

(*casitas*) known to have existed on the *ranchería* site were burned down, and, according to family oral tradition, Catherine Peralta, Lucas Marine's wife, was the last person to live on the *ranchería*. What remained were large, scattered, extended families, related to one another through marriages and godparenthood, who maintained and treasured the knowledge of their identity. It was into this changing world that the children of Porfidio Sanchez and Ramona Marine were born at the Sunol *ranchería*.

The Families Period (1914 to the Present)

Several censuses and ethnographic materials show that the grandparents of the contemporary Muwekma families continued to live near Alisal after 1914. Documents from the Department of the Interior, dated 1913, 1915, 1916, and 1917, specify the existence of the "Verona Band" of Indians in Alameda county.⁵⁶ The existence and location of the Verona Band was again corroborated by the Department of the Interior in 1927.⁵⁷ The California Jurisdictional Act of 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602) created an application/enrollment census for California Indians who could verify that their ancestors were living in the state on June 1, 1852.⁵⁸ This special census (1928-1933) is the most precise document available for the period, as it listed all the Indians of the Verona Band, specified where they lived, and in some cases actually identified them as "Ohlone Indians."⁵⁹ Recorded on two applications, two Muwekma relatives identified themselves and their tribal affiliation as "Ohlones" and "Olanian" to examiner Fred Baker. Dolores Sanchez's maternal uncle, Lucas Marine,⁶⁰ referred to his tribe as "Ohlones." He was the youngest son of Dolores's grandparents, Raphael and Avelina Cornates Marine, and he married Catherine Peralta, José Guzman's granddaughter. Some of these individuals are still alive and are the grandparents and parents comprising the Muwekma elders.

The most extensive information about the Ohlones of the Verona Band comes from the work of Smithsonian Institution linguist and ethnographer John P. Harrington, who worked with Ohlone descendants at Carmel, Monterey, and San Juan Bautista, as well as in Pleasanton. Harrington interviewed Verona Band Ohlones between 1921 and 1930, and his main informants were Maria de los Angeles Colos, José Guzman, and other immediate family members (Susanna Nichols and Catherine

Peralta), all descendants of the multiethnic Indian communities established after the secularization of Mission San Jose. Like Kroeber and Merriam before him, Harrington encountered a rich linguistic environment among the Ohlones of Pleasanton. *Californio* Spanish and Miwok Ki'k predominated as a *lingua franca*, but Harrington also heard Chochenyo and recorded dance songs, vocabularies, and stories in that language. He did the same for two other surviving Ohlone languages, Mutsun/Hoomontwash, in the San Juan Bautista area, and Rumsen in Carmel and Monterey.⁶¹ Harrington's notes provide tantalizing glimpses of an ethnographic puzzle, the heterogeneous components of the complex and varied world of the Ohlone in the early twentieth century. The word for "the People," "Muwekma" appeared in early linguistic publications and was still in use when Harrington visited the east bay.⁶² The information he recorded described the last generation of Ohlones to have grown up speaking indigenous languages.

The East Bay Muwekma/Ohlone families continued to live in Pleasanton, Sunol, Niles, Milpitas, Newark, and Livermore in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. During these years, Ohlone existence passed out of the public eye and into the private domain. Kroeber wrote his extinction sentence in 1925, and while the families did not "go into hiding" *per se*, they adopted a quiet and discrete profile. The pervasive, and often openly hostile, racism of American society at this time still sometimes categorized Indians as "criminals" and the Ohlones, along with other indigenous Californians, as primitive "Digger Indians."⁶³ This atmosphere, and historical circumstance, contributed to the waning of the cultural revival that the people of Alisal had experienced.

One whole side of the descendants and relatives of José Antonio lost a great deal of their heritage. Ramona Marine Sanchez, the daughter of Avelina Cornates Marine, who had herself been raised by José Antonio and Jacoba, her grand-uncle and aunt, died young in childbirth in 1921. Ramona grew up within the environment of transitional Ohlone culture, having lived at Alisal and being the child of Avelina. Evidence suggests that the Ohlone heritage at Alisal was passed most strongly through the female line.⁶⁴ Strong, independent female leaders, called *mayen*, may derive from ancient Costanoan and Miwok traditions, since early Spanish sources describe *mayen* as sometimes, but not always, the wives of *capitanes*.⁶⁵ Ramona's death was thus profoundly disruptive to the passing of cultural



Lucas Marine and his (second) wife, Cecilia Armija, ca. 1925. Courtesy Alvarez and Galvan families.

knowledge, because when she died, her daughters were all placed at the convent orphanage Saint Mary of the Palms, attached to the Catholic church in the old Mission San Jose, while her sons were scattered to a number of different relatives. Fortunately, Ramona's younger sister Trinidad "Trini" Marine lived into her old age, and while she did not speak an indigenous language, her experience made her one of the stalwarts of Ohlone culture and history.

One of Ramona's daughters, Dolores Sanchez, having left the orphanage as an adolescent, worked

as a domestic in San Francisco until age seventeen. She married at a young age and moved with her husband to a ranch in Milpitas during the early 1930s. She and her family lived very simply and survived the years of the Great Depression. One of Dolores's daughters, Julia Lopez, recalls that while their mother would send the children off to church, she would never go herself. "And she was brought up in the Mission," Julia said. "Us kids wondered about it, but now I realize she must have gone through many changes while living there." Later, in the 1940s, Dolores and her family moved to a working-class neighborhood in east San Jose known as *Sal Si Puedes* ("Get Out If You Can," so-called because the unpaved streets would flood during the wintertime). In San Jose, the children went to Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, although their mother did not. Julia remembers how three of the church's leaders, Fathers Poole and MacDonald and Sister Bravo, would take her and her siblings to a monastery in Los Gatos to play. Julia reflected that while "everything was taken from my mother when she had to go to the Mission," Dolores still knew which herbs that grew in the hills were medicinal, and told her children that they were Indians. At times of sickness, she would take her children up to Alum Rock Park to the sulphur springs, and to collect herbs, to make them well.⁶⁶

Other immediate family members lived near Dolores in San Jose. Her brothers Enos Sanchez and Robert Sanchez were neighbors. Both served, along with several of their cousins (Henry Alvarez, Salvador Piscopo, Ben Galvan, Ernest Marine, and others), in the United States armed forces during World War II. They have maintained their identity, and knew about certain aspects of their heritage.⁶⁷ Various cousins, uncles, and aunts living throughout central California also visited on occasions when they were in town.

Henry "Hank" Alvarez, a Muwekma elder and first cousin to Dolores Sanchez, remembers growing up in Santa Cruz with his mother, Dolores Marine. He is the youngest of seven children of his mother's first family. During the depression, Dolores Marine, then married to Phillip Galvan, Sr., moved to Brentwood. Henry grew up there with his step-brothers and sister and remembers many families coming to visit and to "spend the night and my mom cooked for everybody." He remembers his mother talking about linguist J.P. Harrington: "I remember that there was a man who came around. Heh, my mom didn't like him



Salvador Piscopo (left) (b. 1923), and Henry "Hank" Alvarez (b. 1922), sons of Dolores Marine. Both men served in the European theater during World War II. *Courtesy Alvarez and Galvan families.*

because he used to talk too much. She knew him, but she never liked him because he talked too much. . . . asked too many questions." In 1942, Hank enlisted in the United States Army and served in Europe. He landed at Utah Beach during the Normandy invasion and was discharged from the service on December 28, 1945. Hank also knew his two uncles, Dario and Lucas Marine, very well and would visit with their families. Both of his uncles, he recalls, spoke in the Indian language, but he never knew which dialect.⁶⁸

Dolores Sanchez's daughter Julia Lopez remembers Christmases in Fremont with Tia Trini and her family, including Ruth Orta, her brothers and sisters and their families, as the best of times for the Sanchez children. Julia recalls Tia Trini as a person who took care of other people in the family and understood their cares and needs. She was also a storehouse of information about the families'

heritage, although at this time she was seldom asked anything about this. It seems that it was enough during those years to spend time with the members of the extended family, to feel the warmth and security of the ingathering at Christmas, or at weddings, births, and funerals, and quietly to know about and share their identity. The strength of these families is what kept Ohlone identity alive.⁶⁹

Recently, some of the descendant families of José Guzman, Victoria Marine Munoz, and Dolores Marine Galvan have submitted their applications for enrollment in the Muwekma tribe. Albert Galvan, son of Benjamin and Jenny Galvan, was elected to the tribal council. As the process moves forward toward federal recognition in this year of the quincentennial of Columbus's voyage, tribal members hope that other documented families will join the Muwekma as rightful inheritors of their aboriginal birthright, thus bringing the tribe to full circle.



Muwekma tribal elders (standing, left to right) Jenny Galvan, Kathy Galvan-Kerr, Joanne Brose, and Terry Landuani, photographed after a tribal meeting in 1992. Seated in the front is Muwekma tribal councilman Albert Galvan. *Photograph by Alan Leventhal.*

Full Circle

The Ohlone families remained invisible almost until the final disposition of the Settlement Act in 1964. In 1972, the enrolled Ohlones, along with the other eligible California Indians, received their share of the final judgment for the value of California Indian lands specified in the unratified eighteen treaties of 1851 and 1852. Many of the Muwekma received, in final judgment for all of their ancestral lands, with interest, the sum of \$668.51 per person. The process of contemporary revitalization, as we have related here, was initiated when the checks from the federal government were mailed out, and questions were raised in the minds of many of the descendants. At that time, Rosemary Cambra, daughter of Dolores Sanchez, and now chairwoman of the Muwekma Ohlone tribe, began the process of consciousness-raising. As the great-great-grandniece of José and Jacoba Antonio, and a vigorous and visible leader, Rosemary now leads the federal acknowledgement process. By slender

threads, the knowledge and heritage passed from the Costanoan villages at the time of contact with the Spanish, through the crucible of great loss and suffering during missionization and early statehood, to the first great revitalization at Alisal, and then quietly through the last sixty years. The time of silence is over, and the second revitalization of the Muwekma Ohlone families is moving forcefully. Hank Alvarez perhaps best captures the spirit of this revitalization by stating: "We should be recognized. Our greatest achievement is to try to do this. I talk to my wife and talk to the children about this, how important it is for our grandchildren to carry on and to do what they are supposed to do about their heritage; be proud of it and not deny it and not be ashamed of it. I was never ashamed of saying I was an Indian."⁷⁰

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See notes beginning on page 453.



A 1989 Muwekma gathering of four generations in Alameda County, at Coyote Hills, East Bay Regional Park. The site (Ca-Ala-328) is a reconstructed village above a prehistoric shellmound, where P.B.S. television filmed its recent documentary, "The Voice of the Planet." Seated from left to right are: Amah-Mutsun elder Adela Gilroy (San Juan Bautista Ohlone), Muwekma elder Dolores Sanchez, Rosemary Cambra, Muwekma elder Robert Sanchez, Mary Louisa Cruz, John Cambra, Jr., and Anna (Cruz) Fajardo, holding her baby daughter Blanca. *Photograph by Alan Leventhal.*

Dolores Sanchez is a Muwekma tribal elder. She has been central to the Muwekma Ohlone tribal revitalization by providing leadership and support for the tribe's effort toward federal recognition. She has actively been involved with lifehistory projects and has participated in many tribal research programs.

Alan Leventhal has been trained as an archaeologist and has conducted field work in the Great Basin and California for the past twenty years. He has also been involved with various Native American communities, from New York to California. In addition to working on the administrative staff at San Jose State University, he is a part-time instructor in anthropology at Ohlone College. For the past twelve years, he has worked as an archaeologist and ethnohistorian with the Muwekma tribe and more recently with the Amah-Mutsun Ohlones and the Carmel Mission band of Costanoans.

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Rosemary Cambra is the elected chairperson of the Muwekma Ohlone tribe. She has been active in seeking federal acknowledgment for her tribe, as well as the two other Costanoan/Ohlone tribal groups. She has been a distinguished guest speaker at various Bay Area universities, including Stanford, Santa Clara, University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Santa Cruz, and San Jose State University.

43. Ibid., 40, 41.
44. Ibid., 44-46.
45. Serra to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, April 22, 1773, in Serra, *Writings*, 1:341.
46. Ibid.
47. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: 1886-1890), 1:249-54. Franciscan historian Maynard J. Geiger attributes rape as a principal cause of the San Diego revolt in Geiger, ed., *Letter of Luís Jayme*, xxx.
48. Serra to Rafael Verger, Aug. 8, 1779, in Serra, *Writings*, 3:349-51.
49. Gutiérrez, "Sexual Inversion."
50. A.N. Groth, *Men Who Rape: The Psychology of the Offender* (New York: Plenum Press, 1979), 60-61; Julia R. Schwendinger and Herman Schwendinger, *Rape and Inequality* (Beverly Hills: Sage Press, 1983), 202-04; P. Robert, et al., quoted in E. A. Fatah, "The Use of the Victim as an Agent of Self-Legitimization: Toward a Dynamic Explanation of Criminal Behavior," in *Victims and Society*, ed., E. C. Viano, (Washington, D.C.: Visage Press, 1976), 108; Suzanne Ageton, *Sexual Assault Among Adolescents* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1983), 111-12.
51. Bancroft, *History of California*, 1:362-64. Soldiers' fears of native people were no doubt augmented by the Diegueño attack on Mission San Diego and the Yuma destruction of the Colorado River missions in 1781.
52. José Seán to the Commissioner, Nov. 9, 1822, in Seán, *Letters*, 165.
53. Ann Wolbert Burgess and Lynda Lytle Holstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 131 (Sept. 1974):981-86.
54. Lasuén, *Writings*, 2:212; Cook and Borah, *Population History* 3:267-78, 304-10. See also Garr, "Rare and Desolate Land," 134-37.
55. Serra to Felipe de Neve, Jan. 7, 1780, in Serra, *Writings*, 3:409-13.
56. José Longinos, *Journal of José Longinos Martínez: Notes and Observations of the Naturalist of the Botanical Expedition in Old and New California and the South Coast, 1791-1792* (San Francisco, 1961), 55.
57. Cook, "Population Trends among the California Mission Indians," 29-34.
58. Longinos, *Journal*, 44. While prehistoric Californians suffered from numerous health problems, like other Indians in the western hemisphere, they had not been exposed to the infectious crowd diseases, nor is there evidence for syphilis in precontact times. Phillip L. Walker, Patricia Lambert, and Michael J. DeNiro, "The Effects of European Contact on the Health of Alta California Indians," in *Columbian Consequences. Volume 1: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands West*, David Hurst Thomas, ed. (Washington, D.C., and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 349-64. See also Brenda J. Baker and George J. Armelagos, "The Origin and Antiquity of Syphilis: Paleopathological Diagnosis and Interpretation," *Current Anthropology* 29 (December 1988):703-37.
59. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. and ed., and Clement Meighan, ed., *As the Padres Saw Them: California Mission Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries, 1813-1815* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archives, 1976), 71-80.
60. Cook, "The Indian versus the Spanish Mission," 22-30.
61. Geiger and Meighan, *As the Padres Saw Them*, 105-106.
62. Madison S. Beeler, ed., *The Ventureño Confesionario of José Seán, O.F.M.*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 47 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 37-63; Harry Kelsey, ed., *The Doctrina and Confesionario of Juan Cortés* (Altadena, Calif.: Howling Coyote Press, 1979), 113-16, 120-23.
63. Cook, "The Indian Versus the Spanish Mission," 101-13.
64. Cook, "The Physical and Demographic Reaction of the Nonmission Indians in Colonial and Provincial California," *Ibero-Americana* 22 (1943):1-55.
65. Longinos, *Journal*, 56; Lasuén, "Refutation of Charges," May 28, 1801, in Lasuén, *Writings*, 210.
- Patterson, "Indian Life in the City," pp. 402-411.**
1. The term "Pomo" has come to designate people who are descendants of Pomoan-speaking natives of Lake, Glenn, Mendocino, and Sonoma counties, California. Pomo is a branch of the Hokan language family and has been subdivided by linguists into seven mutually unintelligible languages identified by geographical prefixes: Northern Pomo, Central Pomo, Southern Pomo, Southwestern Pomo (Kashaya), Eastern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, and Southeastern Pomo. There are local dialects of all seven languages. Frances Jack speaks the Hopland dialect of Central Pomo as her first language.
 2. Juliette Lombard, "The Migration of Women from the Ukiah Valley in California to the San Francisco Bay Region" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1942), 17.
 3. All the quotes attributed to Frances Jack, as well as the information pertaining to her experiences, were collected by the author in a series of interviews with Frances Jack at Hopland Rancheria between 1985 and 1987. Interview notes are in the possession of the author.
 4. Drs. B. W. and E. C. Aginsky of Columbia University, New York, directed a summer field school in conjunction with the New York University Social Science Field Laboratory in Ukiah from 1939 to 1947. Their students focused on understanding the social, political, and economic relations of people living in the Ukiah Valley. The unpublished and unedited field notes from the school are housed at the Department of Anthropology, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.
5. Lombard, "The Migration of Women from the Ukiah Valley in California to the San Francisco Bay Region," 28.
 6. From Columbia University/New York University Social Science Field Laboratory unpublished notes, 1938-1940.
 7. Documents relative to the history of the Oakland YWCA can be found at Oakland Public Library, Oakland History Room, Newspaper Clipping Files, "YWCA."
 8. *Oakland YWCA Annual Report, 1937*, Newspaper Clipping File, "YWCA," Oakland Public Library, Oakland History Room.
 9. *Oakland YWCA Annual Report, 1886*, Newspaper Clipping File, "YWCA," Oakland Public Library, Oakland History Room.
 10. Documents pertaining to Anthony Chabot and the Chabot Home can be found in the Oakland Public Library, History Room, Newspaper Clipping Files, "Chabot."
 11. All the quotes attributed to Mildred Van Every, as well as the information pertaining to her experiences, can be found in the unpublished notes of the Columbia/N.Y. University Social Sciences Field Laboratory, 1939-40, housed at Sonoma State University.
 12. United States Government Printing Office, *Women's Bureau Bulletin #148* (Washington; D.C., 1936), in Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publications, 1982).
 13. Ibid., 27.
- Field, et al, "Ohlone Tribal Revitalization Movement," pp. 412-431.**
1. Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78, 1925), 464. This article is the result of research funded by California Department of Transportation, District 4, San Francisco. The article represents a revised version of an ethnohistory chapter for inclusion in the final report: T. Jackson, J. Hall, and M. Hylkema (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations at Ca-SCL-690, Tamien Station* (San Francisco, 1992). Finally, we want to thank Mr. Mark Hylkema, Caltrans archaeologist, for his vision and sensitivity that helped to fund and publish this research.
 2. Alfred L. Kroeber and Robert F. Heizer, "Continuity of Indian Population in California from 1770/1848 to 1955," in *Papers on California Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Contribution 9, 1970), 1-22.
 3. Omer Stewart's analysis of the hearings, "Litigation and its Effects," in Robert F. Heizer (ed.), *Handbook of the North Ameri-*

- can Indians, Vol. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), forms the basis for this Native American perspective.
4. *Ibid.*
 5. Refer to: Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*; Robert F. Heizer, *The Costanoan Indians* (Cupertino: California History Center, Local History Series, Vol. 18, 1974); and Richard Levy, "Costanoan," in Heizer, *Handbook of the North American Indians*, Vol. 8, 485-95.
 6. Michael J. Moratto, *California Archaeology* (Orlando, San Francisco, New York, and London: Academic Press, 1984).
 7. Richard Levy, "Costanoan."
 8. A. P. Cummings, "Washington Township" (Unpublished manuscript report for WPA Project 65-3-646, copy on file in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1937).
 9. Randall Milliken, "People of the Santa Clara Valley in the 1770s," in T. Jackson, J. Hall and M. Hylkema (eds.), *Archaeological Investigations at Ca-SCL-690, Tamien Station* (San Francisco: California Department of Transportation, 1992).
 10. Omer Stewart, "Litigation and its Effects."
 11. *Ibid.*; also cf. Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," in Heizer, *Handbook of the North American Indians*, Vol. 8, 713-17; and Robert F. Heizer, "Treaties" in Heizer, *Handbook of the North American Indians*, Vol. 8, 701-704.
 12. This classified information and the map are found in "The Roseburg Files" (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs Classified Files, National Archives Records Administration, 1907-1939).
 13. Julia Lopez, interview with Les Field, July 17, 1991 (notes in possession of senior author).
 14. Rosemary Cambra, interview with Les Field, June 24, 1991 (notes in possession of senior author).
 15. Edward D. Castillo, "Twentieth-Century Secular Movements," 716.
 16. Michael Galvan, "People of the West: The Ohlone Story," *The Indian Historian* 1 (1968): 9-13.
 17. "Resolution of the Board of Directors on the Ohlone Indian Cemetery," *The Indian Historian* 4 (1971): 42.
 18. An historical recounting of older analyses of the bayshore mounds with a new interpretation is found in Alan Leventhal, "A Reinterpretation of Some Bay Area Shell Mounds: A View From the Mortuary Complex From Ca-SCL-329, The Ryan Mound" (M.A. thesis, San Jose State University, 1992).
 19. CEQA (California Environmental Quality Act) was passed in 1970 and amended in 1984. CEQA requires public agencies to assess the effects of their activities upon the environment (Public Resource Code, Section 21000 et seq.). The California Resource Agency has issued CEQA guidelines; Appendix K of these guidelines specifies what constitutes an "important archaeological resource."
 20. Calculations of California's pre-contact population are found in both Sherburne Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1776-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976,) and in Michael J. Moratto, *California Archaeology*.
 21. Joseph C. Winter (ed.), "Archaeological Investigations at Ca-SCL-128, Holiday Inn Site" (San Jose: unpublished report to the city of San Jose Redevelopment Agency, 1978).
 22. Joseph C. Winter, *Tamien: 6000 Years in an American City* (San Jose: Report to the City of San Jose Redevelopment Agency, 1978).
 23. An early example of sensitivity displayed by local archaeologists is found in Ken Colson, Julie Edwards, Rob Edwards, Tom King, and Shirley Lee, "A Proposed Master Plan for the Ohlone Archaeological Area" (unpublished manuscript, 1971, on file at Muwekma Tribal Office).
 24. Native American Heritage Commission, SB 297 (the Garamendi Bill: approved September 27, 1982), Amendment to Government Code, Health and Safety Code and Public Resource Code relating to Native American Human Remains.
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. There are numerous examples of this sort of interpretive report. Such reports constitute what many call a "gray literature," because they are published in very small quantities, distributed only to other professional archaeologists and to public agencies, and remain almost inaccessible to the public. Three example are: James C. Bard and Colin Busby, *Cultural Resources Report on the Wade Ranch Orchard Properties, Inc., Parcels 611 and 612, San Jose, California* (Hayward: Basin Research Associates, 1985); A. G. Pastron and M. R. Walsh, *Archaeological Excavations at Ca-SFr-112, The Stevenson Street Shellmound, San Francisco, California* (Salinas: Coyote Press Archives of California Prehistory 21, 1988); and Robert R. Cartier, *Archaeological Excavations at Ca-SCL-6W, the Lick Mill Boulevard Site* (San Jose: Archaeological Resource Management, 1990).
 27. Examples of OFCS reports include: Alan Leventhal, Rosemary Cambra, and Norma Sanchez, *Final Report on the Archaeological Data Recovery Program of a Portion of Prehistoric Site Ca-Ala-479, Union City, California* (San Jose: Ohlone Families Consulting Services, 1987); Alan Leventhal, Rosemary Cambra, and Norma Sanchez, *Final Report on the Human Skeletal Remains Recovered from Prehistoric Site Ca-SMa-273, Coyote Point Marina, San Mateo, California* (San Jose: Ohlone Families Consulting Services 1987); Alan Leventhal, Rosemary Cambra, Norma Sanchez, and Beverly Domenech, *Final Report on the Archaeological Data Recovery Program on a Portion of Prehistoric Site Ca-SCL-581, The Lands of Oki, San Jose, California* (San Jose: Ohlone Families Consulting Services, 1988); and, Alan Leventhal, Ben Ananian, Rosemary Cambra, and Norma Sanchez, *Final Report on the Archaeological Data Recovery Program Within a Portion of Prehistoric Site Ca-Ala-428H, Sunol Regional Wilderness, Alameda County, California* (Oakland: East Bay Regional Park District, 1989). These reports, like the CRM reports, are published in very limited quantities, but are accessible to the public at the Muwekma Tribal Office and at the Northwest Archaeological Information Center, Department of Anthropology, Sonoma State University.
 28. Cf. *San Jose Mercury News*, 5/1/90, "Stanford Gives Relics to Ohlones;" and *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 5/5/89, "Some Scholars Upset by Stanford's Decision to Return American Indian Remains for Reburial by Tribe."
 29. The petition for federal acknowledgement for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is the formal document of tribal revitalization; cf. Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Status of Federal Acknowledgement Petitioners: Ohlone/Costanoan Muwekma Tribe, CA" (Washington, D.C.: BIA Branch of Acknowledgement and Research, Document #111, 5/9/89, September 24, 1990).
 30. Detailed documentation of the effects of missionization upon the Ohlones of Santa Clara County, the south and east bay, and neighboring aboriginal peoples is found in: Sherburne F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, California," *University of California Berkeley Anthropological Records* 16(4): 131-56; Sherburne F. Cook, "Colonial Expeditions to the Interior of California: Central Valley, 1800-1820," *University of California Berkeley Anthropological Records* 16(6): 239-92; F. F. McCarthy *The History of Mission San Jose, California, 1797-1835* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1958); Randall Milliken, "An Ethnographic Study of the Clayton Area, Contra Costa County, California," in Miley Holman (principal), *The Cultural Resource Evaluation of Keller Ranch, Clayton, California*, Part Two (San Francisco: Holman and Associates, 1982); Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "Interpretive Recommendation and Background Report for the Coyote Hills Museum" (Oakland: unpublished manuscript for the East Bay Regional Park District, 1987); and J. A. Bennyhoff, *Ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok* (Davis: Center for Archaeological Research at Davis, Publication no. 8, 1977).
 31. Cf. C.A. Hutchinson "The Mexican Government and the Mission Indians of Upper California, 1821-1835," *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History* 21(4):335-62, 1965; G.H. Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle—Indians in California History* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1981); and Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "Interpretive Recommendation."
 32. Picturesque, but historically rich, descrip-

- tions of this period are found in: Women's Research Committee on Washington Township, *History of Washington Township* (Washington Township: The Country Club of Washington Township Research Committee, 1904, Second Edition 1950).
33. Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "Interpretive Recommendations."
 34. Nicholas Gray's 1855 map of the survey lands situated between San Leandro and San Lorenzo creeks (Map No. 234ND, 747) is on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, but can also be found in George R. Miller (ed.), *Draft Report of Archaeological Test Excavations of Ca-Alameda Located on Route 580, Castro Valley, Alameda County, CA* (Hayward: unpublished manuscript by the Institute of Cultural Resources, California State University, Hayward, 1980).
 35. M.W. Wood, *History of Alameda County, California* (Oakland: M.W. Wood, 1883).
 36. Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra "Interpretive Recommendation."
 37. Edward W. Gifford, "California Shell Artifacts," *University of California Berkeley Anthropological Records* 9(1):1-114, 1947.
 38. These complex relationships are variously described in: Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 2(1904):29-80; Edward W. Gifford, "Miwok Cults," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 18(1926):391-408; Edward W. Gifford, "Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies," *American Anthropologist* 29 (1927):214-57; and Isabel T. Kelly, "Ethnographic Field Notes on the Coast Miwok Indians" (Berkeley: unpublished manuscript on file at the Bancroft Library, University of California, 1932).
 39. Anthony F. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist* 58 (2): 264-81. Wallace's article is the standard reference on this subject.
 40. John P. Harrington, *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institute, 1907-1957* (White Plains, NY: Krause International Publications, microfilm edition, 1985). This massive compilation collects all of his fieldnotes about California Indians. Harrington's notes are currently under study by scholars working with the three Ohlone tribes, as well as by researchers collaborating with the Chumash and other groups. Thomas Blackburn, *December's Child* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), and D.T. Hudson, J. Timbrook, and M. Rempe (eds.), *Tomol: Chumash Watercraft* (Socorro, NM: Ballena Press Anthropological Papers, no. 8, 1978) are particularly noteworthy examples.
 41. The Kuksu Dance and other dance rituals are detailed by: Edward W. Gifford, "Miwok Cults;" Edwin M. Loeb, "The Western Kuksu Cult," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 33(1932):1-137; Edwin M. Loeb, "The Eastern Kuksu Cult," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 33 (1933):139-232; and Cora DuBois, "The 1870 Ghost Dance," *University of California, Berkeley, Anthropological Records* 3 (1939):1-151.
 42. Edward W. Gifford, "Miwok Cults."
 43. Ibid.
 44. This vocabulary was noted by Alfred L. Kroeber, "A Mission Record of the California Indians," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology* 8(1908):1-27; and by C. Hart Merriam, *Studies Of California Indians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955).
 45. Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "Interpretive Recommendations."
 46. The relationship between the Verona Band Ohlones and the Hearsts of Pleasanton is described in Marilyn Calhoun, *Early Days in the Livermore-Amador Valley* (Alameda County School Department, 1973) Randall Milliken, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "Interpretive Recommendations"; and Women's Research Committee on Washington Township, *History of Washington Township*.
 47. Nancy H. Olsen, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra "A Brief Ethnohistory and Geneology of the Muwekma: Mission San Jose and Pleasanton Rancheria Ohlone Families," in Jeffrey Hall (principal), *Results of an Archaeological Testing Program at Ca-Ala-343* (unpublished manuscript for Baker Sinclair, Inc., 1985, on file at the Department of Anthropology, San Jose State University).
 48. A reference to the last Kuksu Dance is found in Women's Research Committee on Washington Township, *History of Washington Township*. Michael Galvan, in "People of the West: The Ohlone Story," concurs, based on the oral tradition preserved by the Ohlones themselves.
 49. José Antonio's Chochenyo name was rediscovered in John P. Harrington, *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington* (Reel 37, frame 0012), while the authors were conducting research in 1991.
 50. Michael Galvan, "People of the West: The Ohlone Story."
 51. Robert F. Heizer, *Federal Concern About Conditions of California Indians 1853 to 1913: Eight Documents* (Socorro, NM: Ballena Press Publications in Archaeology, Ethnology and History No. 13, 1979).
 52. Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Chumash and Costanoan Languages," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 9(1910):237-71, 1910; and Alfred L. Kroeber, "Northern Yokut," *Anthropological Linguistics* 1(1959): 1-19.
 53. C. Hart Merriam, "Ethnographic Notes on California Indian Tribes," in Robert F. Heizer (ed.), *University of California Archaeological Survey Reports* (Berkeley: University of California, 1967).
 54. C.E. Kelsey, *Census of Non-reservation California Indian, 1905-1906* (Berkeley: University of California Archaeological Facility Contributions no.10, 1971).
 55. Edward W. Gifford, "Linguistic notes collected from Pleasanton" (unpublished manuscript no. 114, 1914, on file at the Bancroft Library); this document is listed in Dale Valory (comp.), "Guide to Ethnological Documents (1-203) of the Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, now in the University Archives" (Berkeley: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1971).
 56. This information is recorded in File 13 of "The Roseburg Files" for the dates: 7/12/15, 1/25/16, 4/15/16, 10/3/16, and 9/9/17.
 57. Also found in "The Roseburg Files" for the date 6/23/27.
 58. This 1928 Act is discussed in Omer Stewart, "Litigation and its Effects."
 59. Ibid.
 60. A copy of Lucas Marine's application (No. 10298) was secured from the Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, and remains on file at the Muwekma Tribal Office.
 61. John P. Harrington, *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington*.
 62. Earlier documents show "Muwekma" used as a term of group self-identification; cf. Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Chumash and Costanoan Languages;" also J. Alden Mason, "The Mutsun Dialect of Costanoan Based on the Vocabulary of de la Cuesta," *University of California, Berkeley, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 11 (1916):399-472.
 63. Joseph E. Baker (ed.), *Past and Present of Alameda County, 1847-1914* (Chicago: The J.S. Clarke Publishing Co, 1914), provides a crude example of such racial epithets.
 64. Nancy Olsen, Alan Leventhal, and Rosemary Cambra, "A Brief Ethnohistory," utilize Ohlone oral tradition in their discussion of female leadership and the contemporary Ohlone.
 65. John P. Harrington, in *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington*, discusses the *mayer* in a number of places, especially with reference to Jacoba. Information on *mayer* is also found in J. Alden Mason, "The Mutsun Dialect of Costanoan."
 66. Julia Lopez, interview with Les Field, July 17, 1991.
 67. Rosemary Cambra, interview with Les Field, June 24, 1991.
 68. Hank Alvarez, taped interview with Alan Leventhal, September 12, 1991.
 69. Julia Lopez, interview with Les Field, July 17, 1991.
 70. Hank Alvarez, taped interview with Alan Leventhal, September 12, 1991.