana Ortega	Sicomne Nisenan		not followed
Mission Santa Clara [also 2,486 Indian-only and 222 Razon-only marriages]									
CL-M 1713	05/17/1815	CL-B 3870	Atanasio	Matalan SF Bay Costanoan	FR-B 0262	Amesquita, Maria Petra	Razon-widow with childrn		1 chld, died young
CL-M 1860	02/09/1819	CL-B 0498	Miguel	Tamien SF Bay Costanoan	CA-B 0674	Saens, Felipa	Razon		2 chld, died young
CL-M 1917	07/17/1820	CL-B 4101	Alexandro	Matalan SF Bay Costanoan	BU-B unk.	Vasquez, Mariana	Razon-SF Bay Cstnn mother		1 chld, died young
CL-M 1931	10/18/1820	CL-B 3036	Apelio	Matalan SF Bay Costanoan	CL-B 3927	Gonzalez, Maria Dolores	Razon-Rumsen Cstnn gmthr		1 chld, died young
CL-M 1932	10/18/1820	CL-B 4221	Miguel Antonio	Matalan SF Bay Cost.	CL-B 5332	Gonzales, Ramona	Razon-Rumsen Cstnn gmthr		no children
CL-M 2660	11/21/1836	no data	Garcia, Jose Higirio	Razon-Guadalajara	CL-B 8442?	Maria Pantaleon	India Adoptiva		not followed
CL-M 2730	05/25/1839	CL-B 6530	Vasquez, Juan Cristobal	Razon-Tamien mother	JO-B unknwn	Magdalena	India Adoptiva		not followed
Mission Santa Cruz [also 826 Indian-only and 19 Razon-only marriages]									
CR-M 0061	03/03/1794	no data	Azebes, Jose	Razon	CR-B 0140	Feliciana Savedra	Uypi Awaswas Costanoan		not followed
CR-M 0062	03/03/1794	no data	Vizcarra, Jose Cruz	Razon	CR-B 0073	Columba	Uypi Awaswas Costanoan		not followed
Mission San Juan Bautista [also 1,144 Indian-only and 66 Razon-only marriages]									
JB-M 1075	02/16/1836	no data	Gonzalez, Francisco	Razon-Mexico	JB-B 2633	Agueda	Mutsun Costanoan		1 child at SJB
JB-M 1088	01/30/1837	no data	Arellano, Francisco	probably Mexico	JB-B unknwn	Maria Refugio	not found		not followed
JB-M 1109	04/06/1838	no data	Vargas, Jose	Razon-Mexico	JB-B 1204	Felipa	Mutsun Costanoan		1 child at SJB
Mission Carmel [also 871 Indian-only and 216 Razon-only marriages]									
CA-M 180[a]	05/20/1773	no data	Butron, Manuel	Razon	CA-B 0032	Margarita Dominguez	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		many chldn, gndchldn
CA-M 181[a]	05/20/1773	no data	Arus, Domingo	Razon	CA-B 0069	Maria Serafina Verdugo	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		3 children, not fllwed
CA-M 182[a]	05/20/1773	no data	Yorba, Antonio	Razon	CA-B 0099	Maria Gracia Feliz	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		3 children, at least
CA-M 183[a]	05/20/1773	no data	Camacho, Tomas Maria	Razon	CA-B 0082	Tecla Maria	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		2 children, at least
CA-M 0049	02/28/1775	no data	Altamirano, Jose Tiburcio	Razon-Guadalaxara	CA-B 0301	Agueda Josefa	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		no children
CA-M 0050	02/28/1775	no data	Gonzalez, Jose Maria	Razon-Europe/Baja	CA-B 0287	Antonina Josefa	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan		1 child, not followed

(continued)

Table F16. Hispanic-California Indian Marriages at Central California Missions between 1773 and 1840.

Marriage Record	Marriage Date	Husband			Wife			Comment on Progeny
		Baptismal Record	Name	Home Group	Baptismal Record	Name	Home Group	
CA-M 0089	09/10/1776	no data	Lopez, Cosme	Razon-California	CA-B 0143	Escolastica Maria	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	no children
CA-M 0154	05/08/1780	no data	Espinosa, Jose Joacuin	Razon-Sinaloa	CA-B 0029	Catalina Maria Islas	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	1 child, died young
CA-M 0197	09/30/1782	no data	Alegre, Antonio Maria	Razon-Genova	CA-B 0029	Catalina Maria Islas	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	1 child, not followed
CA-M 0290	03/02/1785	no data	Ybarra, Ramon	Razon-Rio Alamo	no data	Maria del Carmen	Yuma India[b]	none in Nor. Calif.
CA-M 0334	04/25/1786	no data	Villela, Marcos	Razon-Tecuache	CA-B 0173	Viridiana Maria Carrillo	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	chldn, many gndchldn
CA-M 0387	07/26/1789	no data	Montero, Manuel	Razon-Presidio	GA-B unknwn	Regina Toipurina	Japshim Tongva[c]	not followed
CA-M 0405	12/01/1790	no data	Garibay, Jose Vcnte Gnz	Razon	CA-B 0063	Maria Beatriz	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	3 chldn, not followed
CA-M 0528	04/01/1796	BA-B unknwn	Vasquez, Jose Antonio	Razon-Presidio	CL-B 338	Maria Leocadia	Ritocsi SF Bay Costanoan	many chldn, gndchldn
CA-M 0529	05/03/1796	no data	Tapia, Jose Francisco	Razon-Presidio	CA-B 2088	Maria Jesus	Nutka [Canada][d]	not followed
CA-M 0563	04/24/1798	no data	Lugo, Jose Loreto	Razon-Presidio	CA-B 0764	Veneranda Maria	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	not followed
CA-M 0927	09/07/1824	no data	Mendoza, Demetrio	Razon-Guacalajarra	CA-B 2753	Estefana	Ensen+Rumsen Rmsn Cstnn.	not followed
CA-M 1001	11/26/1830	no data	Garcia, Jose Dolores	Razon-Rumsen gmthr	JB-B 2035?	Ysidora	Ausaima Mutsun Costanoan	not followed
CA-M 1044	08/15/1833	no data	Rodrigues, Santiago	Razon-Zacatecas	CA-B 3175	Maria Jesus Felicidad	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	not followed
CA-M 1105	11/02/1839	no data	Tapia, Eduardo	not found	SO-B unknwn	Maria Gracia	Soledad-not found	not followed
Mission Soledad [also 701 Indian-only and 6 Razon-only marriages]								
SO-M 50	03/03/1795	no data	Flores, Jose Bernardino	Razon	SO-B 0129	Luisa Isquis	Immunajan Esselen	not followed
SO-M 153	07/27/1800	no data	Morales, Francisco	Razon-Tepic	CA-B 1110	Maria Rosa	Rumsen Rumsen Costanoan	not followed
SO-M 399	04/06/1838	no data	Olivera, Martin	Razon-Los Angeles	SO-B 0128	Josefa Carpintero	Chalon Cstnn/Eslenajan Essln	not followed

Note: (Mission register citations have been shortened by removal of the initial "S" in the interests of saving space in this table). [a] Four Hispanic-Indian marriages at Mission San Carlos in 1773 were added to the Marriage Register out-of-order in 1782; [b] Maria del Carmen in SCA-M 290 immigrated from the Colorado River; [c] Regina Toipurina in SCA-M 387 had been a resistance leader at Mission San Gabriel; [d] Maria Jesus of SCA-M 529 was the only person who married in California among a number of Nootka people brought down from Vancouver Island.

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834 (sorted by geographical area, language, tribal versus mission, and local tribe).

Ego's Group	Unique I.D.	Birth Year	Spanish Name	Father's I.D.	Father's Group	Mother's I.D.	Mother's Group
SAN FRANCISCO BAY COSTANOAN – PENINSULA HOMELAND							
Tribally-born Person							
Acssagis	FR1024	1786	Simon				
Cotegen	FR1023	1784	Felipe Jesus -de	FR1278	Cotegen	FR1279	Cotegen
Oljon	FR0565	1776	Eladio	FR0595	Oljon	FR0679	Quiroste
Oljon	FR0728	1782	Rosendo Alexos				
Lamchin	FR0906	1782	Proceso				
Lamchin	FR0892	1784	Liborio	FR1233	Lamchin	FR1250	Lamchin
Lamchin	FR0825	1786	Constantino				
Lamchin	FR0798	1787	Facundo	FR0801	Lamchin	FR0802	Lamchin
Puichon	FR0896	1781	Daniel				
Puichon	FR0897	1783	Donato				
Puichon	FR0861	1785	Elisio	FR1175	Puichon	FR1256	Puichon
Ssalson	FR0199	1760	Mariano			FR0480	Ssalson
Ssalson	FR0493	1782	Yreneo [Ynes-M]	FR1174	Ssalson	FR0807	Ssalson
Yelamu	FR0242	1781	Dionisio	FR0348	Yelamu	FR0354	Yelamu
(Peninsula-Bay)	FR0853	1786	Evencio	FR1231	Ssalson	FR1248	Ssalson
(Penins-Coast)	FR1292	1789	Francisco Llagas -dl	FR1308	Penins-Coast	FR1321	Penins-Coast
San Francisco Bay Costanoan	both parents from the Peninsula						
Mision	FR0518	1786	Aniceto	FR0371	Yelamu	FR0372	Yelamu
Mision	FR0553	1786	Pedro Alcantara	FR0534	Cotegen	FR0535	Yelamu
Mision	FR1172	1793	Dimas	FR0505	Ssalson	FR0647	Ssalson
Mision	FR1922	1797	Jose Saturnino	FR0596	Oljon	FR0964	Oljon
Mision	FR2076B	1800	Maria Carmen -del	FR1290	Penins-Coast	FR0359	Mision
Mision	FR3218	1805	Juan Santos -de los	FR0734	Oljon	FR0919	Penins-Coast
San Francisco Bay Costanoan Descendent – Peninsula on father's side							
Mision	FR5340	1816	Andrea Espiritu -de	FR0093	Aramai	FR0191	Huchiun
Mision	FR5672	1817	Basilisa	FR0853	Penins-Bay	FR2747	Huchiun
Mision	FR5666	1817	Apolonia	FR0728	Oljon	FR4689	Costa
Mision	FR5754	1818	Manuel Assencion -d	CL2159	S. Bernardino	FR2499	Carquin
Mision	FR5869	1820	Matea	FR0853	Penins-Bay	FR2747	Huchiun
Mision	FR5885	1820	Antonia Padua -de	FR1292	Penins-Coast	FR3839	Huch.-Aguasto
Mision	FR5859	1820	Maria Carmen -del	FR0906	Lamchin	FR2503	Olema
Mision	FR6327	1821	Francisco	FR0340	Mision [Yelamu]	FR4265	Costa
Mision	FR6482	1824	Dominga	FR0340	Mision [Yelamu]	FR4265	Costa
Mision	FR6496	1826	Maria Concepcion -dl	FR0861	Puichon	FR3319	Tatcan
Mision	FR6503	1827	Maria Josefa	FR0861	Puichon	FR3319	Tatcan
Mision	FR6501	1827	Jose Reyes -delos	FR1292	Penins-Coast	FR3839	Huch-Aguasto
Mision	FR6509	1828	Manuela	FR0853	Penins-Bay	FR2076A	Mision [Saclan]
Mision	FR6520	1829	Francisco Solano	FR0853	Penins-Bay	FR2076A	Mision [Saclan]
Mision	FR6522	1829	Jose Antonio	FR1292	Penins-Coast	FR3839	Huch-Aguasto
Mision	FR6526	1830	Maria Ygnacia	FR0853	Penins-Bay	FR2076A	Mision [Saclan]
Mision	FR6533	1831	Maria Presentacin Crmn	FR1292	Penins-Coast	FR3839	Huch-Aguasto
SAN FRANCISCO BAY COSTANOAN – EAST BAY HOMELAND							
Tribally-born Person							
Huchiun	FR2197	1771	Venerando				
Huchiun	FR1448	1776	Crispiniano				
Huchiun	FR1637	1776	Serapion				
Huchiun	FR0189	1778	Miguel Jacobo	FR1048	Huchiun-Sth	FR0482	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR1417	1784	Andres Avelino	FR1501	Huchiun-Sth	FR1512	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR1426	1784	Ceciliano				
Huchiun	FR1069	1787	Juan Damaceno	FR1108	Huchiun-Sth	FR1109	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR1434	1787	Celso				
Huchiun	FR2175	1787	Pantaleon	FR2205	Huchiun-Nth	FR2217	Huchiun-Nth
Huchiun	FR1070	1789	Remigia	FR1108	Huchiun-Sth	FR1109	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR1429	1790	Manuel Yguira	FR1066	Huchiun-Sth	FR1521	Huchiun-Sth

(continued)

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834 (sorted by geographical area, language, tribal versus mission, and local tribe).

Ego's Group	Unique I.D.	Birth Year	Spanish Name	Father's I.D.	Father's Group	Mother's I.D.	Mother's Group
Huchiun	FR1408	1791	Agrito	FR1480	Huchiun-Sth	FR1493	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR2769	1794	Neofito	FR2849	Huchiun-Nth	FR2851	Huchiun-Nth
Huchiun	FR1912	1796	Melquiades	FR1642	Huchiun-Sth	FR1667	Huchiun-Sth
Huchiun	FR2135	1797	Juan Nepomuceno	FR2201	Huchiun-Nth	FR2213	Huchiun-Nth
Huch-Aguasto	FR3254	1771	Paterno	FR1631	Huchiun-Sth		
Huch-Aguasto	FR3921	1775	Barbea				
Huch-Aguasto	FR3655	1779	Guillermo			FR3942	Abasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3211	1789	Barsabas	FR3197	Huch-Aguasto	FR3198	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR4017	1790	Juan Prado -de			FR3815	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3807	1793	Concordio				
Huch-Aguasto	FR3839	1793	Benita	FR3855	Huch-Aguasto	FR3921	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR2788	1795	Senen	FR2829	Huch-Aguasto	FR2839	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3171	1796	Barbato	FR3203	Huch-Aguasto	FR3204	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3172	1797	Zoylo	FR3240	Huch-Aguasto	FR3241	Huch-Aguasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR2768	1799	Lulo	FR2832	Huch-Aguasto	FR2842	Abasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3733	1805	Protasio	FR1647	Huchiun-Sth		
Huch-Aguasto	FR3612	1807	Adriano	FR3254	Huch-Aguasto	FR3633	Abasto
Huch-Aguasto	FR3734	1807	Prudencio	FR3654	Huch-Aguasto		
Huch-Aguasto	FR4143	1807	Teodosio	FR2829	Huch-Aguasto	FR4262	Napa
Huch-Aguasto	FR4144	1809	Tadeo	FR2829	Huch-Aguasto	FR4262	Napa
San Francisco Bay Costanoan – both parents from the Easy Bay							
Mision	FR2268	1801	Clara		[incognito]	FR2130	Huchiun-Nth
Mision	FR2346	1802	Guido	FR1396	Huchiun-Sth	FR1527	Huchiun-Sth
Mision	FR2437	1802	Prudencio	FR1158	Huchiun-Sth	FR1161	Huchiun-Sth
Mision	FR5680	1817	Pedro Antonio	FR1426	Huchiun-Sth	FR2150	Huchiun-Nth
Mision	FR6375	1822	Pablo	FR1426	Huchiun-Sth	FR2150	Huchiun-Nth
Mision	FR5886	1820	Eutropia	FR2788	Huch-Aguasto	FR2268	Mision
Mision	FR6480	1824	Jose	FR2788	Huch-Aguasto	FR2268	Mision
San Francisco Bay Costanoan Descendent – East Bay on father's side							
Mision	FR4413	1811	Luisa Epimenia	FR3654	Huch-Aguasto	FR3869	Carquin
Mision	FR4832	1814	Manuel	FR2769	Huchiun-Nth	FR1353	Mision [Yelamu]
Mision	FR5521	1816	Gregorio Taumaturgo	FR3654	Huch-Aguasto	FR3869	Carquin
Mision	FR5698	1817	Liberata	FR2175	Huchiun-Nth	FR3830	Carquin
Mision	FR5844	1819	Juan Evangelista	FR3072	Huchiun-Nth	FR2697	Olema
Mision	FR5827	1819	Maria Egipciaca	FR1290	Penins-Coast	FR4099	Suisun
Mision	FR5892	1820	Rutilio	FR0611	Huchiun-Sth	FR3626	Omiomi
Mision	FR5871	1820	Feliciano [Felix*]	FR2175	Huchiun-Nth	FR3830	Carquin
Mision	FR5917	1821	Crispin	FR0189	Huchiun-Sth	FR3840	Carquin
Mision	FR6463B	1823	Tomas	FR2175	Huchiun-Nth	FR3830	Carquin
Mision	FR6477	1824	Francisco Antonio	FR2135	Huchiun-Nth	FR3674	Costa
Mision	FR6485	1825	Domingo	FR2175	Huchiun-Nth	FR3830	Carquin
Mision	FR6495	1826	Maria Teresa Jesus	FR2135	Huchiun-Nth	FR3674	Costa
Mision	FR6488	1826	Antonia	FR3211	Huch-Aguasto	FR3833	Carquin
Mision	FR6499	1827	Andrea	FR2175	Huchiun-Nth	FR3830	Carquin
Mision	FR6502	1827	Salvador Horta	FR4017	Huch-Aguasto	FR3737	Carquin
Mision	FR6504	1827	Fernandino	FR0553	Mision	FR5025	Suisun
Mision	FR6510	1828	Rafaela	FR0518	Mision	FR4453	Suisun
Mision	FR6508	1828	Juana Valesia	FR0340	Mision	FR4265	Costa
Mision	FR6523	1829	Jose Antonio Ramon	FR0410	Baja Mision	FR4051	Omiomi
Mision	FR6529	1830	Juan Cruz -dela	FR3211	Huch-Aguasto	FR3833	Carquin
Mision	FR6531	1831	Maria Jesus -de	FR2437	Mision [Huchiun]	FR5991	Ululato
Mision	FR6532	1831	Antonia	FR1408	Huchiun-Sth	FR3840	Carquin
Mision	FR6991	1833	Maria Trinidad Rfgo	FR0518	Mision	FR4453	Suisun
Mision	FR6993	1833	Jose Ygnacio Refugio	FR2135	Huchiun-Nth	FR3674	Costa

(continued)

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834 (sorted by geographical area, language, tribal versus mission, and local tribe).

Ego's Group	Unique I.D.	Birth Year	Spanish Name	Father's I.D.	Father's Group	Mother's I.D.	Mother's Group
KARKIN COSTANOAN							
Tribally-born Person							
Carquin	FR3869	1779	Laurentina			FR3881	Carquin
Carquin	FR3830	1783	Caridad	FR3856	Carquin	FR3866	Carquin
Carquin	FR3806	1784	Magina				
Carquin	FR3821	1785	Maura	FR3913	Carquin	FR3914	Carquin
Carquin	FR3847	1785	Ranulfo				
Carquin	FR3823	1787	Magna	FR3918	Carquin		
Carquin	FR3747	1802	Evodio	FR3911	Carquin	FR3912	Carquin
Carquin	FR3742	1806	Luciana				
Karkin Costanoan Descendents – both sides							
Mision	FR5836	1819	Diego	FR3847	Carquin	FR3823	Carquin
Mision	FR6466	1823	Antonia	FR3847	Carquin	FR3823	Carquin
Mision	FR6525	1830	Margarita Cortona -d	FR3847	Carquin	FR3823	Carquin
Karkin Costanoan Descendents – father's side							
Mision	FR6394	1822	Josefa	FR3887	Carquin	FR4953	Caymos
Mision	FR6483	1824	Francisca	FR3747	Carquin	JO0218	Saclan
COAST MIWOK							
Tribally-born Person							
Abasto	FR2816	1785	Pacomia			FR2815	Abasto
Abasto	FR3633	1786	Micaelina				
Abasto	FR2038	1789	Quintino	FR2735	Abasto	FR2738	Abasto
Abasto	FR2557	1792	Rufina	FR2600	Abasto	FR2605	Abasto
Abasto	FR2534	1794	Adjuto	FR2550	Abasto	FR2554	Abasto
Abasto	FR2729	1795	Sabel	FR2735	Abasto	FR2738	Abasto
Abasto	FR2760	1795	Parmenas	FR2824	Abasto	FR2834	Abasto
Alaguali	FR5442	1796	Lugarda				
Chocoayco	FR5563	1812	Eustaquio	FR5614	Chocoayco	FR5626	Chocoayco
Costa	FR4265	1789	Antusa				
Costa	FR4487	1796	Tecla			FR4730	Costa
Costa	FR3674	1803	Carlota	FR3711	Costa	FR3712	Costa
Costa	FR3988	1803	Maxima				
Costa	FR3670	1806	Albaro	FR3689	Olemoloque	FR3690	Olemoloque
Echatamal	RA0015	1813	Juan Evangelista	RA0442	Echatamal	RA0443	Echajutti
Guaulen	FR2580	1778	Melitona			FR3549	Guaulen
Guaulen	FR3236	1799	Romualda	FR2826	Abasto	FR3125	Guaulen
Huimen	FR1817	1788	Domiciano	FR4859	Huimen	FR1834	Huimen
Huimen	FR2535	1796	Eloy	FR2550	Abasto	FR2554	Abasto
Libantone	FR3425	1767	Revocata				
Libantone	FR3432	1795	Teofilo			FR3430	Libantone
Olema	FR2697	1790	Saula	FR2517	Abasto	FR2520	Marin
Olema	FR2661	1799	Nestor	FR2699	Guaulen	FR2706	Olema
Olemoloque	FR3702	1779	Atanasia	FR3684	Olemoloque	FR3685	Olemoloque
Olemoloque	FR3409	1801	Lucia	FR3424	Libantone	FR3425	Libantone
Olemoloque	FR3906	1804	Marino Jose	FR3684	Olemoloque	FR3685	Olemoloque
Olompali	FR5250	1813	Juan Mata -de	JO3519	Olombali	JO3443	Olombali
Omiomi	FR4234	1775	Fabian				
Omiomi	FR4288	1781	Zacarias				
Omiomi	FR4240	1783	Pacomio				
Omiomi	FR4267	1789	Lamberta	FR4323	Omiomi	FR4333	
Omiomi	FR4482	1798	Paulino			FR4481	Omiomi
Omiomi	FR4051	1803	Barbara	FR4883	Omiomi	FR4088	Omiomi
Omiomi	FR4169	1807	Tomasa Aquino -de	FR4158	Omiomi		
Xotoncohui	RA0101	1798	Juana Nepomucena				

(continued)

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834 (sorted by geographical area, language, tribal versus mission, and local tribe).

Ego's Group	Unique I.D.	Birth Year	Spanish Name	Father's I.D.	Father's Group	Mother's I.D.	Mother's Group
Coast Miwok Descendent – both parents							
Mision	FR2427	1802	Francisco	FR2100	Huimen	FR2102A	Huimen
Mision	FR5735	1818	Policarpo	FR2486	Huimen	FR3229	Olema
Mision	FR5887	1820	Wilibrorda	FR4482	Omiomi	FR3409	Olemoloque
Mision	FR6454	1822	Jose Antonio	FR2633	Abasto	FR2740	Abasto
Mision	FR6475	1823	Francisca Paula -de	FR2729	Abasto	FR4169	Omiomi
Mision	FR6479	1824	Jose Antonio	FR4482	Omiomi	FR3409	Olemoloque
Mision	FR6491	1826	Victorino	FR2535	Huimen	JO3253	Alaguali
Mision	FR6493	1826	Maria Antonia	FR2661	Olema	FR3988	Costa
Mision	FR6514	1828	Ysabel	FR4113	Omiomi	FR2697	Olema
Coast Miwok Descendent – father's side							
Mision	FR6487	1826	Jose Salvador	FR3432	Libantone	FR3766	Chupcan
Mision	FR6512	1828	Jose Guadalupe	FR3432	Libantone	FR3766	Chupcan
BAY MIWOK							
Tribally-born Person							
Chupcan	FR3928	1770	Gabriel				
Chupcan	FR4013	1774	Yndalecio				
Chupcan	FR3934	1776	Arsenia				
Chupcan	FR3249	1797	Jacome	FR3078	Chupcan	FR3080	Chupcan
Chupcan	FR3766	1801	Teotima	FR3930	Chupcan	FR3931	Chupcan
Chupcan	FR4010	1804	Juan Bautista	FR2993	Carquin	FR3934	Chupcan
Chupcan	FR4068	1808	Estefania	FR4100	Chupcan	FR4101	Suisun
Saclan	FR1559	1754	Heliodoro				
Saclan	FR1729	1782	Troyana				
Saclan	FR1538	1793	Crispin [Crispo at M]	FR1557	Saclan	FR1575	Saclan
Saclan	FR1946	1795	Juan Diego	FR1548	Saclan	FR1566	Saclan
Saclan	JO0218	1799	Maria Pilar -del			FR?	
Saclan	FR2067	1800	Torquata	FR1558	Saclan	FR1576	Saclan
Tatcan	FR2927	1780	Segundo				
Tatcan	FR3319	1797	Sincletica	FR3369	Tatcan	FR3370	Tatcan
Volvon	FR3339	1788	Afra	FR3356	Volvon	FR3357	Volvon
Bay Miwok Descendent – both parents							
Mision	FR2076A	1800	Geronima	FR1548	Saclan	FR1566	Saclan
Mision	FR5213	1816	Juliana	FR2926	Tatcan	FR1758	Saclan
Mision	FR5716	1817	Mariano Natividad -d	FR1531	Saclan	FR3319	Tatcan
Mision	FR6467	1823	Maria Josefa	FR1721	Saclan	FR1729	Saclan
Mision	FR6507	1828	Juan Agustin	FR1649	Saclan	FR4068	Chupcan
PATWIN							
Tribally-born Person							
Suisun	FR4099	1785	Susana				
Suisun	FR5025	1804	Crisanta			FR5156	Suisun
Suisun	FR4927	1808	Maria Expectacion -d	FR4343	Suisun	FR5101	Suisun
Suisun	FR4453	1810	Agustina	FR4510	Tolenas	FR4511	Suisun
Suisun	FR5003	1811	Remigio	FR5120	Suisun	FR5121	Suisun
Suisun	FR4923	1812	Columbano	FR4343	Suisun	FR5101	Suisun
Ululato	FR5991	1803	Josefa Calasans				
Ululato	FR6207	1804	Lucia				
Ululato	FR6263	1814	Antonia	FRH6263		FS0057	Ululato
Ululato	FR6428	1817	Lorenza				
Ululato	FR6437	1817	Eulalia				
Ululato	FR6225	1819	Francisca	FS0044	Ululato	FS0045	Ululato
Patwin Descendent – both parents							
Mision	FR6373	1822	Afra	FR5944	Ululato	FR5984	Ululato

(continued)

Table F17. Reconstructed Census of 202 Indian People Who May Have Been Alive at Mission Dolores in 1834 (sorted by geographical area, language, tribal versus mission, and local tribe).

Ego's Group	Unique I.D.	Birth Year	Spanish Name	Father's I.D.	Father's Group	Mother's I.D.	Mother's Group
Patwin Descendent – father's side							
Mision	FR6530	1831	Maria Jesus -de	FR5003	Suisun	FR4068	Chupcan
Mision	FR6535	1832	Maria Rosario -del	FR5003	Suisun	FR4068	Chupcan
WAPPO – All Tribally Born							
Caymos	FR4805	1808	Petronila			FR4953	Caymos
Caymos	FR6042	1810	Andrea	FR6098	Caymos	FR6163	Caymos
Huiluc	FR6051	1811	Hilario	FR6082	Huiluc	FR6147	Huiluc
POMO – All Tribally Born							
Gualomi	RA0761	1813	Maria Cruz -dela			RA0806	Gualomi
Gualomi	RA0873	1814	Maria Angeles -delos	RA0880	Gualomi	RA0881	Lupuyomi