

A Spiral Through Time: Silicon Valley Arts and Culture from Ancestral Ohlone to Today

This article is an excerpt from a manuscript in progress. I welcome your feedback.

A towering, sleek bus glides between its passengers' homes in culturally sophisticated metropolitan San Francisco and their work places in Silicon Valley, a region constantly reinventing itself with tilt-ups, office parks, and campuses for the latest **Google** wannabe.

It's helpful to have a sense of our diverse historical roots, as well as the forces of change and new ideas, as we ponder Silicon Valley's unique cultural development. This article will look back 10,000 years to the ancestors of today's **Ohlone** Indians and consider their long and ongoing history; then examine the stories of 19th century pioneer **Juana Briones** and last century's **Marjorie Eaton**. The investigation will provide an informative and provocative temporal bridge that spans from early Native American cultures to the contemporary local community and art stars like **Consuelo Jimenez Underwood**. The ability of these resourceful and generous women to honor indigenous heritage, draw from different sources, and shape new creative environments has left a timeless legacy. Building and sustaining a vibrant, innovative system of arts and culture in Silicon Valley has always started with engaging newcomers and transcending the divisions between art, history, cultures, economics, ethics, and other disciplines.

A Natural Weave of Art and Community Life: The Ohlone

The exquisite basketry and elaborate adornment of the Ohlone once reflected their lifestyle, which was in sync with nature; their appreciation of the artistic skills of women; and their social stratification, with a well-decked out, finely feathered elite. The indigenous **Ohlone** people hunted, fished, and harvested a diversity of plants and seeds. They created fiber art with materials derived from the natural world and sustainable architecture, such as a *tupentak* roundhouse that could accommodate 250 people. They wove baskets for leaching acorn meal, cooking, fishing, and winnowing grain; as well as for storing ornaments of abalone, cut-and-drilled beads from Olivella shells, and complex feather dance regalia.



Photo: Joe Cavaretta (Muwekma Tribe)

Kuksu ceremonial pendants, c. AD 1100, from CA-ALA-329 in Coyote Hills, similar to those found in downtown San José made of red and black abalone shells.

Certain art forms were owned; jewelry (shell ornamentation and regalia) was associated with status and wealth based upon the family's lineage and ranking in the community. Other art had to do with shamanic visions and ceremonial religious performances. The architectural "shellmounds" of Coyote Hills were sacred landscapes, ceremonial burial grounds for nobility—California's pyramids.

Once widely known for their fine basketry with geometric designs, Ohlone women lost much of their material and spiritual culture when they labored in the valley's emerging agricultural economy. At Franciscan **Mission Santa Clara de Asis**, Thamién Ohlone-speaking women turned to weaving cotton clothing, blankets, and carpets for the community. With the establishment of Spanish ranchos and an increasing hide trade, the decimated Ohlone population became

a hidden minority, their native way of life increasingly influenced by Spanish/Mexican culture. Their traditional arts often took a back seat to the arts of survival.



***Maria de los Angeles (Angela Colos)**, c. 1925, born in the Santa Teresa Hills in San José, at Alisal Rancheria between Pleasanton and Sunol, where her family found refuge. The American conquest of California and the Gold Rush (1849), followed by statehood in 1850, ushered in an extended period in which indigenous Californians were robbed of basic rights and had to hide out for their safety.*

Angela Colos, born in 1839, daughter of Indians who were married at Mission San José in 1838, was one of the principal linguistic consultants for many anthropologists.¹ A fluent speaker of the Chocheño Ohlone language, she shared her linguistic knowledge. Stating that "muwékma" means "la gente (the people)," she also passed along other traditions about the tribe. Her living descendants are enrolled members of the **Muwékma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area**, which continues the traditional arts and gives precedence to new art for building community.²



Photo: Chuck Barry, © 2006 Santa Clara University.

Installation image, *California History* from the Permanent Collection exhibition. In 1986, Muwekma Ohlone tribal members and their children constructed a tule house (*rúwwa*) for the *de Saisset Museum*. The Museum recently launched its new iPad textbook focused on the *California History* exhibit and the Mission.

Today, we are learning more about how Ohlones have been denied their cultural existence and how their languages and place names were erased, replaced by Hispanic and Anglo ones. Contemporary art historians know well the art of erasure (for example, artist **Robert Rauschenberg's** *Erased de Kooning Drawing*) and also what anthropologists call "nominative cartography." Colonial systems have "remade, restructured, and renamed landscapes," literally transforming the map of the San Francisco Bay area. "Mapping Erasure,"³ written by anthropologist **Les W. Field** with **Alan Leventhal**, Muwekma Tribal Ethnohistorian, and **Rosemary Cambra**, elected chairwoman of the **Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area**⁴, is one of numerous articles in which Leventhal and Cambra describe and counter colonial systems and the widespread art of erasure.

For instance, **Moffett Field**, a former naval air station, is currently a joint civil-military airport whose airfield is leased to **Google** for 60 years. It is known for its tremendous **Hangar One**, one of the world's largest freestanding structures. Moffett used to be **Rancho Posolmi**, home of **Lope Yñigo**, who bridged three cultures. Born in 1781 in an Indian village near Mission Santa Clara, Yñigo was baptized at the Mission in 1789 and served it from 1789–1839. He was given a land grant to the rancho, where he raised crops and livestock, defended his land grant for over two decades, and resided till his death in 1864. Yñigo was buried somewhere on this land. At Moffett Field, there's no sign of any of this past.

Similarly, Stanford lands incorporate former Indian villages, both in their archeological preserve and at **Jasper Ridge**. In one article⁵, archeology professor and campus archaeologist Laura Jones describes a place as possibly sacred, because there are tiny holes (cupules) in the rocks, suitable for grinding medicine and pigments used in rituals. She also notes the Ohlone nature friendly style of human organization: "It's extremely effective—and low impact." Yet the Ohlone place names have disappeared from Stanford.

A rare exception is **Ulistac Natural Area** near the new **Levi's Stadium** in Santa Clara, which may mean "place of the basket" in several Ohlone languages.

The Ohlone have reclaimed the arts of naming and installation, having renamed the **Tamien Railroad Station** in San José. In 1777, **Father Tomas de la Peña** and an escort of soldiers and settlers arrived at the banks of the Guadalupe River, built an arbor of thatched tule reeds for a temporary shelter, and thus founded the **Mission Santa Clara de Thámien**. Peña mentioned in a letter to **Father President Junipero Serra** that the natives called the area of the mission **Thámien**. Shortly after the mission was founded, the Governor of Alta California, **Felipe de Neve**, sent instructions to establish a pueblo nearby. **Commander Jose Joaquin Moraga** of the San Francisco Presidio took a group of settlers and retired soldiers to the Guadalupe River to found California's first civil establishment, **El Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe**—now the City of San José. After construction of the railroad station uncovered a major ancestral archeological site containing around 172 ancestors, the Muwekma Ohlone renamed it as Tamien Station to honor their ancestors and the memory of the thousands of Ohlones who had lived in **Thámien**. A permanent exhibition of "artifacts" found on the site has been planned but not yet constructed.

Regarding sacred burial grounds and cultural history, the Ohlone now work in a heartbeat alliance with archeologists and anthropologists and use art forms such as performance art, installations, language revitalization, and public art. A close-knit community, the Muwekma employ Internet strategies as well as traditional gatherings.

One moving public ceremony occurred in 2010 when a Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E) gas line replacement project within the **Mission Santa Clara Indian Neophyte Cemetery** required the excavation and then reburial of ancestral remains.⁶ The reburial honoring ceremony included Native American spiritual beliefs and Roman Catholic religious traditions. Reburial layers interred the remains with associated regalia, sand, church-consecrated objects, and an abalone shell containing purifying sage and mugwort, or *estafiate*, turned upside down. The ceremony ended with the Lord's Prayer in the Santa Clara (Clareño) **Thámien** Ohlone language.

Noted artist/activist **Jean LaMarr (Pit River/Paiute, Susanville)**, working with tribal members, counters the long-standing erasure of Ohlone presence. With her art, she speaks to the cultural identity and ongoing struggles of Ohlone people living today. LaMarr's 1995 mural (restoration and celebration 2013) *The Ohlone Journey*, located in **Ohlone Park** in Berkeley, celebrates Ohlone life and culture

on four walls. The westward-facing panel, "Modern Life Transitions," honors individuals who lived in the 19th and 20th centuries, depicting members of indigenous families based on photographs taken over the generations and lent to the artist by their descendant family members. **Maria de los Angeles Colos** is far left. "The Strong Walk Back to the Future" faces south.

In terms of general Native American cultural history and concerns, the **Indian Health Center (IHC)** in San José has played a basic but significant role while undergoing multiple moves and divisions. The IHC was originally part of the **Indian Community Center (ICC)**, established in 1969. Then it became **San José American Indian Center** in 1970, a gathering place that provided art exhibition space. At one point it sponsored **ABLEZA: Native American Arts and Media Institute**, which began in 1997.

Muwekma Ohlone visibility has benefited from a more focused multigenerational and multidisciplinary approach of dedicated individuals. "*Makkin Mak Muwekma Wolwoolum, 'Akkoy Mak-Warep, Manne Mak Hiswi! We Are Muwekma Ohlone, Welcome To Our Land, Where We Are Born!*" Tribal Vice Chairwoman and webmaster **Monica V. Arellano** keeps the tribe's website updated with current information about activities from ceremonies to academic conferences.⁷ In spring 2015, **Gilbert Martinez**, a young active Muwekma tribal member, shared or reposted several pertinent touch points on the Internet. The first of these was a 1930 recording of a Muwekma Ohlone language song sung by Muwekma Elder **José Guzman**, the great-grandfather of Muwekma Tribal Councilwoman and Language Committee Co-Chair **Sheila Guzman-Schmidt**, who lived in Niles and the Sunol/Pleasanton rancheria. Linguist **John P. Harrington's** recordings of 27 songs from Guzman are currently housed at the **Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology**. The second posting noted the 2015 grand opening ceremony of the new **Balermينو Park** in San José, which the tribe helped name for Ohlone ancestor **Robert Antonio Balermينو**, a Mission Santa Clara Clara Clareño-**Thámien** (Costanoan/Ohlone) who had been granted the land in 1844. Martinez also shared a link to an article by Stanford PhD student **Fanya Becks** on Muwekma archeology and ownership of the ancestral past.⁸

Changing Context: Mission-era Art

Regalia and cultural objects, integral to community life, were created and cherished by the ancestral Ohlone people. Subsequently, art and cultural objects in the valley were increasingly created or acquired, displayed, saved, and contextualized by religious, academic, and public institutions with Euro-American roots and global networks and interests. The preponderant system of cultural values changed.

In 1851, Jesuits founded **Santa Clara College**, later known as **Santa Clara University (SCU)**, at the Mission site. Through their permanent collection, SCU's **de Saisset Museum of Art and History** offers a window to the diversity and global influences of Mission-era art. For example, their textile art collection encompasses opulent vestments from France and Spain (mainly 1650–late 18th century); brightly colored vestments embroidered in China, fabricated in the Philippines and distributed to the missions from Mexico; and somber matte

velvet funeral vestments sewn by Ohlone living at the mission. In 2012, the de Saisset curated a historic display of Central Coast baskets and traditional Ohlone arts with select old ecclesiastical vestments from around the world found at the Mission. The two collections complemented an exhibition of contemporary textile art, *Beyond Function: Fiber, Fabric, and Finery*, with garments that utilize, pay tribute to, and draw from the earlier forms.

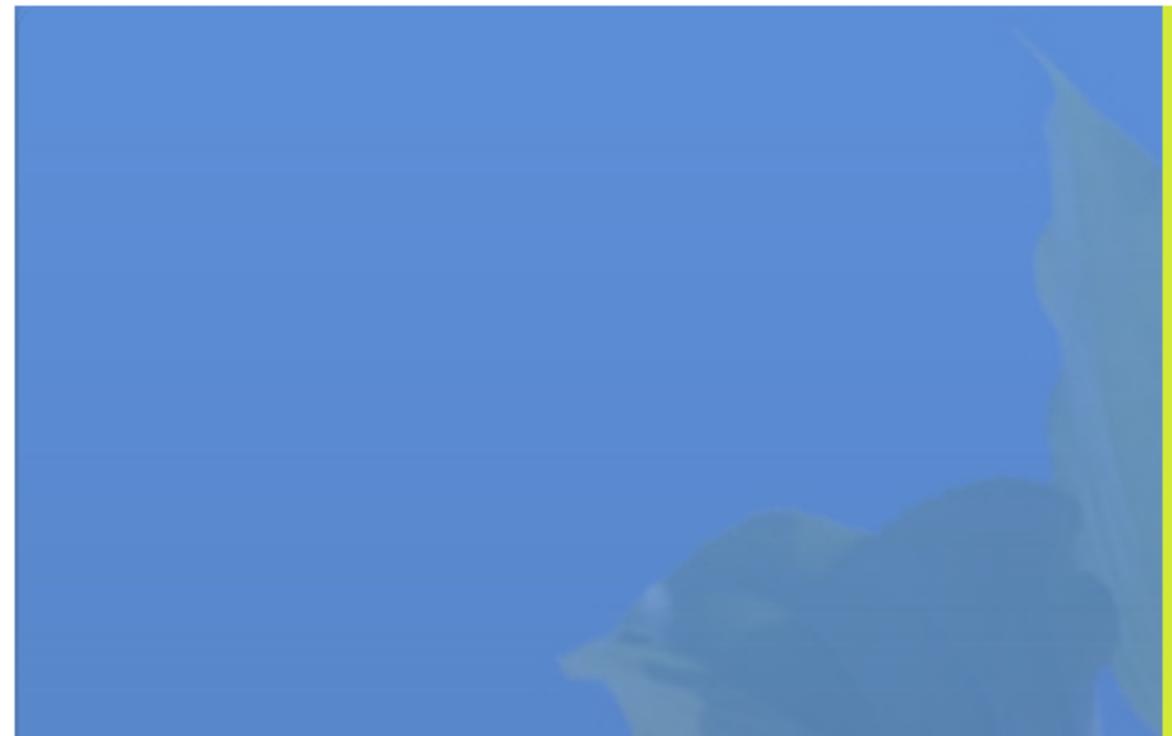
Personal Freedom and Rich Interaction: Juana Briones de Miranda (1802-1889)

Living through the Mission era, the ever-inventive **Juana Briones de Miranda** set the stage for future cultural development in the valley. Briones was of mixed European, African, and Native American ancestry. Her grandparents immigrated to Alta California to escape a "racial caste system" and a deteriorating economic climate in New Spain (now Mexico). Her mother⁹ was about five years old when her family came with the De Anza expedition to California in 1776, a year before Mission Santa Clara and the old pueblo of San José were established. Briones was born and spent her early years in the **Villa de Branciforte** near **Mission Santa Cruz**, which set the tone for her life, including learning from Indians. When her mother died, her father moved the family to **El Polín Springs**, near the Presidio in San Francisco. After marrying soldier Apolinario Miranda, Briones and her husband established a farm nearby.

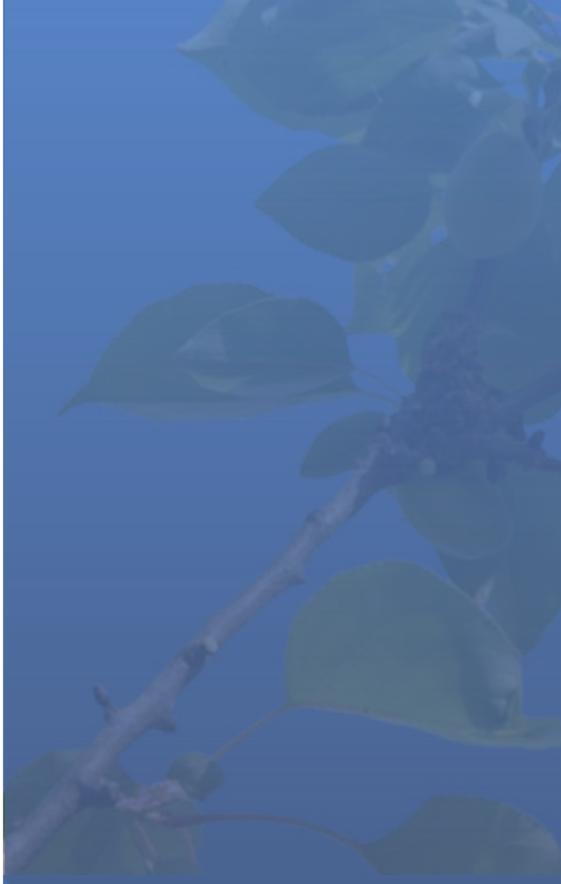
Through an archeological project conducted by Stanford University at El Polín Springs, we find early information about Briones' relationships, values, and the pluralistic households she formed with her sisters. Professor **Barbara L. Voss** writes: "This ethnic pluralism may be reflected in the archaeological materials found at El Polín Springs, which included groundstone, flaked lithics and glass, worked shell artifacts, glass trade beads, and locally-made ceramics along with British-produced whitewares and other imported goods." Voss also provides discussion that gives insight into Briones' changing relationship with a patriarchal Presidio society.¹⁰

Briones' history elucidates the ingenuity of successful women at the interaction of cultures. She became a businesswoman, humanitarian, and landowner. She raised eight children, including an adopted Native American girl, studied the art and science of natural healing from Mexican *curanderos* and her Native American neighbors, aided people in need during the smallpox epidemic, left her abusive, drunkard husband, and started new ventures. She moved her family to what we still know as **Yerba Buena** (perhaps named for the healing herb tea she used), developed successful cattle and vegetable businesses, and built community through her hospitality and healing as a *curandera*. The coastal site became increasingly known for celebrations and for meeting potential partners. Reflecting her reputation, it was highlighted on San Francisco's first map as **Playa de Juana Briones**—later to become the cultural hotspot known as **North Beach**, home of **Little Italy**, the **San Francisco Art Institute**, beatnik subculture, and **City Lights Bookstore**.

In 1844, Briones purchased the 4,400-acre **Rancho la Purísima Concepción** in the Palo Alto foothills from two Mission Santa Clara (Clareño) Ohlone men, **José**



Gorgonio and his son **José Ramon**, who then stayed on for years until they had to find safety. The two men had been given the first Native American-owned Mexican land grant after the breakup of the Santa Clara Mission in 1840. Briones developed the cattle ranch and brought her creative vision to the land: a hilltop home for her family with a spectacular view, an architecturally rare type of redwood-and-adobe construction called encajonado, and an east wall arbor of wisteria.¹¹ Briones' rancho also served as an inn for travelers on a route that connected with Santa Cruz. From the wide-ranging art forms of Mission Santa Clara¹² to the cultural objects and ways of Ohlone or Chinese ranch laborers and various new immigrants, Briones lived in rich interaction with Mission art and the evolving arts of Ohlone, Spanish, Italian, Mexican, Chinese, and many other traditions.



Empowering People with "Thread Knowledge": Consuelo Jimenez Underwood

Contemporary artist **Consuelo Jimenez Underwood** wove baskets in 1971–1973 in Los Angeles as a young mother, having read a childhood book about **Dat So La Lee** (ca. 1829–1925, Nevada), one of the last great Native American (**Washoe**) basket weavers. Understanding basketry allowed Underwood an easy transition to other textile arts, including weaving. Working with fiber to convey concepts sparked her creative process. In 2005, her solo exhibition at **Movimiento de Arte y Cultura Latino Americana (MACLA)** in San José, centered on Tortillas in Basket constructed at her nearby Cupertino studio: "The tortilla baskets celebrate the survival of indigenous culture."

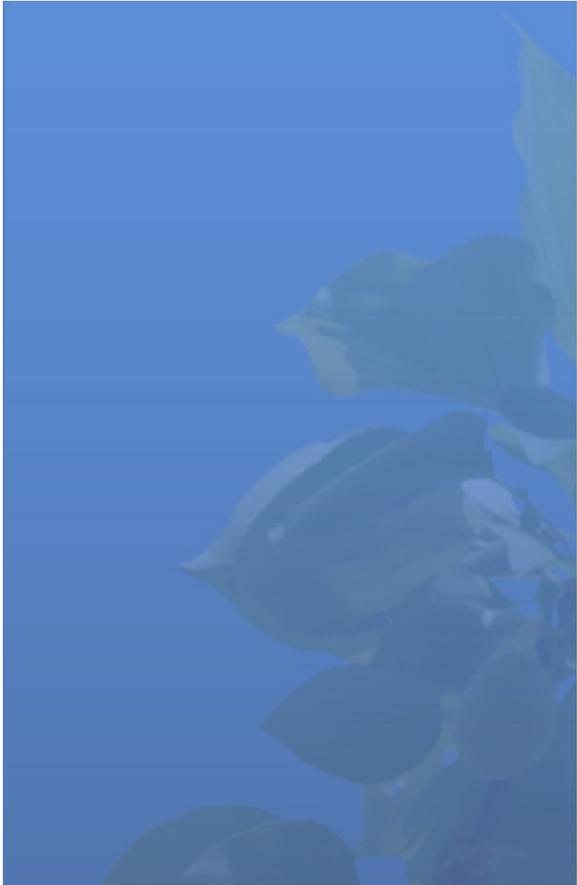


Undocumented Tortilla Basket, 2008. Barbed wire, aluminum wire, 9.5"x29" diameter.



Tortillas in Basket, 2005. Reed, silk, corn leaves, thread, 20"x5' diameter. Part of her exhibition entitled **Tortillas, Chiles, and Other Border Things** at MACLA that commented on the "true American food that has survived 500 years of colonization—the **tortilla de maiz**. In 1992, the tortilla outsold 'white' bread in the U.S. That is incredible, when you consider that the tortilla was invented by the Amerindians."

Underwood's life and art span border issues and three cultures. She grew up crossing the U.S.–Mexico border, starting in 1949 soon after she was born in Sacramento, California. Her mother, born in 1906, was a first generation



Californian, whose ancestral family had a connection with the **Tarahumara** (northwestern Mexico), the people who run long distances. It is from her maternal side that Consuelo draws "tenacity and strength of will." Her father, from Jalisco, was one of the first braceros during World War II. His mother was full-blooded **Huichol**, who married a Mexican and lived and worked on a hacienda in Jalisco, Mexico. Since she was never permitted to speak in her native tongue, Underwood's father never learned Huichol. Years later, when Underwood was a very young child, it was her father who introduced her to weaving and taught her the magic and mystery of life. He inspired Underwood with "songs and stories, where forces like wind and fire were main characters." While it is with her Huichol grandmother that Underwood connects, she never met her. Honoring her Huichol grandmother and all the Amerindian anonymous woman elders who wove with a backstrap loom, Underwood vowed in the 1970s, early on her artistic path, to always make art with a textile process or material. She insisted on focusing her artistic studies on learning how to spin, dye and weave with thread.

"I learned three ways of seeing and understanding the world—the English, Spanish and Amerindian, all very distinct." Underwood has spoken about the past, her Amerindian connections, survival skills, and the mixing of peoples and cultures. "There was no border in California, just two little stalls at the border crossing at Mexicali/Calexico."

Recalling the Chinese, Underwood recounts, "They go way back. It was difficult for them in Mexico and the United States (Chinese Exclusion Act). In the late 1880s, they were sent back to China. Some were sent to **Yaqui Land** [the fertile valley on the banks of the Yaqui River in the Sonoran Desert]. They have burial grounds there. So there are Chinese descendants in Yaqui Land." Underwood's husband, electrical engineer **Dr. Marcos Underwood**, is a Yaqui member of the **Pascua Yaqui Nation** in Tucson, Arizona. The Underwood family participates annually in the spring and fall rituals in Yaqui Land.



A Spiral Through Time

Underwood's baskets remind us of the workload women have carried, and her one-of-a-kind woven forms bear witness to the ongoing creativity, energy and innovation of Silicon Valley, and her unique spirit. Her gigantic fabric flowers also evoke spirit, transcendence, as well as the too long ignored, real world struggle to sustain natural habitats. Following Underwood's art and career yields stories that illuminate the realms of border crossing and take us on a beautiful spiral through time, starting with the early art of Ohlone women, through the intercultural appreciation and courage of Briones, followed by the expansive cultural and art-world connections of Eaton, up to today. Underwood's fiber art raises ongoing questions about local cultural development, about the nature and challenges of borders—geographic, generational, academic, social, and in the art world—and about imaginative travel through time. "I need the old ways." She speaks of the "ancient ones" as if they were intimate family members.

A convivial vision comes to my mind of a wonderful, intergenerational circle of

women. All are admiring, perhaps with smartphones at hand, Underwood's exquisite woven *rebozos* for the "ancient ones," the first weavers: Consuelo with Dat So La Lee, Juana Briones and Marjorie Eaton; Angela Colos with Jean La Marr—sharing tales, oohing, aahing, nodding in approval, and smiling—a natural gathering of community in Silicon Valley, as it was in the beginning with the ancestral Ohlone.

Returning to real time, construction proceeds on the huge, synchrotron-like **Apple Computer** headquarters—a circular building echoing the **Ohlone tupentak** meeting space. The Cupertino site will have 85% open space, trees, an old barn, and a flavor of the agricultural past.

Companies, organizations, educational institutions, and cities choose building sites with a hilltop or coastal view or the advantages of a nearby major transit artery—a good mix of art, technology, and community. Dark, streamlined buses ply these routes from San Francisco to Silicon Valley, bringing workers who, like Briones before them, weave together cultural experiences, employment opportunities, and creative styles. Fleets of these black-windowed shuttles cause their own disruption and resentment. As in centuries past, constant travel, trade, and immigration has built new workforces and economies, brought class struggles and injustices, and engaged new ideas.

This investigation began with local indigenous people, examining changes in Ohlone art and lives in relation to socioeconomic and political changes that continue to this day. What do various creative—and caring—communities feel like in terms of architecture, institutions, and informal get-togethers? How does the example of creative people like our circle of women connect with contemporary transmissions of values held most dear? These are ongoing questions that thoughtful leaders must address.

This historical bridge is excerpted from a manuscript in process, written in collaboration with others. This essay and related article, "Ohlone Art and Community Building," would not have been possible without discussions and insight from Nancy Hom, Judy Goddess, Dr. Laurel Bossen, Lucy Cain Sargeant, Alan Leventhal, Jean LaMarr, Dr. Lee Panich, Consuelo Jimenez Underwood, Mary Parks Washington, Connie Young Yu, Clark Akatiff, Ann Sherman, Jeanne Farr McDonnell, and others.

Information about the Ohlone and Indian tribes in California:

Field, Les W. with Alan Leventhal and Rosemary Cambra, "Mapping Erasure," in *Recognition, Sovereignty, Struggles, and Indigenous Rights in the United States, A Sourcebook*. Ed., Amy E. Den Ouden and Jean M. O'Brien. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2013.

---, with Alan Leventhal, Dolores Sanchez, and Rosemary Cambra, "Ohlone Tribal Revitalization Movement, A Perspective from the Muwekma Costanoan/ Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco Bay," *California History* 71:412-431. 1992.

Lightfoot, Kent. *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*, University of California, Berkeley, 2005.

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe website, www.muwekma.org

Rindfleisch, Jan. [Ohlone Art and Building Community](#)

Information about Juana Briones life and times:

Juana Briones Heritage, www.brioneshouse.org

Palo Alto Stanford (PAST) Heritage, www.pastheritage.org (Palo Alto Stanford Heritage Newsletter)

[Stanford University Research at the Presidio of San Francisco Tennessee Hollow Watershed Archeological Project](#)

Technical Reports of the Market Street Chinatown Archaeology Project (MSCAP), Stanford Archaeology Center

McDonnell, Jeanne Farr. *Juana Briones of Nineteenth-Century California*. University of Arizona Press, 2008.

California Historical Society, San Francisco. [Juana Briones y Su California, Pionera, Fundadora, Curandera](#). 2014. Exhibition. Included **Kristine Samuelson's** video of Al Camarillo narrating at the Briones site as the demolition loomed; and artist **Rebeca Méndez's** *Of the Earth 1*, a 5-minute video portrait of the land Briones held so dear.

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A separate publication includes information about Tom Hunt: Holzgrafe, Carol. "Mosaics," in *Art, Religion, Spirituality*. Jan Rindfleisch. 1982.

Susan Kirk remembering, Palo Alto Stanford (PAST) Heritage 2007.

Conversations and correspondence with Susan Kirk, artist Tom Hunt, Deanna Bartels Tisone and others.

First Generation—Deanna Bartels, Betty Estersohn, and Joan Valdes—created a 1970s award-winning video, *Marjorie Eaton*.

John Crosse conversations and correspondence related to Pauline and R.M. Schindler/Edward Weston circle

Mayfield, Signe. *Marjorie Eaton: Paintings and Drawings from the 1930s*. Palo Alto Cultural Center. 1992. Exhibition catalogue.

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Hernandez, Ester. Text panels for *Flower-landia* exhibition. Triton Museum of Art, Santa Clara, California. 2013.

Perez, Laura. "Threads." *Craft in America*. PBS. KQED, San Francisco. May 11, 2012.

"Threads," *SPARK**. PBS. KQED, San Francisco. June 2003. Television.

¹ On October 16, 1838, two Mission Indians residing in south San José, married at Mission Santa Clara. A year later, their daughter **Maria Asuncion de Los Angeles** was born on the Bernal rancho. The family then moved to the Bernal-Pico-Sunol rancho between Sunol and Pleasanton. Maria Asuncion was later known as Maria de los Angeles Colos or Ángela Colos. She was interviewed by five anthropologists, starting in 1904. She died around 1929, before she was able to enroll with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. On October 12, 1929, John P. Harrington, a linguist from the Smithsonian Institution, interviewed Angela Colos and she stated, "The **Clareños** were much intermarried with the **Chocheños** [Indians from **Mission San José**]. The dialect(s) were similar. **Muwékma**, la gente (*the people*)."

Anthropologist **C. Hart Merriam** collected baskets from **Ascencion Solarsano de Cervantes** (died 1930) and her mother **Barbara Serra** (Mission San Juan Bautista) during the early 1900s, which are curated at **UC Davis**.

² For more information, see [Projects - Ohlone Art and Building Community](#)

³ "Mapping Erasure," Les W. Field with Alan Leventhal and Rosemary Cambra, in *Recognition, Sovereignty, Struggles, and Indigenous Rights in the United States, A Sourcebook*, edited by Amy, E. Den Ouden, and Jean M. O'Brien, 2013, University of North Carolina Press.

⁴ Rosemary Cambra is the elected chairwoman of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area whose enrolled membership is descended from Missions Santa Clara, San José, and Dolores. As a previously federally recognized tribe, the tribe is seeking reaffirmation as well as honoring their cultural traditions and identity. For ethnohistory and tribal recognition background in the context of a recent local reburial, see "Final Report on the Burial and Archaeological Data Recovery Program Conducted on a Portion of the Mission Santa Clara Indian Neophyte Cemetery (1781-1818): Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnneste Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H)." Chapter 1 "Introduction: Project Overview" by Alan Leventhal, Rosemary Cambra, Norma Sanchez, Diane DiGiuseppe, and others. Chapter 10: "An Ethnohistory of Santa Clara Valley and Adjacent Regions; Historic Ties of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area and Tribal Stewardship Over the Mission Santa Clara Indian

Neophyte Cemetery: Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H)" by Rosemary Cambra, Alan Leventhal, Monica V. Arellano, Shelia Guzman Schmidt, and Gloria Arellano Gomez

⁵ "Archaeology, Indian memories, and plodding through mission records flesh out lives of the original Californians," Marion Softky, *The Almanac*, 5/14/2001.

⁶ "Final Report [on the Burial and Archaeological Data Recovery Program Conducted on a Portion of the Mission Santa Clara Indian Neophyte Cemetery (1781-1818): Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H)."] Chapter 11: "Reburial of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's Ancestral Remains from the Mission Santa Clara Indian Neophyte Cemetery: Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H) and Final Site Management Recommendations" by Rosemary Cambra, Alan Leventhal, Charlene Nijmeh, Norma Sanchez, Diane DiGiuseppe and David Grant.

⁷ The [Muwekma website](#), cited two Muwekma presentations for the **Society for American Archaeology 80th Annual Meeting** in April 2015. For the **Society for California Archeology 2015 Annual Conference**, plenary session organizer Kaely R. Colligan wrote that the meeting's theme "[Beyond Boundaries](#)" was chosen to emphasize "the influence of cultural and physical boundaries on our perspectives within the archaeological record. In the spirit of 'Beyond Boundaries,' we have built a plenary session featuring papers co-authored by Native Americans and archaeologists." The session included "Meaningful Relationships between the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay and the Anthropological/Archaeological Communities: A Process of Reciprocal Benefits and Collaborations in Language Revitalization, Biological Anthropology," Alan Leventhal, Rosemary Cambra, Monica V. Arellano, Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, and Gilbert Martinez

⁸[Simon Fraser Univeristy - Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage](#)

⁹ Juana Briones' father was already in California and about twelve years old when the Anza expedition passed through. He was with his father at Mission San Luis Obispo. Barbara Voss states that in 1790 California census (missions plus six nascent cities), 71% of the adults in Alta California originated in the Sinaloa/Sonoran/Baja California region. Briones' father had come from San Luis Potosi, her mother from Villa de Culiajan. In terms of the Presidio, Voss writes not one of the original settlers was born in Spain; in modern terms, their national origin would be best described as Mexican. *The Archaeology of El Presidio de San Francisco: Culture Contact, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Spanish-colonial Military Community*, Barbara Voss, 2002, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. P. 148

¹⁰ For general information about the archeological project, see [Stanford University at the Presidio of San Francisco Tennessee Hollow Watershed Archeological Project](#), which includes an excerpt from Chapter 9, "The Presidio Landscape," in *The Archaeology of El Presidio de San Francisco: Culture Contact, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Spanish-colonial Military Community* [Barbara Voss, 2002, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley]. Voss gives insight into Briones' relationship with presidial society: (In the following, Guadalupe Briones is Juana's older sister.)

...The residential strategies of the Briones sisters thus highlight the variability within military society in Alta California during the early and mid 1800s. Without repudiating the trend towards "seigneurial" patriarchal[8] control of land, women, Native