
3. ETHNOHISTORY, HISTORIC TIES, AND TRIBAL STEWARDSHIP OF SUNOL/ PLEASANTON, SANTA CLARA VALLEY, AND ADJACENT AREAS

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The present-day Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is comprised of surviving American Indian lineages aboriginal to the San Francisco Bay region who trace their ancestry through the Missions Dolores, Santa Clara, and San Jose; and who were also members of the historic federally recognized Verona Band of Alameda County. The aboriginal homeland of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe includes the following counties: Alameda, San Francisco, San Mateo, most of Santa Clara, Contra Costa, and portions of Napa, Santa Cruz, Solano, and San Joaquin. This large contiguous geographical area, which historically crosscuts several major linguistic and tribal boundaries, fell under the sphere of influence of the aforementioned three missions between 1776 and 1836. *Missionization* policies deployed by the Catholic Church and militarily supported by the Hispanic Empire, brought many distantly related, and in some cases, already inter-married tribal groups together at the missions.

Comprehensive genealogical analysis of the Mission Baptism, Death, and Marriage Records from the three Bay Area Missions traces the surviving Muwekma lineages of the late nineteenth century through today back to our aboriginal villages. The more than 550 present-day, tribally enrolled, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)-documented Muwekma members are represented by the: Armija/Thompson; Santos-Pinos/Juarez/Colos/Bernal/Armija; Guzman/Nonessa; and Marine-Guzman-Peralta, Marine-Alvarez/Galvan, Marine-Sanchez, Marine-Munoz, Munoz-Guzman, Marine-Arellano, and Marine-Elston/Thompson/Ruano descended families.

As discussed elsewhere in this report, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area had oversight on the burial recovery mitigation program conducted at *Sii Túupentak*. Over the past 38 years, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe has continuously exercised its stewardship over the Tribe's ancestral heritage sites and human remains discovered within their aboriginal and ethnohistoric territory. The Tribe's leadership (via the recommendations of the Most Likely Descendant) and members were involved in the formulation of the recovery program and final report on this ancestral cemetery site located along the eastern edge of the town of Sunol.

This chapter study provides an ethnographic and ethnohistoric overview of the Ohlone, the original inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area south of the Carquinez Straights. The presentation is largely organized temporally and focusses on the Sunol, Pleasanton, and Livermore Valleys, and the adjacent Santa Clara Valley, while also considering the larger economic and ceremonial interaction sphere that encompassed the surrounding geographic regions. The study draws upon and cites from various ethnohistoric and ethnographic published sources, as well as from interviews conducted by notable anthropologists such as Alfred

L. Kroeber, Edward Gifford, C. Hart Merriam, and John Peabody Harrington. Furthermore, we present information derived from recollections of the Muwekma Tribal Elders and family members obtained over the past 53+ years, some of whom were born during the time when the Tribe was federally recognized by the BIA as the Verona Band of Alameda County (1906–1928).

In doing so, this chapter highlights the complex historic-era interrelationships between the aboriginal Ohlone tribal groups from the greater San Francisco Bay region first at the time of initial contact with the Spanish and then the ensuing impacts resulting from the founding of Spanish Missions San Jose, Santa Clara, and Dolores, and the San Jose pueblo at advent of the expanding late eighteenth-century Hispanic Empire, the establishment of the Catholic Church and the effects of Missionization. Then consideration is given to the mid-nineteenth-century American conquest of California; the Gold Rush and theft of California Indian lands; the effects of the American Conquest and the emergent State of California; and the federal recognition of California Indian Tribes and specifically the Verona Band of Alameda County. Muwekma Ohlone persistence is then highlighted throughout the rest of the twentieth century. These topics are introduced and explored through discussions involving contact-period regional and ethnohistorical tribal ties to the present-day Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and by presenting aspects of the survival strategies and continual cultural identity of this historic tribe.

RENAMING CA-ALA-565/H BY THE MUWEKMA OHLONE TRIBE IN THE CHOCHENO/THAMIEN OHLONE LANGUAGE

At the very beginning of this burial and archaeological data recovery project, implemented on behalf of the SFPUC, it became apparent that the first primary burials discovered at this location were the remains of ancestral Muwekma Ohlone people, from the local Chocheño Ohlone-speaking villages of the Sunol Valley, who were later baptized at Missions Santa Clara (1777) and San Jose (1797). A decision was made by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal leadership and the Tribe's Language Committee (Monica V. Arellano, Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, and Gloria E. Arellano-Gomez) to honor their deceased ancestors by renaming the site with a name in the Tribe's aboriginal Chocheño/Thámien Ohlone language.

This practice follows Muwekma Tribal tradition by which the Tribal leadership has over these past three decades renamed some of their ancestral village and cemetery sites as part of a tribal cultural heritage process to reclaim the Tribe's Ancestral Heritage Sites. This renaming tradition has formally occurred at other East, South, and West Bay pre-contact and contact period ancestral Muwekma Ohlone ancestral heritage cemetery sites.

For the present project at ALA-565/H in Sunol, the renaming effort took place in a cooperative and collaborative partnership with the SFPUC and Far Western. This renaming also took into account the proximity to the historic Sunol Water Temple to this ancestral heritage site. A literal translation for the name of this site was discussed and formulated by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal leadership and Language Committee as the "Place of the Water Round House Site" which translates as *Sii Túupentak* (pronounced: *see too-pen-tahk*) in the Tribe's Native Chocheño language. This name honors both the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's reclamation of its ancestral heritage site, as well as the historic Sunol Water Temple, Alameda Creek and the freshwater drainages (Arroyo de la Laguna, South San Ramon Creek, and Arroyo Mocho) that flow into Alameda Creek.

The translation uses J. P. Harrington's 1920s/1930s Chochenyo language wordlist. The translation breakdown and sources are:

- *Síi* = Water (J. P. Harrington 1920s/1930s – Chochenyo Language)
- *Túupentak* = Round House/Dance House
(J. P. Harrington 1920s/1930s – Chochenyo Language)
- Site = -tka after vowels; -tak after a consonant
(J. P. Harrington 1920s/1930s – Chochenyo Language)

It should be noted that the locative definition of the *-tak* and *-tka* suffix endings also includes “At, Place, Place Of, Location, Area, Site, By The, Into The ...”

EARLY SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION

The first Spanish expedition to the East Bay region was truly a first contact exploration. In November 1770, a group of soldiers under the directive of Captain Commander Pedro Fages set out from the newly established settlement at Monterey, exploring as far north as the present-day Hayward/San Leandro region in the East Bay. During this expedition, several scouts continued north, perhaps reaching to the El Cerrito Creek and Hills (meaning Little Hills which are located in Contra Costa County, between Richmond, Albany and Berkeley area; Bolton 1911, 1927; Fages 1911).

This expedition led by Fages, was perhaps, the first Spanish exploration to travel through the Thámien Ohlone-speaking territory within the greater Santa Clara Valley. Milliken commented on the following historical account derived from Captain Commander Pedro Fages’ diary in his 1991 doctoral study on the San Francisco Bay tribal groups at the time of contact (1770–1810):

The Matalans and Thamiens of Santa Clara Valley watched a small Spanish party pass north through their lands in November of 1770. The party, under Pedro Fages, continued north along the east shore of San Francisco Bay [until] it reached a plain opposite the Golden Gate [presently North Oakland]... Fages wrote of only one encounter:

Up close to the lake we saw many friendly good-humored heathens, to whom we made a present of some strings of beads, and they responded with feathers and geese stuffed with grass, which they avail themselves of to take countless numbers of these birds [Fages 1770 in Bolton 1911].

The goose hunters were Tuibuns or Alsons at a lake on the Fremont Plain just south of Alameda Creek [Milliken 1991:78].

The Chocheño Ohlone-speaking Tuibuns or Alsons whom Fages’ expedition observed at the “lake on the Fremont Plain just south of Alameda Creek” were from the Santa Agueda/Estero District and were first missionized into the Santa Clara Mission “during the 1780s and 1790s” (Milliken 1995:258).

In 1920, historian Herbert I. Priestley published a historical narrative derived from Captain Commander Pedro Fages and Fray (Father) Crespí diaries in *The Catholic Review*. Therein Priestley presented the following information on the first two early East Bay expeditions led by Fages:

The First Recorded East Bay Expedition

The 1770 expedition, consisting of Fages, six soldiers, and a muleteer, must have been with the consent, if not the urging, of Serra, though no friar went with it. The party left Monterey November 21, crossing a river after going three leagues, which Fages called the Carmelo and said that it had been erroneously called the Monterey. It was of course, the Salinas.

Passing on through the Santa Clara Valley along the present route of the Coast Line of the Southern Pacific Railroad, they camped on the twenty-sixth at the head of the bay beside a stream which may have been either the Guadalupe or Coyote Creek.

Going northeast two leagues around many branch estuaries, they passed through the present Irvington to the Lagoon, then three leagues on, to what was doubtless Alameda Creek.

On November 28, four soldiers sent ahead to explore returned saying that they had gone seven leagues and had climbed a hill from which they could not see the end of an estuary before them. They had cross two arroyos, probably San Lorenzo and San Leandro creeks. They had also seen the Golden Gate, "which entered through the bay of the port of San Francisco." This party could not have explored the east bay shore farther north than the present town of San Leandro. The return to Monterey was by the route of the outward journey.

The Second East Bay Exploration

An expedition inspired by Father Serra, who was disappointed at the delay in founding San Buenaventura because of lack of soldiers, was led to the bay in 1772 by Fages and Father Crespí. The purpose was to choose a site for the second northern mission. Fages had received in May 1771, the viceroy's order to make such an exploration. Crespí and Fages both kept dairies of the survey.

Leaving Monterey March 20, the party passed the Salinas, and, on the twenty-first, crossed and named the Arroyo de San Benito, which is still so designated. On the twenty-second, they cross San Pascual plain and emerged into San Bernardino Valley, as Font in 1776 called the lower Santa Clara. Their camp was to the north of Gilroy. Thence on the next day, March 23, they went northwest into the plain of "Los Robles del Puerto de San Francisco" or the Santa Clara Valley, in which Portola's party had rested on November 7, 1769, and in which Fages had been at least twice before. On the twenty-fourth they camped near the mouth of Penitencia Creek, on the boundary between Alameda and Santa Clara counties, near the head of the bay. On the twenty-fifth they camped near Alameda Creek.

On Thursday, March 26, they crossed two large arroyos, the San Lorenzo and San Leandro creeks, after which they explore the Arroyo del Bosque, which, with another one, forms the peninsula upon which Alameda now stands

Next day the party turned east to round San Antonio Creek and went one and one half leagues over low hills now settled as East Oakland. Then passing east and north of Lake Merritt, they came out into the great plain of Oakland and Berkeley, from which they could see the Golden Gate, opposite which they stopped to study its bearings.

Going on a league, they camped on Cerrito Creek, just beyond Albany. During Saturday and Sunday, they went around the shore of San Pablo Bay, through Pinole Valley, and, finally, being cut off from their march to Point Reyes by Carquinez Strait, camped on the twenty-ninth on the Arroyo del Hombre near Martinez. Next day they were on Walnut Creek near Pacheco. Passing then to the left of Mount Diablo eastward through the hills, perhaps at Willow Pass they went four or five leagues to a little stream near the San Joaquin River. This was near Antioch.

Not sure that they could not reach Point Reyes, the explorers returned to Monterey, selecting a shorter route. Crossing the Santa Angela Plain, they turned southeast by way of San Ramon and Amador valleys into Sunol (they called it Santa Coleta) Valley. Thence, by way of Mission Creek perhaps, they emerged in the vicinity of Mission San Jose, finding the track of their outward journey. They camped on a stream which Crespí called San Francisco de Paula, presumably Milpitas or Penitencia Creek, in the vicinity of Milpitas. On April 5, they reached San Carlos Mission [Priestley 1920:148–151].

It was during this second expedition in the spring of 1772 that the first recorded contact between the East Bay Ohlone people from the Livermore/Pleasanton/Sunol region occurred. Based upon the geographical information contained within Fages and Crespi's diaries, UC Berkeley historian Herbert E. Bolton attempted to reconstruct the various locations described therein. The expedition followed the base of the East Bay hills as far north as the Carquinez Straits.

Milliken (2008) noted the following about the Fages-Crespi expedition which they:

... led another party up through the Santa Clara Valley into the East Bay. The diaries of the expedition commented upon the large number of villages on the Fremont Plain, the land of the Alson and Tuibun local tribes, Fages wrote:

Over the plain we spied several heathens, shouting out as though from joy at seeing us, we left five villages to our right, each of them having close to six houses of spherical shape, with considerable numbers of heathens living in them.

Lying to our left hand were some villages, we could not make out very well what they were like, or how many houses were in them, since they were some way off [Fages 1772].

The Fages-Crespi party continued northward along the east shore of San Francisco Bay, and then turned eastward to the Carquinez Strait. There they encountered the Huchiun-Aguas-tos and Carquins [Ohlone] harvesting the spring salmon run [Milliken 2008:27–28]:

On the banks of the other side we made out many villages, whose Indians called to us and invited us to go to their country, but we were prevented by a stretch of water about a quarter of a league wide, and many of them, seeing that we were going away, came to this side, crossing over on rafts, and gave us some of their wild food [Crespi 1772, 1927:293].

On March 31, 1772, the party had spent the night near Danville, afterwards the expedition continued southward toward the San Ramon and Livermore Valleys. Milliken (2008:28) citing Fages' diary noted:

To the right, very close to ourselves, we espied a quite large heathen village, but as it was raining we refused to go there. The heathens were shouting at us a great deal both from the village and the nearby woods, which we took for a sign they were notifying nearby villages. We received a certain proof of this after going a short distance further on our way, for beside a good-sized stream of water we came upon an extremely big heathen village, with perhaps over two hundred of both sexes. About a musket shot away to the left was another one, smaller than the last. We gave them strings of glass beads and asked them using signs where the San Francisco inlet lay and whether it was far off, and they answered by signing towards the south with the finger held low, which means close by [Fages 1772 in Brown 1994:26–27].

Fray Crespi wrote the following description in his diary the following day:

Wednesday, April 1 –This day we covered ten leagues, all by the same valley, all level land, covered with grass and trees, with many and good arroyos, and with numerous villages of very gentle and peaceful heathen, many of them of fair complexion. It is a very suitable place for a good mission, having good lands, much water, firewood and many heathen.

We stopped, after traveling ten leagues¹, in the same valley, on the bank of a running arroyo with plenty of water. At the entrance, the valley has a width of a quarter of a league, and little by little it goes on widening up to four full leagues, which is probably also the width at this place.

¹ A league was approximately 2.6 miles or 4.2 kilometers.

Thursday, April 2 – We set out at six in the morning, still following the valley in a southerly direction. It continues with the same width until it gradually narrows. It is evident that the land is not so good now, and it is broken by some descents and small ravines, but it all continues full of oaks and live oaks, as does also the arroyo, which flows through the valley with an abundance of water and trees.

In a league and a half of travel after our departure we crossed the arroyo, which had a good deal of water and a width of about six varas². As soon as this is passed the valley widens, making a valley three-quarters of a league wide, with good land well forested with trees, like the one mentioned above.

On the other side of the valley we crossed another arroyo even larger, also full of trees. In the southeastern part of this valley the two arroyos unite, and from the junction a good-sized river now flows in the same direction.

The place is very desirable for a good mission, although we did not stop there I named it Santa Coleta. We continued toward the south and crossed an arroyo, on the bank of which we found a good village [Crespí 1927:299–300].

Bolton, who translated Crespí's diary and, as mentioned above, attempted to reconstruct the exact route(s) and locations traversed by Fages and Crespí's expedition suggested that the April 1, 1772, campsite was just west of Pleasanton. He furthermore suggested that the location of a specifically noted village in the Sunol Valley was located on the east side of Mission Pass and on the south side of Alameda Creek. In the historical archives, there appears to be another version of Crespí's diary referred to as the Seville manuscript, which differs from Fray Palóu's manuscript which was also translated by Bolton relative to the description of the Sunol Valley area. According to this translation Crespí wrote:

April 1 – We set out from here following the valley toward the south and in a short distance came to another arroyo and a good village of Gentiles. After going about 2 leagues, we saw another village, but passed on without paying attention to them, because we were well soaked from a light rain which we suffered for about five leagues.

At the end of this distance we came to two other large villages and we entered the one of these which was on the road, where we stayed for a little while, astonished at seeing some 70 Gentiles (in addition to the women, boys, and girls), because they were very large, fair, and white. We gave them some beads and understood that in some words the language was the same as that spoken in Monterey [Crespí in Stokle 1968:24].

This particularly noted village that “was on the road” was probably located on the west side of the Livermore Valley toward Sunol. Father Crespí had noted that this village had a population of 70 adult “Gentile” men, perhaps implying it consisted of a population of about 200 to 300 people. Then on April 2, a good village was noted in the Sunol Valley. When the village in the Sunol Valley identified in the Palóu manuscript is factored along with the other villages, there then appears to be a minimum of five villages that were either viewed at a distance or were directly visited between the Danville and Sunol regions.

The Rivera y Moncada/Palóu Expedition to the Santa Clara Valley (1774)

It was not until 1774 that the first intensive exploration of the Santa Clara Valley region occurred, which was led by Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada who was accompanied by Fray Francisco Palóu. Writing of this expedition, Milliken (2008) made note of one of Rivera y Moncada's accounts:

² A vara was Spanish yard measuring approximately 33 inches.

The next Spanish expedition into the Bay Area, in the late fall of 1774, came for the purpose of scouting locations for a possible mission and military base on the San Francisco Peninsula... Near the town of Coyote, probably Matalan territory, a group of local people were startled, but not terrorized.

The Juan de Anza/Fray Pedro Font Expedition to the East Bay (1776)

Two years later, in the spring of 1776, another expedition was sent out from Monterey to scout sites for a mission and presidio on the San Francisco Peninsula and further explore the East Bay. This group, led by Juan de Anza, followed the route of the earlier expeditions as far as the Carquinez Straits. They continued eastward following the shoreline of Suisun Bay into the San Joaquin Delta and after facing miles of tule marshes, they turned inland across Patterson Pass to enter the Livermore Valley. According to Bolton's reconstruction, they stayed on the extreme eastern side of the valley and almost immediately climbed out of the valley towards the southeast. The explorers camped near Corral Hollow (Livermore area) and continued through rough terrain the next day, up Crane Ridge, down into Arroyo Mocho, south to San Antonio Valley, and finally west to the Santa Clara Valley (Font 1930:411–413).

Less than one year later, Mission Santa Clara was established on January 12, 1777. Collectively, with the establishment of Mission Dolores in 1776, Mission Santa Clara in 1777, and later Mission San Jose in 1797, located east of the Fremont Plain, the various Ohlonean tribal groups within the San Francisco Bay region began to experience the cataclysmic disintegration from this newly imposed colonial system of indenture and peonage. Milliken (1991) in his doctoral dissertation offered the following explanation of the circumstances under which the Ohlone tribal people agreed to enter these missions:

Through the ritual of baptism some young people from the Yelamu tribe began to exchange their independence for a subservient role of "neophytes" at Mission San Francisco in the spring of 1777. During the summer and fall local Alson and Thamien teenagers joined the Mission Santa Clara community. Francisco Palóu wrote that the first converts came to the missions out of interest in cloth, trinkets, and Spanish foods.

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 [Palóu 1786].

These limited interpretive perspectives provide an explanation from the contemporary "dominant society's" lens, which suggests at its foundation that "lesser complex indigenous cultures" were unilaterally influenced by the "more complex European colonizing cultures." As an alternative perspective we should consider and explore other possible explanations, especially when viewing these dynamics through the social rules and mechanisms of late-eighteenth-century California Indian world view rather than through the colonial lens. Such alternative explanations should consider those pre-existing and established Native protocols and socio-cultural-political rules of social conduct, interaction and integration accorded to strangers, visitors, and distinguished guests as practiced by central California tribal groups.

For example, in cases when elites and notable families from neighboring tribal groups made arrangements to visit, and/or those who were invited to ceremonies, funerals, and/or economic exchange functions (e.g., Mourning Anniversaries, ceremonial dances, weddings, trade feasts), there were specific rules that these groups would follow as social protocols. These same social principles and rules that were enacted between tribal groups and elite families would have no doubt been in effect at the time when the Spanish expeditions made their presence known. After the period of contact had been established between the Indian tribal communities and the newly settled Spanish colonizers, tribal elites and their families likely desired to have their children associated (to some degree) with these newly established powerful and (relatively) wealthy Spanish entities and power brokers.

Some aboriginal social rules and protocols probably included:

1. Marriage arrangements of eligible teenagers for purposes of establishing and/or strengthening inter-tribal and/or intra-tribal alliances especially between and amongst powerful elite families; and
2. The attempt by these powerful elites and/or families of specialists to establish formal ties with these newly emergent Spanish power brokers through “apprenticeships” – by having their children enter into the missions through the ritual of baptism – and by doing so, creating and thus perpetuating, an extant belief system that this “apprenticed relationship” would continue to maintain their own power brokerage with the extant and transformed communities and provide them additional prestige within this new order.

By acting in conformance with these older socio-political-economic rules for establishing and maintaining military alliances, trade networks, and marriage alignments with neighboring tribal groups, villages, and the newly established Spanish colonial settlements, these elites were probably under the belief that by exercising this formal process, partially through the ceremony of baptizing themselves and/or their children, it was done as a continuation of their aboriginal power brokerage (Bean 1978). For example, there was a reciprocal ceremonial practice of purifying with water (ritual washing) persons of the opposite moiety (deer versus bear or land versus water) amongst central California tribal groups especially during and after the handling of the dead and their personal property. Therefore, the use of water in baptism had some pre-existing analogous practice and meaning in aboriginal purification ceremonies (Gifford 1955).

Initially, the “official policy” of the Spanish Empire was to develop the missions into self-supporting agricultural centers whereby Indians would be “civilized” and become peon laborers for the civilian pueblos and presidios. Ultimately it was expected that the Indians would themselves become citizens of the crown and help further colonize the region for Spain (Hurtado 1988; Monroy 1990; Rawls 1986). Nonetheless, the colonial experience resulted in the decimation of the California Indian tribes who were exposed to European diseases, unsanitary living conditions, and malnutrition while residing at and around the missions (Cook 1976; Milliken 1995). Although the Native population was severely depleted after the first 40 years, by the time of the secularization of the missions during the mid-1830s, the surviving missionized Ohlone/Costanoan Indians continued to live and work in several Post-Contact Indian communities within the Santa Clara Valley as well as on the various rancherías and Californio ranchos surrounding each of the other greater Bay Area missions.

ETHNOGEOGRAPHIC SETTING AND OHLONE TRIBAL GEOGRAPHY SURROUNDING THE GREATER SUNOL REGION AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO MISSIONS SAN JOSE, SANTA CLARA, AND DOLORES

Both *Sii Túupentak* (Place of the Water Round House Site, ALA-565/H) and nearby site *Ayttakiš 'Éete Hiramwiš Trépam-tak* (Place of Woman Sleeping Under the Pipe Site, SCL-677) represent ancestral Muwekma Ohlone cemeteries located within the Sunol Corners area, and adjacent to the present-day Arroyo de la Laguna freshwater drainage.

Sii Túupentak is located within the contact-period ethnogeographic territory of the Causen/Patlan Chocheño Ohlone-speaking tribal group (Figure 6). It should be noted that the assignment of individuals to tribal groups can be difficult in the southern San Francisco Bay Area since some early Spanish Mission records only used non-native terms to designate homeland areas (Figure 7). Milliken noted that the Causens were:

A tribe, or perhaps a single village, in the Sunol Valley area to the north of Mission San Jose, also known as Patlans, after the name of one of their older male members (SJO-B 35, 108, 111, 442, 462). They were intermarried with the Pelnens of the Livermore Valley and with the Tuibuns of the Fremont Plain. Only eleven people were specifically identified as Causens and another seven identified as Patlans were baptized at Mission San Jose between 1803 and 1808 [Milliken 1995:238].

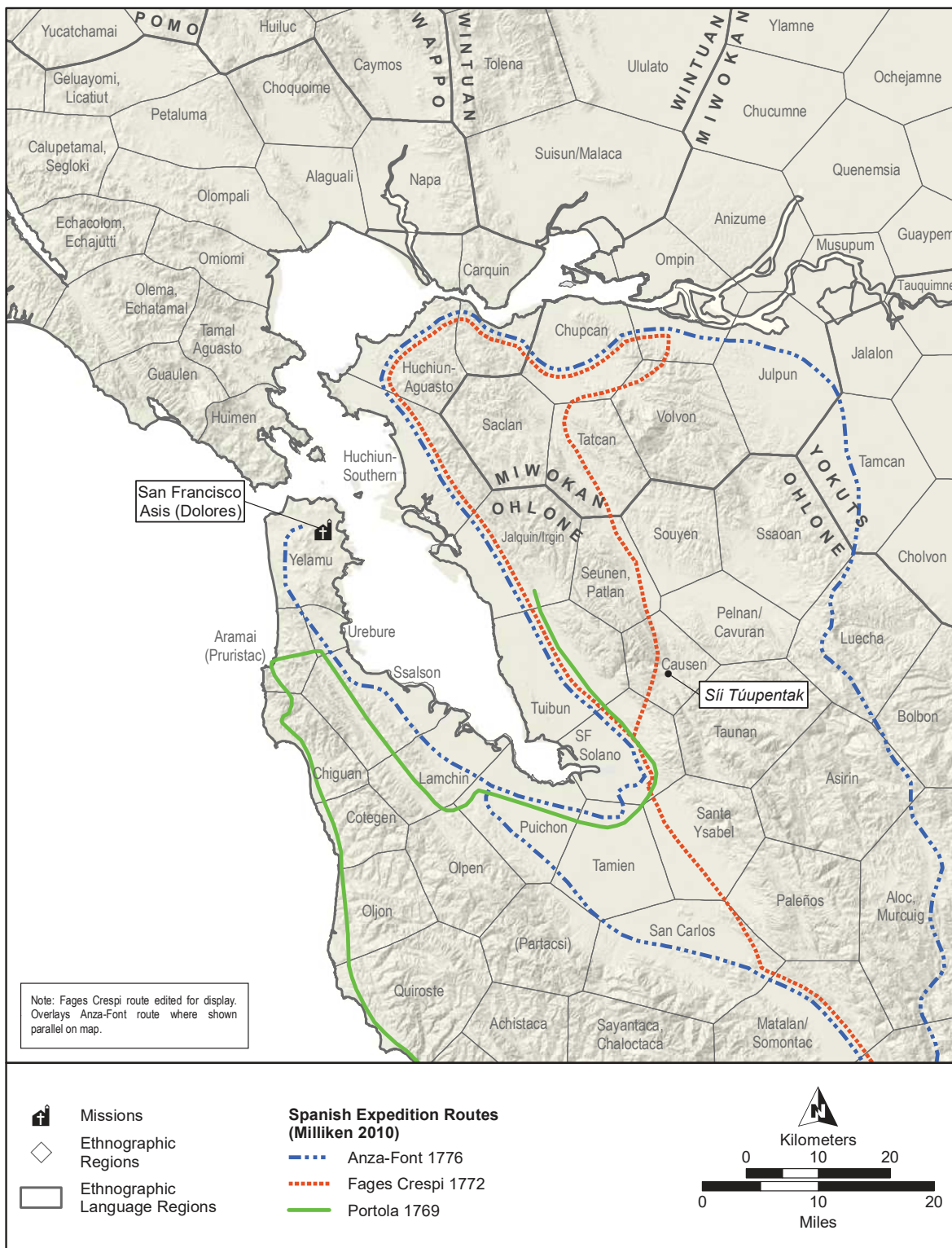


Figure 6. San Francisco Bay Area showing Tribal Group Boundaries and Spanish Expedition Routes in Relationship to *Sii Túupentak* (after Milliken 2010).

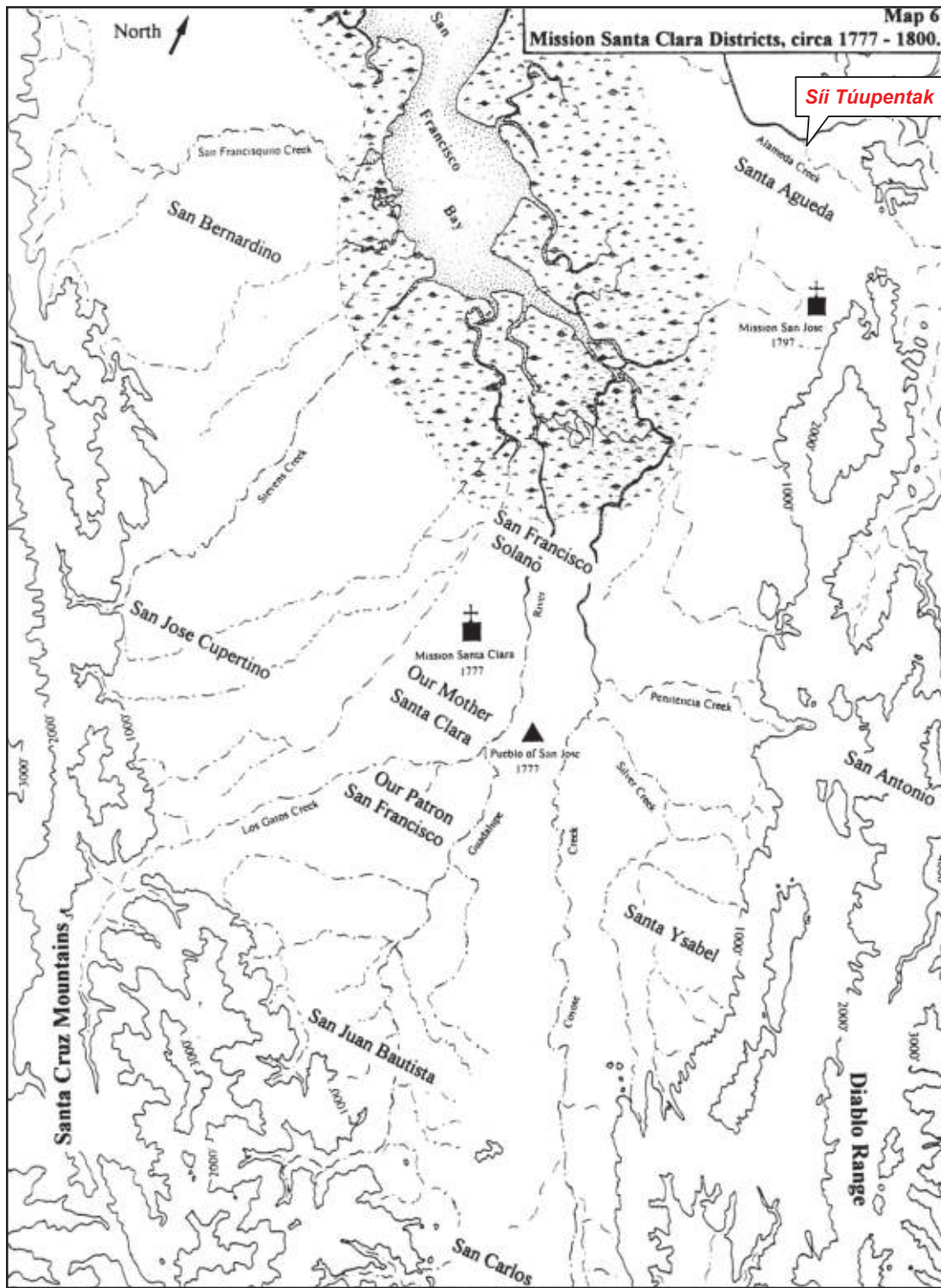


Figure 7. Mission Santa Clara Native American Districts (Hylkema 1995:Map 6).

Milliken (1995) further provides information on the neighboring Pelnens located to the northeast of the Causens:

The Pelen tribe held the western part of the Livermore Valley in the area of the present town of Pleasanton, north no farther than the present Dublin area, and south to the canyon leading to Sunol Valley.

Another small group of about six families, the Caburans, seem to have inhabited a subsidiary village of the Pelnens, since a number of nuclear families at Mission San Jose had both Pelen and Cabruan members (children of SJO-M 328, 345, 385). The two groups joined Mission San Jose between 1798 and 1805 [Milliken 1995:251].

Regarding information on the Tuibun tribal group of the Fremont Plain who were located to the southwest of the Causens Milliken notes the following:

The Tuibun tribe seems to have been located at the mouth of Alameda Creek and in the Coyote Hills area on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay. Only twenty people from the group were identified in baptismal registers, all at Mission San Jose in 1803 and 1804. Those twenty people were relatives of neophytes baptized between 1797 and 1803 under the general designations of "Alameda" and "Estero." They also had some relatives who had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara during the 1780s and 1790s under the designation "Santa Agueda" [Milliken 1995:258].

Another group under discussion is the Taunan Chocheño Ohlone-speaking tribal group located to the southeast of the Causens. For this tribal group Milliken offers the following information:

The Taunan tribe held mountainous reaches of Alameda Creek and Arroyo del Valle south of the Livermore Valley, probably as far south as the present Alameda County-Contra Costa [(sic) actually Santa Clara County] line. An unknown number of Taunans went to Mission Santa Clara during the 1790s and early 1800s under the Santa Agueda district designation. Most of the group went to Mission San Jose from 1797 to 1803 under the designation "Este" ("easterners"). With the arrival of new missionaries to Mission San Jose, they began to appear in its baptismal book under their tribal name. They continued to come to Mission San Jose through the year 1805. Four Taunans married at the Mission San Jose church to "Santa Agueda" people who had moved back north from Mission Santa Clara (SJO-M 14, 30, 82, 311). The clumping of tribes under the designations "Santa Agueda" and "Santa Ysabel" [to the south/southwest] at Mission Santa Clara masks recognition of the Taunans who might have married and continued to live at Mission Santa Clara [Milliken 1995:257].

The last of the southern East Bay Chocheño-speaking Ohlone tribal groups under discussion is the Alson Tribe (to whom some of the enrolled lineages are directly descended from). Milliken provides the following information on this of the southernmost East Bay tribal group:

A tribe which held the low marshlands at the very southern end of the San Francisco Bay, probably both north and south of the mouth of the Coyote River [Creek]. Now in the cities of Newark, Milpitas, and Alviso.

The name Alson does not appear in any of the early mission records, but it does appear in the Mission San Jose Padron of 1838 as the tribe name for some surviving Estero and Alameda people (SJO-B 6, 131, 151, 328, 384, 412). The pattern indicates that the Alsons went to Mission Santa Clara under the designation "Santa Agueda" and that they had been nearly depleted before Mission San Jose was opened [Milliken 1995:235].

Previous Ethnohistoric Studies

Meaningful contact period ethnohistoric studies focusing on the demographic and geopolitical distribution of the different Ohlone/Costanoan tribal groups that came under the influence of Mission Santa Clara in 1777 were conducted by Chester King in the 1970s (1974, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1994) and continued by Milliken (1983, 1991, 1995, 2004, 2007 [in Hylkema 2004, 2007]). These studies helped lay the foundation for reconstructing the geopolitical and linguistic boundaries of those tribal groups and districts that were brought into each Bay Area mission, as well as providing information about the transformation and the cultural and political adaptation and responses of those surviving Ohlone/Costanoan tribal groups who adjusted to the disruption caused by the expanding Hispanic colonial empire, the impacts of missionization and ensuing spread of diseases and malnutrition.

The Santa Clara Valley, East Bay, and adjacent areas supported fairly large populations of Native peoples for upwards to the past 10,000 years. During the Early to Late Periods (previous 4,000 years) this is evidenced by the prevalence of large pre-contact cemeteries within the San Francisco Bay region (see reports on Emeryville [ALA-309]; Ellis Landing [CCO-295]; Santa Rita Village [ALA-413; Wiberg 1984]; Patterson Mound [ALA-328; Davis and Treganza 1959]; Ryan Mound [ALA-329; Leventhal 1993]; Three Wolves Site [SCL-732; Cambra et al. 1996]; SCL-38 [Bellifemine 1997]; Tamien Station [SCL-690; Hylkema 2007]; Rubino Site [SCL-674; Grady et al. 2001]; University Village [SMA-77; Gerow 1968] and others).

Furthermore, based upon the analysis of grave-associated wealth and regalia derived from central California cemetery sites, it can be postulated that the greater San Jose area appears to have been located within the southwestern-most region of a Late Period religious complex, ceremonial, economic interaction sphere that employed the use of “Big Head” (or “N series”) abalone shell effigy pendants. These Big Head effigy pendants first appeared sometime around the Late 1A Period (ca. AD 1100), and presumably represents inclusion in the larger geographically area-wide Kuksú religion that was practiced by a multitude of north-central California Indian tribal groups (Leventhal 1993).

These Kuksú-practicing tribal groups ranged from the Hokan-speaking Salinans (southern Monterey County); to the San Francisco Bay Penutian-speaking Ohlone and interior Bay Miwok and North Valley Yokuts tribal groups (Contra Costa and San Joaquin Counties); to the Penutian-speaking Coast Miwok and Patwin (Marin, Napa, Yolo, and Colusa Counties); to the Penutian-speaking Plains Miwoks and Konkow-Nisenan (Maidu-speaking groups) in the Sacramento and Central Valley foothills of the Sierra Nevada; to the Hokan-speaking Pomoan tribal groups (Sonoma, Lake, and Mendocino Counties), Yukian-speaking Yukian tribal groups (northern Mendocino), and the Athabaskan-speaking Cahto tribe located north of Fort Bragg (Bean and Vane 1978; Bennyhoff 1977:50; DuBois 1939; Gifford 1947:20; Hylkema 2007; Leventhal 1993:230–236; Loeb 1932, 1933; Winter 1978b).

The preliminary data derived from comparatively similar mortuary patterning and associated grave assemblages identified from Late Period cemetery sites factored in conjunction with the similarities of tribal personal name-endings derived from the mission records such as “tole” and variations of “mayen” for females and “cse” (or a variant thereof) for males that are found amongst the different linguistic groups within the same macro-geographical area as the Big Head/Kuksú pendants, supports the contention that the South and East Bay regions had very strong cultural ties, via trade, intermarriage, ceremonial interaction and shared religious belief systems as well as other cultural influences with the Central Valley interior, including the Sacramento and San Joaquin Delta (Stockton) regions (Bennyhoff 1977; Gifford 1947; Heizer and Fenenga 1939; Jones and Klar 2007; Leventhal 1993; Lillard et al. 1939; Milliken 1995; also see SCL-128, Holiday Inn Site, Winter 1978a).

The evidence of a far-flung ceremonial and economic interaction sphere further suggests that the Thámien Ohlone-speaking tribal groups, including the East Bay tribal groups and their neighbors, were significantly involved within this larger religious and ceremonial interaction network that was partially influenced through mechanisms of trade, economic, military, and marriage alliances with those tribal groups located to the east and north (Delta region) of the South Bay—a region that at the time of Spanish contact had already

cross-cut several major linguistic boundaries (San Francisco Bay Ohlone, North Valley Yokuts, Patwin, Coast, Bay, and Plains Miwok).

Limited detailed ethnohistoric (contact period) information about the aboriginal lifeways of the different San Francisco Bay Ohlonean-speaking tribal groups who resided within this mega-sphere of socio-cultural interaction, tends to be restricted to the various accounts written by early Spanish explorers, missionaries, and visiting European travelers. Other historical records written after the cataclysmic impact caused by missionization, colonialism, and the ensuing American conquest continuing through the twentieth century includes research conducted by more formally trained ethnographers, ethnohistorians, linguists, and other chroniclers of the greater Bay Area.

In the Tamien Station (SCL-690) site report, Milliken (2004) also provides reconstructed information regarding the geographical distribution and inter-relationships between the Thámien Ohlone-speaking tribal groups within the region surrounding Mission Santa Clara. In the same study, Milliken also noted that:

The Santa Agueda district was the source of 90 percent of the Native people who went to Mission San Jose. Thus, the Santa Agueda district actually must have been located on the Fremont Plain [Milliken 2004:61, 2007:54].

In his 1991 dissertation, Milliken, presented information about the “Santa Clara Valley Conversions, 1780–1784” stating that:

At the start of 1780 the core group of adult Christians at Mission Santa Clara were from the Alson village of San Francisco Solano, rather than the nearer tiny Thamien villages of Our Mother Santa Clara and Our Patron San Francisco [Milliken 1991:139].

Within the Santa Clara Valley and adjacent regions, during the first twenty years since the establishment of Mission Santa Clara, Milliken suggested that “(c)onversion of adult married couples in April (1795) had been concentrated among people from the southern East Bay, Alson, Tuibun, and perhaps Jalquin/Yrgin” tribal groups [Milliken 1991:224].

Milliken’s (1991:265) research also demonstrated that after the Mission San Jose was established in 1797, that “(i)n January of 1801 twenty-one couples became Christians, . . . (t)hey were Alsons and Tuibuns from the local villages of the Fremont Plain.” These East Bay Chocheño (and possibly Thámien) Ohlone-speaking tribal couples were intermarried with, and therefore relative to, the families from those same tribal groups who were baptized years earlier at Mission Santa Clara.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Milliken (1991:266) also found that “(i)n January and February (1802) twenty-one Jalquin/Yrgin families moved to Mission San Francisco” and that “(t)hey were intermarried with Seunens and Tadcans (Figure 8).

Most of the families enrolled in the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe trace their direct ancestry to the Chocheño Ohlone-speaking Alson, Seunen, and Jalquin tribal groups whom were missionized in to Missions Santa Clara, Dolores, and San Jose. Milliken (1995:235) also noted that the Alson was “a tribe that held the low marshlands at the very southern end of the San Francisco Bay, probably both north and south of the mouth of the Coyote River [Creek] now the cities of Newark, Milpitas and Alviso.” He also indicates that the Seunen was:

A tribe that held a fairly small territory at the northwest side of the Livermore Valley in the hills east of San Francisco Bay . . . Most of the Seunens went to Mission San Jose between 1801 and 1804, although four of them went to Mission San Francisco in 1801 and 1802 as part of a large Jalquin group” [Milliken 1995:254].

Milliken stated that the Jalquins and Yrgins were most probably a single tribal group. He suggests that the Yrgins represented the southernmost community from this tribal group who were missionized into Mission San Jose, while the northern Jalquins came under the influence of Mission Dolores in San Francisco.



Figure 8. Indians at Mission Dolores in 1816 Drawn by Louis Choris.

The complex process that brought together East Bay and Santa Clara Valley Ohlone tribal groups into the mission system, though cataclysmic, these newly emergent mission-based communities had nonetheless maintained vestiges of their languages and culture that survived into the early twentieth century.

Thus two of the East Bay Chocheño Ohlone-speaking linguistic consultants, Maria de los Angeles Colos who was born in 1839 and Jose Guzman who was born about 1853, had provided Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology linguist John P. Harrington with the observation that "the Clareños were very much intermarried with the Chocheños, the dialects were similar," and also at this time he recorded the Chocheño linguistic term "*mu'e'kma, la gente*" [meaning the people; Harrington 1929 field notes (1921–1934)].

Establishment of Mission Santa Clara and its Geographic Sphere of Influence into the East Bay

Hylkema (1995:20–21) provided the following background information on the founding of Mission Santa:

Father Tomas de la Peña and an escort of soldiers and settlers arrived at the banks of the Guadalupe River on January 7, 1777. They built an arbor of thatched tule reeds for a temporary shelter along a small rivulet near the larger river, and the mission was thus founded on the 12th. Fray Jose Murguiá arrived from Monterey on the 21st bringing supplies and a

detachment of soldiers. The lieutenant and the soldiers that had waited with Peña returned to San Francisco. Peña mentions in a letter to the Father President Junipero Serra, that the area of the mission was called *Thámien* by the natives. He described the environment near the mission as a plain: “stretching more than three leagues in every direction, pleasant to behold with much land for irrigation of crops, and extensive areas for the raising of cattle.” Peña also noted that there was an abundance of trees nearby and that: “four leagues to the west there is much redwood... from which we have already obtained some boards.” Peña states that there were more than forty villages within a radius of five leagues, and that a number of tall tule reed houses had been built by the Indians close to the mission [Spearman 1963:15].

Shortly after the founding of the first site of Mission *Santa Clara de Thámien*, the Governor of Alta California, Felipe de Neve, set forth instructions to establish a pueblo near the mission. Acting on Neve’s orders, Commander Jose Joaquin Moraga of the San Francisco presidio, took a group of sixty-six settlers and retired soldiers to the Guadalupe River to found California’s first civil establishment, *el Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe*, on November 29, 1777.

Conversion of the Santa Clara Valley and East Bay Tribes

The area of the lower Guadalupe River was noted by Father Junipero Serra in 1777 as being called *Thámien*. The second church of Mission Santa Clara was established in 1779 at a place called by the Indians *Socoistaca* or *Tshaitaka*, which may have referred to the grove of laurel trees that once stood there. The area of the third church (the Murguía Mission) was called *Gerguensun* (also spelled *Werwersen*), which translated to “Valley of the Oaks” (Spearman 1963:18). In the *Informe* for 1777, Father Serra states that:

A large population of gentiles surround the site, such that we judge there are more than forty rancherias within a radius of five leagues, of a people that we may call Tares, since that is the name they give to the men [Spearman 1963:15].

Hylkema (1995:32-33) notes the following for Mission Santa Clara:

A few adult married couples were converted in the years 1780 and 1781, including most of the adults from the first mission site called Santa Clara and San Francisco (these were districts). During the 1780s a trickle of adults were baptized at the mission from the surrounding larger villages on the Santa Clara Valley floor, but the majority of baptisms during the 1770s and 1780s were of young children and newborn infants. Unlike the converts at most California missions, most of these children and their parents continued to live in their native villages. The question relevant to this study is: if the conversions were mostly of children, then who built the mission and by what incentive?

Evidently, by 1781, native contact with the mission was motivated by mutual economic gain. Milliken’s 1991 dissertation focuses on this relationship and he found that the presidio at Monterey regularly employed gentiles to perform a range of tasks and that in 1779 several families of non-Christianized Indians had moved to Mission Santa Clara to gain access to material goods provided by the Spaniards, without the obligations facing the Christianized neophytes. As mentioned above, the Pueblo of San Jose and the Monterey Presidio made use of Santa Clara Valley Indian labor with the Indians gaining blankets, beads and other items new to their world.

Beads found within the neophyte cemetery of the Murguía Mission were analyzed and discussed in Hylkema (1995) and Leventhal et al. (2011). Hylkema continued in his study that:

The villagers closest to the mission and pueblo profited by the newly developed economic system which, in turn, attracted other more distant villagers. This precluded the need for forced conscription until after 1795 when most of the local groups were assimilated into the mission.

Nonetheless, the military did enforce Spanish law.

By 1800 the Indians in the hills east of Santa Clara Valley and the East Bay began to feel the pressure of the changed economic system.

Their western neighbors, from whom they had heretofore received shells and other materials from the coast, were consolidated under Franciscan direction at Mission Santa Clara. The hill people also needed these neighbors as allies to retain parity in conflict situations with people further east. Marriage had been the basis of trade and warfare alliance, and marriage with missionized people could be had only by joining the mission community [Milliken in Huelsbeck n.d.].

Another epidemic ravaged the neophytes at Santa Clara during the summer of 1802, but by 1803 conversions again increased. Some of these later groups of villagers came from as far away as the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley. In 1805 one Spanish soldier and three mission Indians were killed during an incursion into the eastern Diablo Range, setting off a series of Spanish retaliatory expeditions. The tribes of that region responded by setting up a number of marriages at both missions San Jose and Santa Clara to create new, peaceful alliances there. In 1805 Santa Clara records document the first clearly identifiable tribal member from the interior San Joaquin Valley.

Santa Clara Valley Districts and Statistics

Milliken (1983, 1991), and King (1994:203–228) have reviewed the baptismal, marriage and death records for Mission Santa Clara, and located districts from which the neophytes came. King (1994:203) notes that only the villages near to the mission were given separate saints' names, while other communities were grouped together by region or district:

1. Our Mother Santa Clara. Located at the site of the second mission church in north San Jose (*Los Laureles*). 25 converts between 1777 and 1793. Village of Socoistac, people of Tamien.
2. Our Patron San Francisco. Probably located at the junction of Los Gatos Creek and the Guadalupe River in downtown San Jose. 71 converts between 1777 and 1796 (although the later dated baptisms were from members who moved to the San Juan Bautista district when the Pueblo of San Jose encroached on their village). People of Tamien, possibly village of Partacsi.
3. Santa Ysabel. Located east of Coyote Creek up to the eastern San Jose hills. 238 converts between 1777 and 1808. Yacalone people.
4. Santa Agueda. Generally, describes the people north of the Coyote River on the eastern side of the southern San Francisco Bay Area. 561 converts between 1780 and 1807. Alson, Tuibun and other tribal groups.³
5. San Antonio. Encompasses the hill country east of San Jose and Mount Hamilton to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley. 805 converts between 1777 and 1815. Taunan, Asirin, and Tayssen people [Hylkema 1995:34–38].

³ Note: According to Milliken, the Alson was a "tribe which held the low marshlands at the very southern end of the San Francisco Bay, probably north and south of the mouth of the Coyote River, now the cities of Newark, Milpitas and Alviso... The pattern [of missionization] indicates that the Alsons went to Mission Santa Clara under the designation 'Santa Agueda' The Yukisma Mound (SCL-38) is located in the City of Milpitas, which its funerary patterning and treatment is similar to those from the mortuary populations recovered from ALA-329 (Coyote Hills/Newark) and *Sii Túupentak*.

Founding of Mission San Jose (1797)

Milliken (2008:33–34) states that the first determined exploration for the establishment of Mission San Jose was led by Second Lieutenant Hermenegildo Sal in 1795:

The reconnaissance for the site of Mission San Jose was undertaken in October of 1795 by Second Lieutenant Hermenegildo Sal of the San Francisco Presidio and Father Antonio Danti of Mission San Francisco de Asis (Danti 1795). The party camped at the foot of the combined Mission and Warm Springs creeks, near the foot of the bay and a little more than one-mile north of the present of the Alameda-Contra Costa County [sic] (should be Alameda-Santa Clara County) line, on October 22 [Sal 1795].

Milliken (2008) also noted that this site was chosen, and the Spanish authorities decided not to explore the Livermore and Diablo Valleys farther north due to the military “threat of the Saclans and their allies” (Milliken 2008:34).

In 1795, Mission Santa Clara continued to baptize people from the Santa Agueda region north/north-east of that mission. Milliken suggests that several named villages from that region “Chichintac, Molostach, Olostach, and Terentach were probably villages of the Alson or Tuibun [Ohlone] local tribes of the Fremont Plain” (Milliken 2008:35).

The outreach of the missionaries did not initially extend north of the established Mission San Jose region due to the Saclan resistance, nonetheless Milliken’s research noted that individuals and couples from more northerly groups such as the Souyen of the Livermore Valley and the Irgin (Yrgin) from the San Lorenzo/Haywood region were baptized at Mission Santa Clara between 1796 and 1797. Furthermore, Milliken (2008) notes that the “Irgins were the same people as the Jalquins, who moved to Mission Dolores [San Francisco] in 1802, they seem to be a bilingual Chochenyo Ohlone/Bay Miwok speakers” (Milliken 2008:35).

Milliken provides important historical and ethnohistorical information about the establishment of Mission San Jose:

Work began at the site of the “Mission of the Glorious Patriarch, Saint Joseph” in May 1797. The site that was chosen was only 13 miles north of Mission Santa Clara, at the “place called by the natives Oroysom” (San Jose Mission First Book of Baptisms [SJO-B] title page). Indians were brought up from Mission Santa Clara to act as laborers and to form a seed population for the new mission. Of the 70 resettled Mission Santa Clara neophytes documented in the Mission San Jose Registers, 57 had been baptized from “Santa Agueda,” ten from “Santa Ysabel,” one from “San Bernardino,” and one from Mission Santa Clara’s “San Francisco Solano” district.

Mission San Jose was dedicated with elaborate ceremony on June 11, 1797 (McCarthy 1958:49) [Milliken 2008:36].

Relative to the present study of *Sii Túupentak* located with the ethnohistoric Causen Ohlone territory, it is interesting to note that Milliken presented the following information relative to the first baptisms conducted at Mission San Jose:

The very first baptism at Mission San Jose was of a mission-born child of Causen parents from the Sunol Valley, who had themselves been baptized at Mission Santa Clara back in 1794. The baptism took place on September 1, 1797, but it was not recorded in the San Jose First Book of Baptisms (SJO-B). Father Catala of Mission Santa Clara, who performed the baptism, listed the event in the Mission Santa Clara Book of Baptisms (SCL-B) 3431.

The first baptism that was actually recorded in the San Jose Mission First Book of Baptisms took place the next day September 2, 1797. The baptized person was a young Irgin widow named Gilpaye, baptized as Josefa (SJO-B 1). Her infant daughter Sagenecmaye, was the second person baptized, on September 4 (SJO-B 2). Josefa married a transferred Mission Santa

Clara neophyte from “Santa Ysabel” on September 24. Her baptism and marriage may have been arranged by Captain Oiyugma of the Irgins, as a gesture of peace with the missionaries and their Indian allies [Milliken 1995:160–162].

Between September 4 and September 24 of 1797, a score of children and teenagers from the nearby Alson and Causen villages and from the more distant Souyens were baptized at Mission San Jose. A few other Alson and Tuibun adults joined the new mission later in the fall. By the end of 1797, 31 baptisms and five weddings had been recorded in the Mission San Jose registers [Milliken 2008:39–40].

Ritual Practices and Ceremonial Sites

Of all aspects of pre-contact native Californian culture, religion and ritual evoked the most hostility from Spanish colonial invaders whose observations accordingly are difficult to assess for accuracy. Performances which in Western discourse are referred to as dancing were central aspects of religious ritual, not only in the sense of worship, but also as activities which could themselves positively affect the balance of forces in the world and universe (Bean and Vane 1978).

From the reports of Fages, Font, Palóu, Crespí, Arroyo de la Cuesta, and others, it is also apparent that each region’s rituals may have varied in details of procedure, regalia, and song. However, given the view that these rituals were perhaps practiced within a larger framework or interaction sphere among neighboring tribal groups, Milliken (2004) cautions that one ought not draw excessively direct conclusions about the nature of ritual in the Santa Clara Valley from what is known about dance ceremonies conducted by East Bay Ohlones or the peoples of the Monterey region. Notwithstanding that proviso, San Francisco Bay Area Ohlone tribal groups likely danced world renewal ceremonies and paid a great deal of attention to funerary and mourning rituals as can be ascertained by Late Period mortuary sites (e.g., SCL-30/H [third Santa Clara Mission]; SCL-128 [Holiday Inn Site]; SCL-38 [Yukisma Site]; SCL-690 [Tamien Station]; ALA-329 [Ryan Mound]; and ALA-565/H [*Sii Túupentak*]).

Dance enabled participants to open and travel through doors between the conscious world and an ongoing supernatural world where the beings who had initiated the creation of the world and human beings continued to enact mythic dramas. Dancers’ regalia were imbued with the power of these rituals, and certain natural locations, such as springs, rock formations, trees, etc., marked nodal points and served as shrines where ritual performance became particularly effective (Bean 1975; Bean and Vane 1978; Davis 1992).

While the priests of the San Francisco Bay Area Missions attempted to curtail, if not eradicate native Ohlone belief systems and rituals through the regimen of structured Catholic doctrine and discipline, they never attempted to try to gain an understanding of the Ohlone religion, cosmology, and symbolism as it manifested especially in dance feathered regalia, body paint, and tattoos. Although native religious expression was frowned upon, and likely became crypto (performed in secret) especially at the missions, Ohlone dancers were allowed to perform “secular” non-apostate dances for distinguished European visitors.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF COSTANOAN/OHLONE SOCIETIES RESULTING FROM THE IMPACT OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE’S EXPANSION IN ALTA CALIFORNIA (1769–1836)

Based upon the research of many Californian anthropological scholars (e.g., Bean and Blackburn 1976; Bean and King 1974; Bennyhoff 1977; Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984; Fredrickson 1973; Gifford 1955; Goldschmidt 1951; T. King 1970, 1974; Kroeber 1932, 1939; Moratto 1984), prior to the time of contact with the expanding Spanish empire, central California Indian societies had already developed complex social, political, economic, and ceremonial institutions that interconnected neighboring tribal groups and regions. This is evidenced by the wide distribution of artifact assemblages, traits, and burial patterns found in central California mortuary mounds (sometimes referred to as shellmounds in the San Francisco Bay Area), especially

during Phases 1 and 2 of the Late Period (Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987), and also demonstrated by the even wider distribution of the Kuksú religion which, geographically ranged from the Salinan tribal groups to the south in Monterey County to the Cahto and Yuki to the north in Mendocino County (Bean and Vane 1978; Bellifemine 1997; Bennyhoff 1977; Leventhal 1993; Loeb 1932, 1933; Mason 1918).

These inter-regional linkages were principally integrated through mechanisms of trade, kinship (especially through marriage alliances of elites), the performance of shared rituals, and ceremonial obligations (e.g., Kuksú ceremonies, trade feasts, funerals, and mourning anniversaries [Blackburn 1976]).

Among village elites, for example, the political world clearly did not stop at the boundaries of their own territory. Elites from villages throughout the territory of Costanoan/Ohlone-speaking peoples (and neighboring linguistic groups) married their children into other elite families from important neighboring villages, villages in which Costanoan/Ohlone-related languages may or may not have been spoken (Milliken 1993).

Networks of ritual and ceremonial obligation called together large numbers of diverse peoples for particular occasions, such as the funerals of significant inter-village elite personages (Blackburn 1976). On such occasions, trade fairs also occurred where elites likely arranged the future marriages of their children. Taken all together, the trading of subsistence and treasure goods, the exchanges of marriage partners, and the cycles of ritual and ceremony tied together constellations of kin-based village communities into integrated political, economic and cultural fields led by a small inter-village elite strata (Bean 1992; Fages 1775). These elite-ruled realms might be described as quasi-chiefdoms or ranked chiefdoms (Fried 1967; Service 1962, 1975; for an archaeological perspective on evidence of social ranking within the San Francisco Bay see T. King 1970, 1974; Leventhal 1993; Luby 1991; Wiberg 1984).

As the populations of Costanoan/Ohlones both inside and surrounding the missions contracted diseases, survivors tended to congregate around the missions, seeking solutions to their seemingly unsolvable problems from the missionaries and colonists who were causing those same problems. Under the circumstance of socio-cultural “holocaust” which took approximately 40 years (1769–1810) to unfold, many Bay Area Ohlones may have identified with their oppressors, who seemed to have overthrown and taken control of all of the old systems of spiritual and earthly power, although others may have fled and sought protection with the interior tribes to the east (see Milliken 1991, 1995, and 2008 for a different interpretation that partly exonerates the missions).

In response to the diminution of their labor-force, the Franciscan fathers and civil authorities directed Spanish soldiers to bring in new converts from outlying tribal areas. The Coast Miwok, Bay and Plains Miwok, Yokut, Patwin, and Esselen-speaking peoples from villages located east, north, and south of the Bay Area missions became the new cohort of neophytes as laborers, and they intermarried with the surviving “*viejos Cristianos*” Ohlone-speaking peoples (Harrington 1921–1939; Milliken 1978, 1982, 1983, 1990, 1991, 1995, 2007, 2008). Such intermarriage patterns were, as emphasized above, already established between neighboring North Valley Yokuts, Coast, Bay and Plains Miwok, Patwin and Costanoan/Ohlone-speaking elites during the late pre-contact and contact periods.

SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS AND ITS AFTERMATH (1834–1846)

In the last decades of Mission San Jose’s existence, between 1800 and the 1830s under Franciscan administration, the population of Ohlone peoples from the East, South, and West Bay had endured such steep demographic declines that the mission’s fathers were obliged to seek farther afield for native people for conversion and to provide the labor to maintain the mission’s farmlands, ranches, and extensive herds. Many Indians from the Coast Miwok, Bay and Plains Miwok, to the north and east of the missions, and from the North Valley Yokut and Patwin tribal groups, were converted at Missions Dolores, San Jose, and Santa Clara (Bennyhoff 1977; Cook 1957, 1960; McCarthy 1958; Milliken 1982, 1991, 1995, 2008; Milliken et al. 1987). Also, as noted previously, marriage exchanges between these tribal peoples followed extremely old and established kinship traditions in central California; intermarriage and strong relations of kinship continued within the setting of the mission, albeit under circumstances Indian peoples found alien, harsh, and objectionable.

Notwithstanding the enormously destructive changes missionization wreaked upon indigenous culture and society, the missions themselves were vulnerable to the winds of political change. Situated at the very northern edge of the Spanish empire, central California's history was really a part of a larger Latin American history until the late 1840s. The Spanish crown had decided to secularize the missions as early as 1813, but the struggle for Mexican independence intervened. Between 1834 and 1836, the Mexican Republic enacted legislation that terminated the missions and proposed to divide mission properties among the missionized indigenous peoples. Yet this division of land and resources did not fully occur in the San Francisco Bay region. Instead, the local families of Spanish-Mexican descent, known as *Californios*, proceeded to make formal claims upon most of the property owned by Missions Santa Clara and San Jose. Large cattle ranchos were created, and the *Californios* established themselves as neo-feudal lords (Milliken 2008; Milliken et al. 1987; Phillips 1981).

The first Spanish colonist to settle in the San Ramon Valley (adjacent to the Livermore/Pleasanton/Sunol region) was Jose Maria Amador, the son of Pedro Amador who led campaigns against the Saclan in 1797 and 1800. Jose Maria Amador built an adobe in 1826, up against the foothills between what is now Dublin and San Ramon, at Alamilla Springs. The name Alamilla seems to refer to "Little Soul" perhaps analogous to Lopé Iñigo's land grant Rancho Polsomi y Pozitas de las Animas (Little Wells of Souls) in Santa Clara County. Amador had been the majordomo at Mission San Jose and consequently was allowed to settle on mission lands before secularization in 1836. He was granted Rancho San Ramon in 1835. Furthermore, because of Amador's status as majordomo at the mission, he was able to enlist many Indian laborers on his rancho.

The secularization of Mission San Jose in 1836 cleared the way for other land grants. In 1837, Robert Livermore acquired title to Rancho Las Positas, located in the northeast part of the Livermore Valley. Livermore built his principal adobe on Las Positas Creek, located north of Livermore, about one and one-half miles west of the largest series of springs.

In 1839, Jose Dolores Pacheco was granted Rancho Santa Rita, between Rancho San Ramon and Rancho El Valle de San Jose. To the north of Rancho Las Positas, in 1844, Francisco and Antonio Alviso, Manuel Miranda, and Antonio Higuera were granted Rancho Canada de los Vaqueros.

As mentioned elsewhere, in 1836, Rancho El Valle de San Jose, in the area of Pleasanton, Sunol, and Livermore, was petitioned by Juan and Agustin Bernal, and their two brothers-in-law Antonio Sunol, and Antonio Maria Pico for many years before it was finally granted to them. The owners continued to live in San Jose, until 1850, when Agustin Bernal built an adobe home to the west of present-day Pleasanton, near the junction of Foothill Road and Bernal Avenue.

Responding to this petition, Father Gonzalez from Mission San Jose argued against granting Rancho El Valle de San Jose to the Bernal, Sunol, and Pico petitioners so as to protect the livelihood of Indians still residing at the mission, their sheep, and for the cultivation of grains:

... at present this community cannot consent to (the petition) without prejudice not only to their sheep ranch, but also to the land that they need for sowing purposes at present they are making (this land) productive as a sheep rancho and by cultivation [Gonzalez in Stokle 1968:110].

Thus, the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone experienced a second abrupt and catastrophic shift in their lives when the Mexican government secularized the Franciscan Missions and awarded numerous land grants such as Rancho El Valle de San Jose (Figure 9). Although, as stated above, Mexican law decreed that half of all the mission held lands were to be issued to the newly patriated neophytes, no such lands were formally granted except for four individual land grants to several Clareño Ohlone Indian families. Most Indians left the missions to become manual laborers, domestics, and vaqueros on neighboring Californio-owned ranchos as in the case of Muwekma ancestor Maria de los Angeles Colos and her parents

Previously, Suñol had married Maria de los Dolores Bernal, the daughter of Jose Joaquin Bernal on September 7, 1823, at Mission Santa Clara. Also around 1823, Jose Joaquin Bernal had herded cattle on the Santa Teresa lands. Rancho Santa Teresa was founded in 1826 by Jose Joaquin Bernal (1762–1837), who was

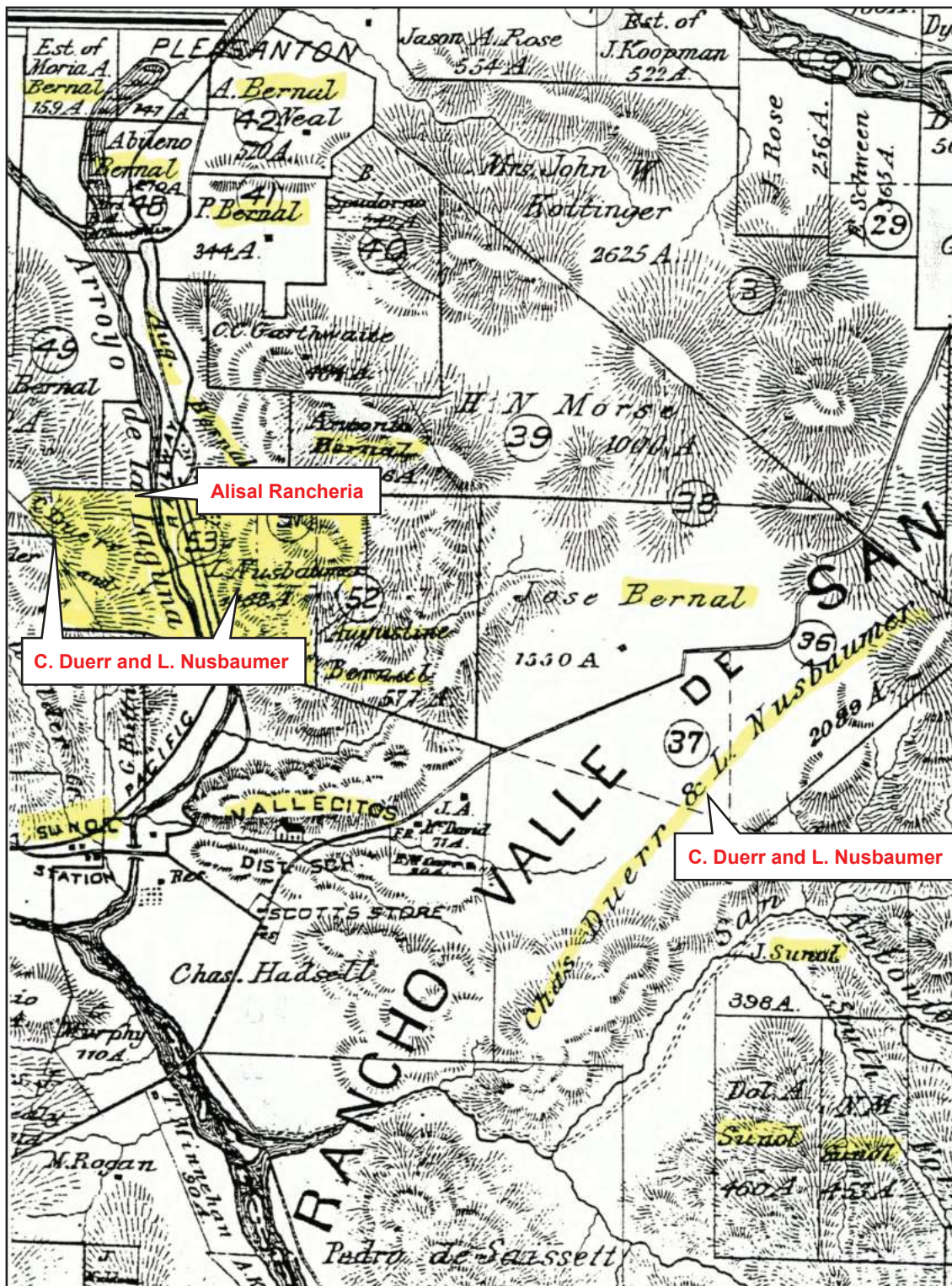


Figure 9. 1878 Map of the Duerr and Nusbaumer Properties and Alisal Rancheria (Thompson and West 1878).

a member of the Juan Bautista de Anza party of 1776. In 1834, Bernal petitioned Governor Figueroa for 9,647 acres where he had established his rancho in 1826 (from Santa Teresa Hills to Coyote Creek), including a vineyard, orchard, fields, and 2,100 head of cattle with an arena for bear and bull fights. Even though Antonio Sunol and his wife maintained their primary residence in the Pueblo de San Jose de Guadalupe, he lived with his in-laws at the Santa Teresa Rancho by 1832.

A few years later, in 1835, Antonio Suñol worked with Antonio Maria Pico the *alcalde* of Pueblo de San Jose, to rebuild the town's church. Antonio Pico was married to Maria del Pilar Bernal (one of Jose Joaquin's other daughters) and therefore he became Suñol's brother-in-law through marriage.

Also in 1835, Suñol, with his wife and brothers-in-law Agustin and Juan Pablo Bernal, sought the lands that were once part of Mission San Jose, and specifically sought the El Valle de San Jose portion located between Sunol and Pleasanton. On October 13, 1836, Suñol obtained title to Rancho Aqua Caliente (Warm Springs). Finally, on February 22, 1839, Antonio Maria Pico and Agustin Bernal petitioned for themselves and on behalf of Antonio Suñol and Juan Pablo Bernal went to Monterey to plead for the El Valle de San Jose land grant (64,000 acres), and on April 10, 1839, received title from Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado (see Figure 9). This location, known as Alisal, located near the modern-day town of Pleasanton, was later to become a refuge for a community of Indian people.

Years later Jose Narciso Suñol, son of Antonio Suñol, later moved onto Rancho El Valle de San Jose in 1855 and built a structure that was later used as the headquarters for the Sunol Water Temple. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that on December 19, 1887, Modesto Sanchez (great grandfather of former Muwekma Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra) signed a Non-Mineral Affidavit at the United States Land Office in San Francisco for his one-quarter section homestead (located in the NE quarter of Section 28, T4S, R2E) southeast of Sunol (see Figure 9). On that legal document, he was identified as residing in Sunol. One of the witnesses for Modesto for his homestead was Narciso Suñol who was the son of Maria Antonio Suñol. Narciso Suñol was also one of the neighboring landowners. This homestead was in the general vicinity of the future native community of Alisal.

Establishment of the East Bay Rancherias and Muwekma Tribal Descendency

After secularization of the missions, many of the Mission Santa Clara (Clareño) Ohlones, including the Luecha, Santos, and other families, found refuge with their familial cousins residing in the East Bay on rancho lands owned by Californios, especially near the present-day towns of Pleasanton, San Lorenzo, Livermore, Sunol, Niles, and Alviso (Harrington 1921–1934).

During the years 1841–1842 some of the surviving Bay Area Mission Indians left the missions and found work on many of these neighboring ranchos as domestics, field laborers, farm hands, and *vaqueros* (cowboys). During this period of time there appears to have been a free and independent Indian community working (and possibly owning) land between the San Leandro and San Lorenzo Creeks located within the aboriginal Jalquin/Yrgin Ohlone-speaking tribal territory near the present-day City of Hayward (Nicholas Gray Survey Map 1855; also see Harrington 1921–1934 interviews with Susanna Nichols, Jose Guzman, and Maria de los Angeles Colos).

Land Issued to Mission San Jose Indians by Father Muro

Based upon his research, Milliken also discovered that during this period:

One group of Indians established an independent community somewhere along the road north from Mission San Jose toward Alameda Creek during the 1840s. The head of the community was Buenaventura, one of the few survivors of the original villages from the local "Estero" area, or bayshore. Buenaventura had been baptized as a two-year-old at Mission San Jose in 1798 (MJO-B 161). Father Miguel Muro granted a license to Buenaventura, six other adult males and their families on 2 November 1844. His wife Desideria was of a family that

had moved to the mission from the Jalalon area, now eastern Contra Costa county. Buenaventura died in 1847. Desideria sold the group's license to an American in 1849. The U.S. Land Commission of the 1850s did not recognize the license as a valid land title, however [Land Case 290 n.d.:11; Milliken et al. 1987].

The "Estero" area along the bayshore included the probable Chocheño/Thámien Ohlone-speaking (bilingual) Alson tribal group located along the lower Guadalupe River and the Chocheño Ohlone-speaking Tuibun tribal group of the Fremont Plain. Both of these groups were first missionized at Mission Santa Clara (Milliken 1983, 1991, 2007, 2008).

The Indians residing around Mission Dolores in San Francisco and on the San Mateo peninsula were not issued any land grants, patents, or consideration by the Spanish authorities as far as we know during this period.

AMERICAN INVASION AND POST-CONQUEST PERIOD (1846–1870S)

Many of the missionized Indians, who had previously labored in the mission's fields and cared for the livestock, were hired on as vaqueros by the new Californio estate owners, who continued the tradition of controlling indigenous peoples on and near the old mission lands. Yet, many of the formerly missionized Indians who worked on these ranchos opted in some cases to move to the most remote areas of the back-country within their old homelands.

At least 1,000 former mission Indians lived in the vicinity of Mission San Jose in the early 1840s, and it is likely that more Indians came to the area from the Mission Santa Clara region (History of Washington Township 1904). During this historical period, the part of the East Bay extending north of Mission San Jose up to San Leandro became a region of refuge (especially after the American invasion and conquest of California), to which the missionized Indian peoples of the East and South Bay migrated and in which communities of mission survivors coalesced.

During this period, invasion of the tribal territories throughout California accelerated dramatically. Losses of land due to the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846–1847 (American Conquest), Gold Rush of 1848–1849, and indifferent enforcement of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 cut off any traditional means of subsistence, and forced the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlones residing on the East Bay rancherias and surrounding ranchos into even greater dependence on the non-Indian economy.

The transition of power during the Gold Rush years and California Statehood witnessed great changes in policies towards Native Americans in California. One of the major figures to emerge during this period was Peter Hardeman Burnett (November 15, 1807–May 17, 1895) who briefly served as the territorial civilian governor of California in December 1849. Burnett was the first elected state Governor of California who served from December 20, 1849, to January 9, 1851. He was also the first California governor to resign from office.

On September 9, 1850, California became the 31st state in the Union and with tensions rising between the newly established American settlers as they claimed more and more Indian lands and committed depredations against tribal groups. Four months later, on January 7, 1851, in Governor Peter Burnett's first address to the California State legislature, he opined that "a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct..." (*California State Senate Journal* 1851; Hurtado 1988:135).

After California statehood, in 1850, President Millard Fillmore and United States Congress appointed three commissioners to enter into treaty agreements with the Indians of California to cede and quit claim all lands identified within the 18 treaties which were negotiated between 1851 and 1852. In return for quit claiming their aboriginal title to California, the tribes of California were to receive as a set-aside, reservation lands totaling approximately 8.5 million acres along with food, supplies, and services. Although reaching Washington DC, these 18 treaties were never ratified by the United States Senate (Heizer 1972; Hoopes 1975). Under the terms of these treaties, the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe were to be the intended bene-

ficiaries of two of the treaties: Treaty of Dent's and Ventine's Crossing, May 28, 1851, and Treaty of Camp Fremont, March 19, 1851.

A war of involuntary servitude and extermination was launched against indigenous peoples by the first legislators of the state (Hoopes 1975; Rawls 1986). Laws barred Indians from voting, from giving testimony in court, or from bringing lawsuits (Hurtado 1988; Rawls 1986). At the same time, American laws in most cases refused to recognize the validity of the land titles for the Californios' ranchos (1853 land cases). Coupled with a crippling drought afflicting central California during the 1860s, most of the Californios could not afford to maintain their land bases and were driven off their South and East Bay estates (Wood 1883). New American owners most likely expelled the Indian vaqueros and their families from the land (Milliken 2008; Milliken et al. 1987).

Between the decades spanning 1840 and the early 1860s, for reasons that are still not completely clear, many if not most of the remaining Indian people from Mission San Jose, perhaps many from Mission Santa Clara and elsewhere, gathered at several refuges which included the Alisal (the Alders) Rancheria, located just southwest of the city of Pleasanton on Rancho El Valle de San Jose which was granted to Antonio Maria Pico, Antonio Suñol, and Augustin and Juan Bernal on April 10, 1839. The Alisal Rancheria (see Figure 9) appears to have been established in the vicinity of a large pre-contact ancestral Muwekma Ohlone village, now underneath or near the Castlewood Country Club (Gifford 1947).

The Bernals, who, unlike many of their Californio neighbors, were able to hold onto their rancho lands, continued to maintain their economy with the help of Indian labor. The Bernals also had a long history of sponsoring Indian children as godparents and apparently had children with some of the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone.

In other areas throughout the East Bay, small groups of formerly missionized Indians also settled at lesser known rancherias in nearby Livermore (Arroyo del Mocho), Niles (El Molino), San Lorenzo (The Springs), and Sunol (Harrington 1921–1934). These rancherias maintained close ties with their Plains, Bay, and Coast Miwok and North Valley Yokut neighbors and Ohlone blood-relations as well (Gifford 1926, 1927; Kelly 1932; Kroeber 1904).

The Alisal Rancheria was unquestionably one of the most prominent and important communities of Ohlone Indians from the 1860s onward into the early twentieth century and constituted one of the first known post-American conquest Indian revitalization centers within the Bay Area. The people of Alisal and surrounding rancherias revived many dance ceremonies during the early 1870s, which strongly implies that other traditional arts and cultural knowledge about ceremonial regalia, songs, sacred language, and crafts also experienced a resurgence. But more than revival took place at Alisal and the other rancherias.

The available evidence depicts a constant ebb and flow of people, of surviving Indians from all over the Bay Area (including Clareño Ohlones from the Mission Santa Clara area) and central California moving into and out of Alisal, Niles, San Lorenzo, and Livermore rancherias (Gayton 1936; Gifford 1926, 1927; Harrington 1921–1934; Kelly 1978). Thus, many surviving fragments of knowledge and ritual were brought together in this one place, from the many Ohlone peoples, each with their own varying customs and ways of thinking, as well as from the intermarried and neighboring Miwoks, Yokuts, and other more distant tribal peoples brought under the sphere of influence of the missions. Inevitably, a blending of older forms took place, a fusion of traditions and religious beliefs that together generated a new cultural vitality (DuBois 1939; Gifford 1926, 1927).

RELIGIOUS REVITALIZATION MOVEMENT: THE GHOST DANCE AT PLEASANTON RANCHERIA (1870)

During the 1870s, a religious messianic-oriented revitalization movement referred to as “the Ghost Dance” spread throughout central California. This first Ghost Dance originated in Nevada beginning around 1869, involved a Paiute prophet named Wodziwob who taught that by dancing certain dream inspired dances,

Indian people could end the domination of their land and destruction of their lives by the whites, and usher in a new golden age for all Indian peoples (DuBois 1939).

At Alisal, the ancestors of the contemporary Muwekma Ohlone combined elements and doctrine from the imported Ghost Dance with the ancient Kuksú Religion, regalia, and compliment of dances, the World Renewal Ceremonies and other rites practiced throughout central and northern California (Bean and Vane 1978; DuBois 1939; Gifford 1926; Loeb 1932, 1933). So potent was the syncretic combination derived by the people of Alisal (and the surrounding rancherias) that non-Christian Native American missionaries were sent out from there to preach the new religious doctrine to other indigenous peoples to the east, south, and north of the Pleasanton (Alisal) Rancheria (Field et al. 1992; Gayton 1936; Gifford 1926, 1927, 1955; Kelly 1932, 1991).

Berkeley Anthropologist E. W. Gifford visited the Livermore and Pleasanton region in 1914 and the Alisal Rancheria in particular. Still later, as a result of fieldwork conducted in the interior amongst neighboring central California tribes, Gifford reported in his *Miwok Cults* (1926) and *Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies* (1927) that his principal cultural consultants recollected that the songs, dances, and regalia were brought to them by three non-Christian missionaries from the Pleasanton region. These three teachers were Sigelizu, who taught the following dances to the Central Miwok: *Tula*, *Oletcu*, *Kuksuyu*, *Lole*, *Sunwedi*, *Sukina*, *Kilaki*, *Mamasu*, and *Heweyi*. Another man from Pleasanton named Yoktco introduced similar dances to Southern Maidu, while a third, named Tciplitcu taught these dances to Miwoks and North Valley Yokuts at Knight's Ferry.

Ethnographic information from the Coast Miwok region on the Marin Peninsula recorded by Isabel Kelly from 1931 to 1932 (Kelly 1932, 1978, 1991) provided other accounts about how important the Pleasanton/San Jose Mission (Verona Band) region was to the Coast Miwok and demonstrates the ebb and flow of contact between Marin and Pleasanton areas during this period of time. Tom Smith and Maria Copa were two of Kelly's principal Coast Miwok linguistic and cultural consultants. Kelly inquired from them "Did they dance Kuksui at San Jose?" Maria Copa's response was:

I should say so. My grandmother said that the people here had to buy Kuksui Dance from the San Jose people. All of those songs are in the San Jose language [Kelly 1991:354].

Jose Guzman (born around 1853) was one of the last knowledgeable singers from the Muwekma community until his death in 1934 (Harrington recorded 27 songs at Niles in 1930). He recollected songs that he and his father were introduced to while visiting other Indian communities to the south at Missions San Juan Bautista and San Antonio (and possibly San Carlos/Carmel) during the time the 1870 Ghost Dance was in its full height.

Furthermore, cultural ties to the interior tribes continued to be maintained during the 1940s and later years, especially by Dario Marine and his son Lawrence Domingo Marine who had married Pansy Potts (daughter of Marie Potts) who was from one of the Maidu tribal groups. Dances that were exported from Pleasanton continued to be danced by members of the Miwok, Nisenan, and Maidu tribal communities into the present-day (DuBois 1939; Gifford 1926, 1927). The children of Lawrence Domingo Marine (Lawrence, Jr. and Marvin Lee Marine) were taught tribal dances and continued the tradition of dancing with these interior tribal communities to present-day and some of these dances have been recently reintroduced back to the Costanoan/Ohlone area (Bibby 1993). More recently Marvin Lee Marine (Maidu/Muwekma) has reintroduced traditional dances back to the Costanoan/Ohlone region, with the Amah-Mutsun tribal band now learning some of the dances from him.

Stuart, in his 1966 book, noted that the 1870 census included 110 Indians in Murray Township, which includes that portion of Alameda County east of the East Bay hills. Many of these Indians lived at the Pleasanton Rancheria, but there were also small settlements of one or two families at Las Positas, Sunol, the San Ramon Rancho, and at the Agustin Bernal property just north of the rancheria (Stuart and Stuart 1966:11).

In 1886, US Senator George Hearst and Phoebe Apperson Hearst purchased a large parcel of land from either Duerr and Nusbaumer or the Bernals that included the Alisal Rancheria, and they allowed the approximately 125 Indians to maintain their community for a short time and some worked for the Hearsts

and Appersons. A slow decline in the Verona Band community during the late nineteenth century, however, is apparent considering later events. Pressures of assimilation, an increasingly large number of white Americans settling in surrounding towns and farmlands and taking over the old *Californio* ranchos, the precarious economics of seasonal ranch work, some out-migration, and death due to infectious diseases all contributed to the waning of the indigenous revival at Alisal (Milliken 1994 in Davis et al. 1994; Olsen et al. 1985).

According to several historical documents, the last Kuksú dances were held at Alisal in 1897 (Galvan 1968; Marine 1965; Women's Research Committee of Washington Township 1904). Writing in 1904, the authors of the *History of Washington Township* wrote about such ceremonial events:

The dance in September was a very serious, ceremonial dance, lasting several days. Their dresses, worn for the dance, were very elaborate and well made, of feathers. Upon one day, the Coyote dance, a rude sort of play, was given, one of the favorite characters being Cook-suy—a clown.

There must have been some meaning of a memorable character to this dance, because when asked why they danced, they always replied: "Because our fathers are dead" [*History of Washington Township* 1904:52].

Earlier that year, on January 6, 1897, the last recognized *Capitan* of the Alisal Rancheria, José Antonio, died. Noted in Book of Funerals at Mission San Jose (1859–1908:147):

Josephus Antonius, Indian

DOD: 6 Jan 1897

Age: about 70 [60]

Buried: Indian Cemetery, Mission San Jose, D.A. Rapora, Astt. Mission San Jose

In 1904, the Northern Association for California Indians, a philanthropic group of concerned citizens who advocated on behalf of the dying and landless Indians submitted a "Memorial of the Northern California Indian Association, Praying that Lands be Allotted to the Landless Indians of the Northern Part of the State of California" to President Theodore Roosevelt. The Memorial was signed by Mrs. T. C. Edwards, President, and Charles E. Kelsey, Secretary for the Association. Attached to the Memorial was a "Schedule" identifying the landless Indian bands/communities and their estimated population which were scattered throughout northern California (meaning north of Los Angeles County; Heizer 1979).

In Alameda County, the Schedule identified the Indians living at Pleasanton (Alisal Verona Band) as having a population of 70, at Niles, there was a community of eight, and in Contra Costa County in the towns of Danville and Byron having a population of five and 20 people, respectively (Figure 10). All four communities were identified as "Costanoan." (Sen. Doc. No. 131, 58th Cong., 2d Sess., 1904, 1–16; reprinted in Heizer 1979).

In the *History of Washington Township* published in 1904, the authors provided the following commentary about the Mission San Jose/Verona Band/Muwekma Indians residing at the nearby rancherias:

The only remaining Indian villages today in this part of the state are in this township. They are in the native tongue, El Molino, the mill near Niles, and Alisal near Pleasanton, with perhaps half a hundred persons in each village. In the former, the last full-blooded Indian chief died some three years ago. In Alisal, the wife of the chief still lives, and six others of full blood... Alisal is on Mrs. Phoebe Hearst's property, and that lady has always a kindly hand ready to help them when necessary.

All of the information appearing in these papers concerning the old Indian history and customs has been gleaned from these seven full-blooded Indians, one being the widow [Jacoba] of the last chief, whose name was Jose Antonio [*History of Washington Township* 1904:53].

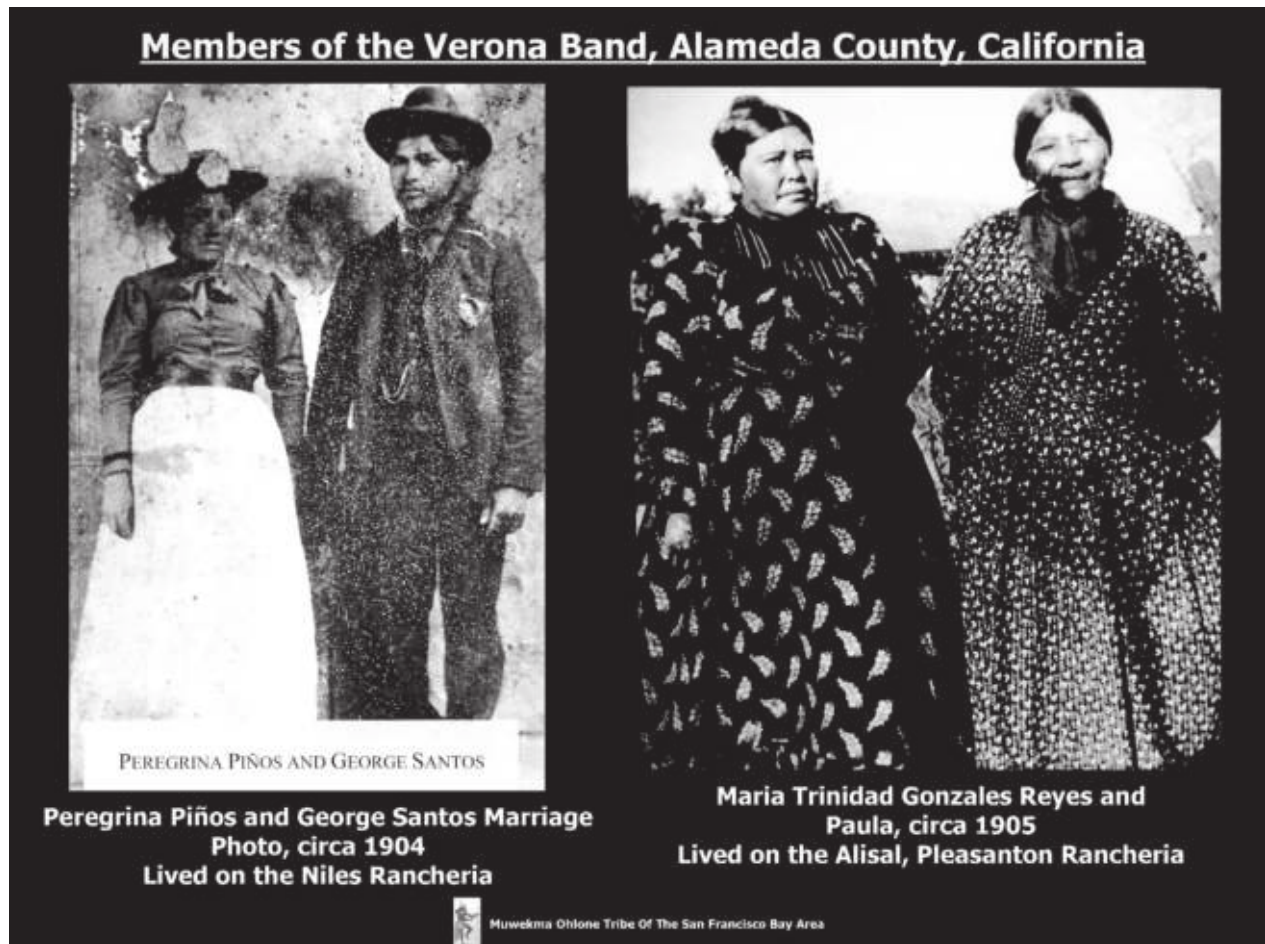


Figure 10. Muwekma Indians at the Niles and Pleasanton Rancherias.

From the interviews conducted between 1925 and 1930 with Muwekma Elders Jose Guzman and Maria de los Angeles Colos, Bureau of American Ethnology linguist John Peabody Harrington, was able to learn that *Capitan* Jose Antonio's Indian name was *Hu'ská* (Harrington 1921–1934). Jose Antonio was a great-great-grand relation to some of the current generation of the Muwekma Elders and ex-council members such as Lawrence Marine, Jr. and his younger brother (Dance Leader) Marvin Lee Marine who are directly descended from him and Jose Guzman. Jose Guzman had married *Capitan* Jose Antonio's daughter Augusta Losoyo.

After his death in 1897, Jose Antonio's wife Jacoba, who was a *mayen* (meaning the wife of a captain or a female chief), directed that the ceremonial sweat lodge (or *tupentak* in Chocheño) be torn down, in keeping with tradition (Galvan 1968). A new *tupentak* was not constructed, as it would have been in previous times, because the community did not formally select a new captain. Apparently, the political power was inherited by Jacoba through marriage as well as her descendency from her parents *Capitan* Taurino and Joaquina.

According to Muwekma oral tradition, it was Raphael Marine, husband of Avelina Cornates Marine who was tasked to take down the old ceremonial *Tupentak* roundhouse after Jose Antonio's death. Interestingly, just two years prior to his death, *Capitan* Jose Antonio and his wife Jacoba served as godparent to Raphael and Avelina Marine's fourth daughter, Mercedes Marine (co-authors' Monica V. Arellano and Gloria Gomez's great-grandmother) who after the death of her mother Avelina in 1904, was raised on the Alisal rancheria by Jacoba (1910 Federal Indian Population Census, "Indian Town," Pleasanton Township, Alameda County).

Also raised by Jacoba was Catherine Peralta one of Jose Guzman's granddaughters, who was identified on the 1900 Federal Indian Census (Washington Township); Kelsey's 1905–1906 Special Indian Census (Heizer 1971); and the 1910 Federal Indian Population Census (Pleasanton Township) as an Indian resident of the Alisal Rancheria in Alameda County.

Just before the turn-of-the-twentieth-century (1897) there were still at least 11 casitas (houses) and the *Tupentak* (temescal/round house) still standing on or near the Alisal Rancheria. During this critical period, the Guzman, Armija, Santos, Pinos, Marine, Nichols, Inigo (Alaniz), and other interrelated Muwekma (Verona Band) families remained in Pleasanton or near the original Alisal Rancheria until fire destroyed the remaining houses due to work along the Western Pacific Railroad tracks sometime around 1916.

On the 1910 Indian Census for Pleasanton Township, Mercedes Marine, age 15, was listed along with her son Albert Marine and her brother Dario Marine at "Indian Town." Also listed as residing on the Alisal Rancheria were: First household – Angela Colos, age 71, widowed, and Joseph Garcia, grandson, age 20, single. Next house – Ocavio (Jacoba) Antonio, age 60, widowed, Catherine Peralta, age 19, single, Beatrice Peralta (Marine), age 1 and 4 months, Frank Guzman, age 12, Albert Marine, age 1 year 6 months.

1910 Census – Pleasanton Township (April 28, 1910), Modesto Sanchez and his family were living on Rosedale Road two houses away from Rafael Marine and his family. Listed in the household are Modesto (age 78, married 29 years, naturalized citizen 1842, farmer), his wife Augustina (age 42, had seven children, two alive), Porfirio (age 26, single) and Andrew (age 18 and 8/12 months, born 1908), and Frank Amado (age 88, naturalized citizen 1830). This proximity between the Marine and Sanchez households explains how Ramona Marine and Porfirio Sanchez met.

1910 October – Porfirio Sanchez married Ramona Marine. Based upon information contained on an Application for State Aid for two of his children, Dolores and Augustina Sanchez, who were sent to the Mission San Jose Orphanage, filled out by Porfirio Sanchez dated July 7, 1921, he provided the following information: "Place and date of marriage: Oakland, Cal. Oct. 1910 Relatives: Antonio Sanchez (uncle), Pleasanton; Modesto Sanchez (father), Milpitas; Carmelita Feliz (cousin).

Ramona and Porfirio's first child was Enos who was born on February 1, 1910:

Ignacio Marin⁴ (Mission San Jose, 1910 April 16, page 248)

Born: Feb 1, 1910
Father: (Porfirio Sanchez)
Mother: Ramona Marin

Mariam Dolorem (Dolores) Sanchez (Mission San Jose, 1912 April 13, page 282)

Born: Dec 25, 1911
Father: Ponfilio (Porfirio) Sanchez
Mother: Ramona Maria Marino Sanchez

1912 September 18 Death Certificate – (Muwekma Elder) Raphaela Padedes died presumably at the home of Porfirio and Ramona Sanchez on Rosedale Rd. in Sunol. Death Certificate Raphaela Paderas (Padedes), County of Alameda California State Board of Health Mission San Jose, California, Local Registered No. 336. Place of Death: Mission, Alameda County, Female, Indian, Age: 97 yrs (about), Birthplace: Mission San Jose, Father: uk, Mother: uk, Place of Burial: Mission San Jose (Ohlone Indian Cemetery), September 20, 1912, Informant: Puff Sanchez, Address: Sunol

1913 February 23 Baptism Record – St. Augustine Church, Pleasanton baptism record: identified mother, of Joseph Thomas Garcia, as Mercede Marino (Marine).

Porfirio Sanchez and Ramona Marine continued to live and work in the Sunol/Pleasanton region. Their next three children were baptized at St. Augustine's Church in Pleasanton:

⁴ On his birth certificate, Enos Sanchez was identified as "California Indian."

Augustina Sanches (St. Augustine, 1914 October 18, page 49)

Born: Jun 13, 1914
Father: Porfirio Sanches
Mother: Ramona Marin

Paulina Sanchez (St. Augustine, 1916 April 30, page 57)

Born: Jan 25, 1916
Father: Porfirio Sanchez
Mother: Ramona Marin

Richardus Robertus Sanchez (St. Augustine, 1917 July 1, page 63)

Born: Mar 26, 1917
Father: Porfirio Sanches
Mother: Ramona Marine

1917 June 15, Draft Registration Card – (Muwekma Indian) Joseph Saunders⁵, living in Sunol, age 27, born November 1, 1890, Pleasanton, working as a laborer for Spring Valley Water Co.; married, wife (Erolinda Santos) and two children (Alfonso Juarez and Daniel Santos). Draft Card describes Joseph as tall, brown eyes, black hair.

1918 September 12, Draft Registration Card – (Muwekma Indian) Charles Nichols, living in Niles, California, born July 27, 1881; laborer, Spring Valley Water Co., Niles; mother – Susie Nichols – Registered at Hayward, California.

1918 September 12, Draft Registration Card – (Muwekma Indian) Frank Nichols, living in Niles, California, born July 27, 1881; laborer at Spring Valley Water Co., Niles; mother – Susie Nichols – Registered at Hayward, California.

1918 September 12, Draft Registration Card – Jose Sanchez⁶, residing in Calaveras Dam, Sunol Glen, Alameda County, Cal, age 34, born July 3, 1884; laborer, Spring Valley Water Co. Calaveras Dam, Sunol Glen, Alameda County, Cal.

1920 Census – Pleasanton Township, Sunol Town-Sunol Glen Precincts, Modesto Sanchez was listed as living on Niles Road near Sunol Road and Glen Avenue. Identified as a widower, age 68, farmer.

Ramona and Porfirio's last child, Margaret, was baptized at the Mission San Jose:

Margaret Sanchez (Milpitas; Mission San Jose, 1920 September 4, page 362)

Born: Mar 26, 1919
Father: Porfirio Sanchez
Mother: Ramona Sanchez

1921 May 29, Orphanage Application – Ramona Marine Sanchez died. During this period, the family was living on the Bill Parks ranch in Milpitas. Porfirio was working as a vaquero and could not take care of the children. Porfirio's two sons, Enos and Robert (Morgan), went to live with relatives. Margaret (Martinez) went to live with Susanna Nichols. Dolores and her sister Augustina were placed in the Lady of the Palms

5 Joseph Saunders (also known as Joseph Garcia/Armijo) who was also the father of Muwekma Ohlone Indian Thomas Garcia and the father of Alfonso Juarez and Daniel. Joseph Armijo (Santos/Saunders) who was born Nov. 1, 1890, was the son of Muwekma Indians Francisca Luecha (Angela Colos' daughter) and Edward Armijo.

6 Jose Sanchez was the last husband of (Muwekma Elder) Maria Trinidad Gonzalez Reyes who was photographed by C. Hart Merriam in 1905.

Orphanage, Mission San Jose. They both entered the orphanage as “half orphans” on August 6, 1921, and were cared for by the Carmelite nuns (see Orphanage application form, 1921).

1921 August 4, Obituary for Modesto Sanchez San Jose Mercury Herald:

SANCHEZ – In Calaveras Valley⁷, August 3, 1921, Modesto Sanchez, loving father of Porfirio Sanchez, brother of Antonio Sanchez of Pleasanton, Frank and Ray Gallego, Mrs. Juanita Asevedo and Mrs. Jesus Trilles, uncle of Mrs. P. Felix, a native of Mexico, ages 90 years.

1930 Census – Porfirio Sanchez and his family were identified on the Warm Springs Precinct, Alameda County and living on the old State Highway Road. Porfirio was identified as Porfirio Sanchez (age 46; farm laborer), his newly married wife Josephine (age 33); Margaret, daughter (age 11); Robert, son (13); and John, step-son (age 12).

1930 Census – Niles, April 4th and 5th, (Muwekma Ohlone Elder) Susanna Nichols, age 73, married since age 17 (ca. 1875), widowed; Charlie, son, age 47, widowed, laborer, odd jobs; Frank, son, age 47, single, laborer, odd jobs; Lawrence, grandson, age 22, single, Shoveling, County Roads; Henry, son, age 35, single, mucker, (Spring Valley) Water Company, WWI veteran. The Nichols family was living on “J” Street in Niles.

1930 Census – April 18, (Muwekma Indian) Augustina Sanchez was still residing at St. Mary’s Orphanage at Mission San Jose. She was identified as Augusta Sanchez, In(dian), age 15.

After the Alisal Rancheria was abandoned in 1916, the various surviving Muwekma families continued to work locally in the East Bay, residing on ranches, vineyards, hopyards and renting homes in Niles (e.g., Shinn property), Newark, Centerville, Fremont, Milpitas, Pleasanton, Sunol, Livermore, Alameda, and elsewhere. The Muwekmas continued to live peaceably near the Alisal Rancheria as long as they could and had continued to visit and use the locality as best they could. Avelina Marine’s children (Dario, Dolores, Elizabeth [Belle], Ramona, Mercedes, Victoria, Lucas and Trina) along with the Nichols, Guzman, Binoco, Pinos, Santos, Inigo, Juarez, Armija and other Muwekma families, had to readapt and relocate to other nearby residences in order to work and maintain their families. Some of the men worked for Southern Pacific Railroad; Spring Valley Water Company; Leslie Salt; and on local orchards, ranches, and farms.

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Kelsey Special Indian Census 1905–1906, Congressional Homeless California Indian Act of 1906, and the Federal Recognition of the Muwekma/Verona Band of Alameda County

In 1905, as a result of the discovery of the 18 unratified California Indian Treaties (which were negotiated between 1851 and 1852) from the US Senate Secret Archives. Mr. Charles E. Kelsey, a lawyer who resided on 12th Street in San Jose, was serving at that time as the Secretary for the philanthropic Northern Association for California Indians. In 1905, he was appointed Special Indian Agent to California by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (Indian Service Bureau/BIA) in Washington, DC. Agent Kelsey was charged by the BIA to conduct a Special Indian Census and identify all of the landless and homeless California tribes and bands residing from north of Los Angeles to the Oregon border who were to come under the jurisdiction of the BIA and the ensuing Congressional Homeless Indian Acts.

Based upon the partial results of Kelsey’s Special Indian Census, and the discovery of the 18 unratified California Indian treaties from the Senate archives, Congress passed multiple Appropriation Acts beginning in 1906 on through 1937, for the purpose of purchasing “home sites” for the many surviving California Indian tribes and bands.

⁷ Calaveras Valley is a valley east of Milpitas. It has formed primarily as a result of the actions of the Calaveras Fault. The southern end of the Calaveras Valley is a few miles south of Calaveras Reservoir, while the northern end is at Sunol. It also includes the Sunol Regional Wildness Area.

The Western Pacific Railroad constructed a rail line to serve the Hearst estate near the location of Alisal in 1910 and named the station Verona (after the Hearst mansion Hacienda del Pozo de Verona). Between the years 1906 and 1927, the Verona Band fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Indian Service Bureau in Washington, DC, and by 1914, the Tribe's jurisdiction was transferred to the Reno Agency, and later again, transferred over to the Sacramento Agency (sometime after 1923). During this time, Federal Government Indian Service Bureau agents attempted to purchase land for many of the Federally Recognized, but still landless, California Indian tribes and bands.

Writing his Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1923, Superintendent Jenkins commented:

The jurisdiction of Reno Agency comprises the following named reservations and colonies, villages, camps, etc., in addition to all scattered bands of Indians in Nevada and California not under the jurisdiction of any other superintendency.

Other Indians in California under this jurisdiction but not occupying government lands are found in the localities named below:

COUNTY	COMMUNITIES	ESTIMATED
Alameda	Verona	30

Sometime after 1923, the jurisdiction of the landless Indians of northern central California had shifted to the Sacramento Agency under the aegis Colonel Lafayette A. Dorrington, who was a prison warden in the Philippines during the American occupation. Dorrington, who was probably a political appointee to the Sacramento Superintendency and was probably rewarded for his military service as a prison warden in the Philippines during the post-Spanish American War period of occupation

In January 1927, Sacramento Superintendent Col. Lafayette A. Dorrington (1918–1930) received a detailed office directive from Assistant Commissioner E. B. Merritt for him to list by county all the tribes and bands under his jurisdiction that had yet to obtain a land base for their “home sites.” This directive was issued so that Congress could plan its allocation budget for fiscal year 1929. Dorrington, who was not an advocate for California Indians, was chronically derelict in his duties and he decided not to respond to this directive. He also decided not to respond to many of the other requests issued by the Washington, DC, Office. By May 1927, under threat of investigation, Dorrington yet again received another strongly worded directive from the Assistant Commissioner E. B. Merritt.

To this second directive, Dorrington reluctantly responded on June 23, 1927, by generating a report, which in effect, illegally, unilaterally and administratively “terminated” the existence and needs of approximately 135 tribes and bands throughout northern California from their Federally Acknowledged status. He did this by completely dismissing the needs of these identified homeless and landless tribal groups. The very first casualty on Dorrington's “hit list” was the Verona Band of Alameda County. Without any benefit of any onsite visitation or needs assessment, which he was charged to conduct by the Assistant Commissioner, Dorrington opined:

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 their homes [report dated June 23, 1927].

The fact that Dorrington makes mention that the Verona Band resided “near the town of Verona” makes it clear that he never visited the Muwekma Tribal Community. There is no town of Verona in Alameda County. Thus, with the stroke of a pen and without benefit of any due process or direct communication with

the tribe, the Muwekma/Verona Band along with the other 134 tribes and bands of California, apparently lost their formal status as Federally Recognized Tribes.

A Call to War: Muwekma Men Enlist in the US Armed Forces: World War I

Prior to and during America's entrance into World War I, at least six Muwekma men joined 17,000 other Native Americans and served in the United States Armed Forces in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. As such, their military service took place even before California Indians legally became citizens in 1924. These Muwekma men enlisted through the San Francisco Presidio and Mare Island and five of them are buried at the Golden Gate National Cemetery: Antonio (Toney) Guzman, Alfred (Fred) Guzman, Joseph Aleas, John Michael Henry Abraham Lincoln Nichols, and Franklin P. Guzman (Leventhal 2017).

Muwekma Enrollment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (1928–1932): The California Indian Jurisdictional Act of 1928

After conferring citizen status, the California Indians turned their attention to theft of their aboriginal lands through the failure of the 18 treaties not being ratified in 1852. As a response, in 1928, the United States Congress passed the California Indian Jurisdictional Act, which created a census of all eligible Indians who could prove that their ancestors resided in California at the time when the 18 unratified treaties were negotiated between 1851 and 1852. Between the years 1928 and 1932 almost all the Muwekma Indian head of households enrolled as "Ohlones" and/or "Mission San Jose Tribe" under this act, and their applications were approved by the Secretary of Interior, the BIA, and the Federal Court.

Muwekma Children and Indian Boarding Schools (1931–1946)

During the Great Depression years (1930s through the beginning of World War II), the Muwekmas continued to adjust to the economic hardships facing the families. Although at times moving around as farm hands, fruit pickers, and laborers, the family heads still maintained important social kinship networks, and religious, economic, and political ties with each other.

The youngest son of Dario Marine, Lawrence Domingo Marine, was sent to the BIA's Indian boarding school at Sherman Institute, Riverside County, in southern California, and there he met his future wife, Pansy Lizzette Potts (daughter of Marie Potts Mason, Maidu Tribe).

The children of Jack Guzman and Flora (Marine) Munoz, John Guzman, Jr. and his sister Rena Guzman were sent to the BIA boarding school at Chemawa, in Salem, Oregon during the early 1940s.

John Peabody Harrington's Ethnographic and Linguistic Fieldwork: Interviews with the Muwekma Tribal Community (1925–1934)

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, anthropological linguist John Peabody Harrington from the Bureau of American Ethnology conducted interviews with members of the Muwekma Tribal Community (e.g., Susanna Nichols, Jose Guzman, Francisca Nonessi, Maria de los Angeles Colos, Catherine Peralta and others) who were still residing in the Niles, Centerville, Newark, Pleasanton, and Livermore areas.

Harrington's principal linguistic and cultural consultants are direct biological ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone families many of whom are presently living in the Oakland/Livermore/Hayward/Castro Valley/Fremont/Newark/Niles/San Jose/Tracy areas. Also during this period, sound recordings made by Harrington of 27 songs sung by Jose Guzman in 1930, and photos taken by C. Hart Merriam of Jose Guzman and his family members later in 1934 attest to the Tribe's presence within their historic homeland (Figure 11).

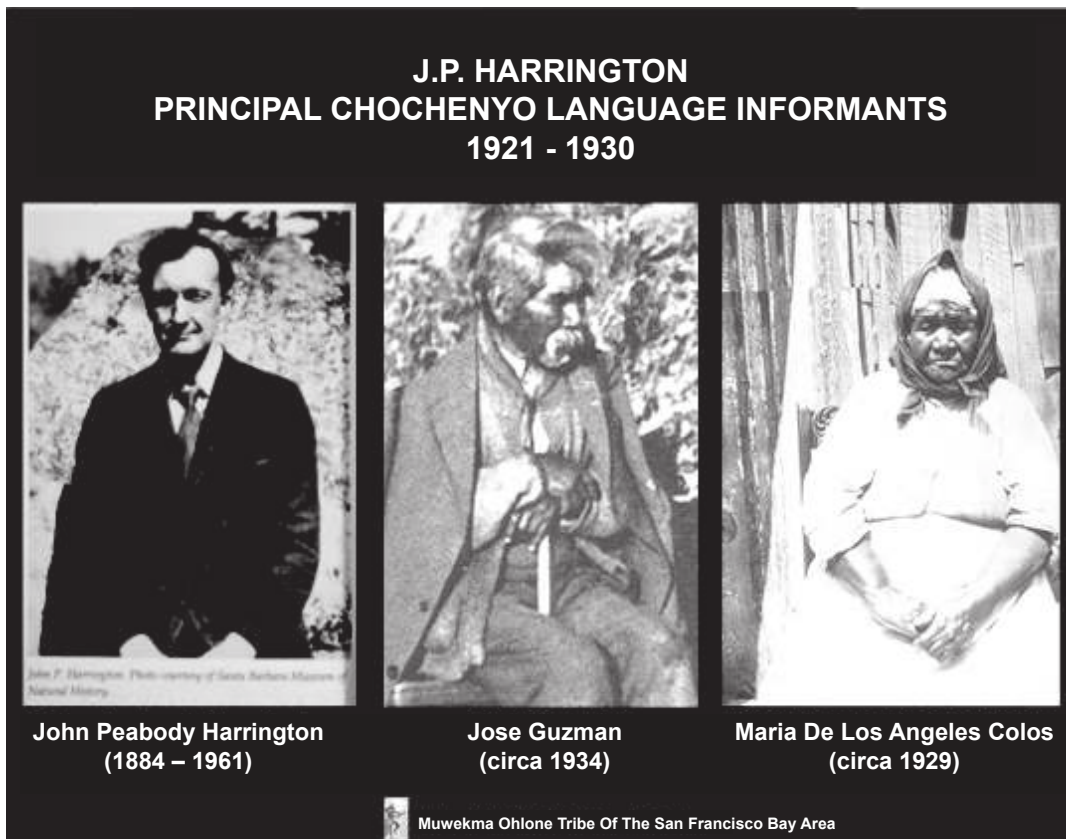


Figure 11. Interviewer J. P. Harrington and Muwekma Elders Jose Guzman and Maria de los Angeles “Angela” Colos.

J. P. Harrington’s field notes (dated October 12, 1929, and October 1934) provide information about the culture, history, and languages spoken by the Verona Band/Mission San Jose Indians. Jose Guzman and Angela Colos shared the following information with him:

- The San Jose Indians were of many tribes gathered at the mission. They are called Chocheños.
- I asked inf. how to say Abajeños, but inf. never heard the term. But inf. knows how to say arribenos... when I asked if these were the Indians of Oakland, Inf. said no, that they were from [Martinez].
- Inf. does know one tribe, Halkin. It is the name of a tribe up San Rafael way. Liberato here was a Halkin, or was said to be one. [inf.] told him he was a Halkin, and Liberato got mad, denied it... He [Jose Guzman] made a map, showing the location of “Hacienda Station” for Mrs. Hearst’s place.
- From Sunol... he drew a line, indicating the former location of “Barona” [Verona] Station north of the San Jose Mission. Then, he noted under Roundhouse/Dancehouse:
- Was a big temescal just up the road from here. Until recently could see the place. Door inside and a big hole and also a smaller hole in the roof. Tu’pentak, temescal. Used to have fiestas here.

MUWEKMA FAMILIES FROM WORLD WAR II ONWARD

The Outbreak of World War II: Muwekma Men Once Again Answer the Call to War

During World War II, almost all the Muwekma men served in the United States Armed Forces both in Pacific and European theaters and stateside. At least 18 Muwekma men served overseas in the Army (including the 101st and 82nd Airborne Divisions, Army Air Corps, Navy, and Marine Corps; Leventhal 2017).

Post-World War II to the 1950s

At the end of the war, the returning Muwekma men had to readjust to the peacetime economy and search for employment throughout the central California region. Work was difficult to find at times, but families helped each other and maintained tribal relations through religious and social mechanisms (e.g., compadrazo/godparenting and witnessing) that have long been established within the Muwekma families.

After World War II, in May 1947, Ernest Thompson, Jr., the son of Magdalena Armija Thompson and others became members of the Bay Area California Indian Council which represented the contractual interests for more than 1,000 California Indians residing in the Bay Area as a result of the 1928, 1944, and 1946 Indian Claims Acts and ensuing legal decisions by the Justice Department.

Continuous Connections to the Tribe's Sacred Sites:

The Protection of the Ohlone Indian Cemetery, Fremont, California

The Ohlone Indian Cemetery located on Washington Boulevard, one mile west of Mission San Jose in Fremont, was used for burial by members of the Guzman, Santos, Pinos, Marine, Armija (Thompson) and Nichols families until 1926, while the original Ohlone burial ground was located under the northern wing of the mission church. Martin Guzman (died October 4, 1925), Victorian Marine Munoz (died November 27, 1922), and her son Jose Salvador Munoz (died 1921) were some of the last Muwekma Ohlone Indians to be buried there. On Jose Salvador Munoz's death certificate, it identifies his place of burial as "Ohlone Cem"[etery].

During the 1960s Muwekma families under the leadership of Dolores Marine Galvan, participated in securing the legal title to the Historic Ohlone Cemetery located on Washington Boulevard in the City of Fremont. In 1971, a board of directors for the Ohlone Indian Tribe, Inc., was established by Dolores Marine Galvan and her children Philip Galvan, Benjamin Michael Galvan, and Dolores Galvan Lameira in order to secure title to the tribe's ancestral cemetery.

During this period when the American Indian Historical Society obtained legal title of the Ohlone Cemetery on behalf of the Muwekma Ohlone community, invitations went out to various families, including the children of Magdalena Armija and Ernest Thompson and the other Marine-related families, to help clean up the run-down cemetery (Figure 12). The Guzman, Marine, Armija-Thompson, and Nichols families had loved ones (e.g., Avelina Cornates Marine, Elizabeth [Belle] Marine Nichols, Ramona Marine Sanchez, Victoria Marine Munoz, Dario's son Gilbert Marine, Rosa Nichols and Mary Nichols, Salvador Munoz, Charles Thompson, and Martin Guzman) buried there during the first three decades of this century (Marine 1965; Leventhal et al. 1995).

Benjamin Michael Galvan was born on June 23, 1927, and was the last formal member of the historic Verona Band of Alameda County to be born into the Federally Recognized Tribe. Ben was born the same day that BIA Superintendent Lafayette A. Dorrington decided in his report that the landless Verona Band tribe did not need any land. Ben served as the first chairman of the Ohlone Indian Tribe between 1965 and 1978.



Figure 12. Lillian Massiatt, Ramona, and Michael Galvan at Ohlone Cemetery in 1966.

Muwekma Families Enroll with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the Second Enrollment (1948–1957)

Under the Act of 1948, the many of the Muwekma Ohlone “heads of household” enrolled with their families once again with during the second BIA Enrollment between 1950 and 1957. These Muwekma include:

- Dolores Marine Galvan, October 6, 1950;
- Domingo Lawrence Marine, October 12, 1950;
- Dario Marine, November 1, 1950;
- Flora Munoz Carranza, December 12, 1950;
- Lucas Marine, December 23, 1950;
- Henry Alvarez, April 7 and 26, 1951;
- Trina Marine Thompson Ruano, May 21, 1951;
- Maggie Pinos Juarez, July 19, 1951;
- Benjamin Galvan, December 4, 1951;
- Belle Stokes Olivares Nichols February 25, 1952;
- Ernest Thompson, April 16, 1952;
- Thomas Garcia, April 22, 1953;
- Flora Emma Martel Thompson, February 4, 1954;
- Erolinda Santos Juarez Pena Corral, May 16, 1955;
- Robert Corral, May 16, 1955;

Edward Thompson, May 21, 1955;
Daniel Santos, May 23, 1955;
Joseph Francis Aleas, May 24, 1955;
Albert Arellano, June 18, 1955;
Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, October 3, 1955; and
Arthur Pena Corral, December 27, 1957.

Third Bureau of Indian Affairs Enrollment (1968–1971)

Following the Act of 1964, between 1969 and 1971, the following Muwekma “heads of households” and their families once again enrolled during the third BIA Enrollment period with most of the applicants identifying themselves as “Ohlone” on Question 6, “Name the California Tribe, Band or Group of Indians with which your ancestors were affiliated on June 1, 1852”:

Mary Munoz Mora Ramos Archuleta, January 10, 1969, “Ohlone, Mission.”
Mary Marine Galvan, January 27, 1969, “Ohlone.”
Ernest George Thompson, February 20, 1969, “Ohlone Tribe, Mission San Jose.”
Patricia Ferne Thompson Brooks, March 27, 1969, “Mission Indians.”
Madeline Cynthia Thompson Perez, March 27, 1969, “Mission Indians.”
Karl Thompson, March 27, 1969, “Mission Indians.”
Robert P. Corral, April 30, 1969, “Ohlone Indian.”
Henry Marshall⁸, May 7, 1969, “Ohlones.”
Glenn Thompson, June 11, 1969, “Mission Indian.”
Lorenzo Thompson, June 24, 1969, “Costanoan.”
Lawrence Thompson, Jr., June 24, 1969, “Costanoan.”
Rosemary Juarez Ferreira, July 15, 1969, “Ohlone Indians.”
Peter D. Juarez, July 23, 1969, “Ohlone Indians.”
Dolores Sanchez Martinez, August 11, 1969, “Ohlone.”
Margaret Martinez, August 21, 1969, “Ohlone Mission Indian.”
Joan Guzman, August 26, 1969, “Ohlone Indian.”
Belle Nichols, September 4, 1969, “Mission.”
John Paul Guzman, September 12, 1969, “Ohlone Mission Indian.”
Beatrice Marine, January 5, 1971, “Costanoan.”

In 1972, the federal government agreed to a compromise settlement of the lawsuit for land reparation payments for 64,425,000 acres of land in California. After deduction of BIA attorney’s fees (\$12,609,000) plus interest, the payment amounted to 47 cents per acre!

Payments of \$668.51 per eligible person—that is, the persons who had enrolled under the second and third enrollments, as listed above—were issued by 1972 (Figure 13). What is of great significance here is the fact that the entire claims activities were conducted outside of normal court proceedings protected by the

⁸ Henry Marshall, Sr. died in 1982 and according to his daughter Margaret Ariza, he was cremated and his ashes were scattered over Sunol.

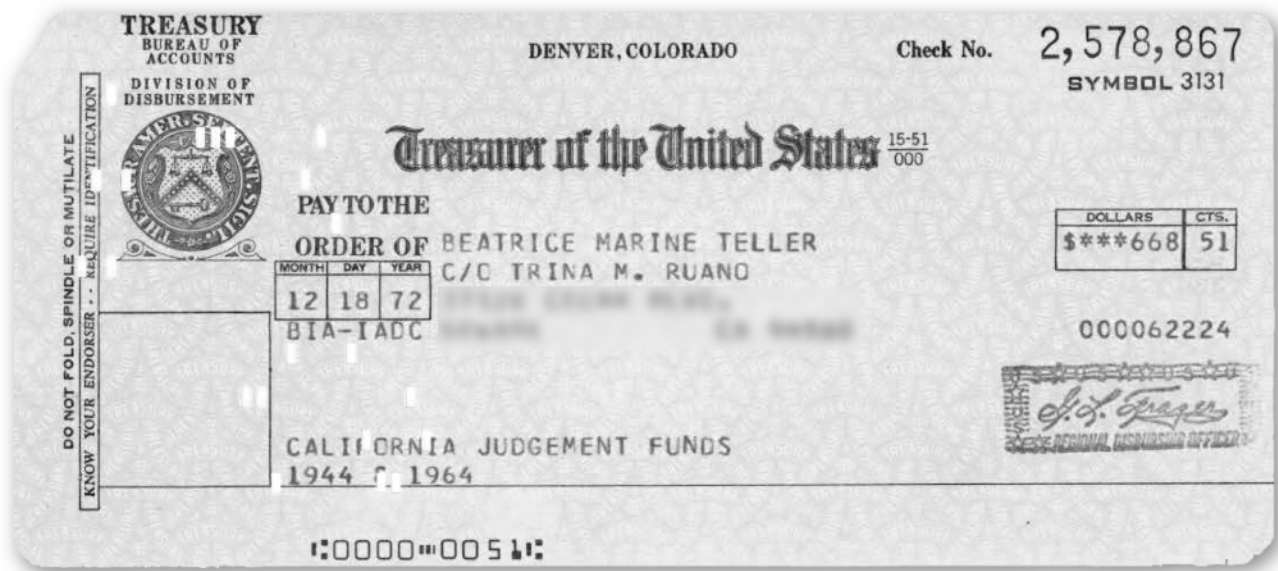


Figure 13. Muwekma Elder Beatrice Marine's 1972 Distribution Check for \$668.51.

constitution. Thus, Indians are the only class of citizens in the United States who are denied constitutional protection of their lands.

Muwekma Service in the US Armed Forces for the 1950s Onward

During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s Muwekma men served in Korea, Vietnam, and other campaigns.

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and its Reaffirmation as a Federally Recognized Tribe

In 1989, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe began the arduous process of petitioning the US Government regarding clarification of its status as a Federally Recognized Tribe, under 25 Code of Federal Regulations Part 83. Over the years, interfacing with the BIA's Office of Federal Acknowledgment has been a very difficult and acrimonious process. However, in face of the "extinction" sentence issued by Alfred L. Kroeber in his 1925 California Handbook ("The Costanoan group is extinct so far as all practical purposes are concerned." Kroeber 1925:464), and adversity by the BIA, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe has nonetheless made great strides forward. In 1996, the Tribe shattered the myth that it was never Federally Recognized.

On May 24, 1996, the United States Department of the Interior, Deborah Maddox, Director of the Office of Tribal Services for the BIA, formally concluded in a letter sent to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe that:

Based on the documentation provided, and the BIA's background study on Federal acknowledgment in California between 1887 and 1933, we have concluded... that the Pleasanton or Verona Band of Alameda County was previously acknowledged between 1914 and 1927. The band was among the groups, identified as bands, under the jurisdiction of the Indian agency at Sacramento, California. The agency dealt with the Verona Band as a group and identified it as a distinct social and political entity [letter in response to the Muwekma Petition, Branch of Acknowledgment and Research, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC].

In 1998, working with the congressional created Advisory Council on California Indian Policy (ACCIP) which was legislated in 1992 (HR 2144) the Muwekma Tribe sought formal alternatives to the arduous Federal Recognition process under 25 CFR Part 83. After obtaining a formal positive determination of previous unambiguous federal recognition (under 25 CFR Part 83.8), the Muwekma leadership in concert with the leadership of another northern California Indian tribe, Tsungwe Council requested support from the BIA in Sacramento. Responding to the tribe's request, Acting Area Director, Michael Smith, wrote:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sacramento Area Office, is ready to assist the Tsungwe Council and the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe in seeking administrative Federal recognition on the basis your tribes were never terminated [letter Michael R. Smith dated January 23, 1998].

On April 13, 2000, as a result of the submittal of reports to Congress the findings from the Advisory Council on California Indian Policy Act (HR 2144), California Congressman George Miller (D-Pleasant Hill) and his staff drafted a Recognition Bill titled California Indian Act of 2000, the purpose of which was:

To restore Federal recognition to certain California Indian tribes, address the special land need of the California Indians, establish equitable treatment of California Indians in the programs and services of the Bureau of Indians Affairs, develop adequate California tribal justice systems, and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of American in Congress Assembled.

Included in that proposed but never passed legislation was the legislative reaffirmation/restoration of six previously Federally Recognized Tribes whose legal status was never terminated by any Act of Congress. These six tribes include: (1) Dunlap Band of Mono Indians; (2) Lower Lake Koi; (3) Tsungwe Council; (4) Muwekma Ohlone Tribe; (5) Tolowa Nation; and (6) Southern Sierra Miwok (from Yosemite).

In 2000, US District Court Justice Ricardo Urbina wrote in his *Introduction of his Memorandum Opinion Granting the Plaintiff's Motion to Amend the Court's Order* (July 28, 2000) and later in his *Memorandum Order Denying the Defendants' to Alter or Amend the Court's Orders* (June 11, 2002) that:

The Muwekma Tribe is a tribe of Ohlone Indians indigenous to the present-day San Francisco Bay Area. In the early part of the Twentieth Century, the Department of the Interior ("DOI") recognized the Muwekma tribe as an Indian tribe under the jurisdiction of the United States [Civil Case No. 99-3261 RMU D.D.C.].

On October 30, 2000, the BIA's Office of Federal Acknowledgment and Tribal Services Division responded to Justice Urbina's Court Order regarding the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal enrollment and their descendency from the Verona Band of Alameda County:

When combined with the members who have both types of ancestors), 100 percent of the membership is represented. Thus, analysis shows that the petition's membership can trace (and, based on a sampling, can document) its various lineages back to individuals *or to one or more siblings of individuals* appearing on the 1900, "Kelsey," and 1910 census enumerations described above.

Muwekma Tribe's Litigation against the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs

On September 21, 2006, US District Court Justice, Reginald B. Walton in *Muwekma Ohlone Tribe v. Dirk Kempthorne, Secretary of the Interior et al.* Civil Action No. 03-1231 (RBW) issued a favorable Court Opinion on the side of the Muwekma Tribe stating:

The following facts are not in dispute. Muwekma is a group of American Indians indigenous to the San Francisco Bay area, the members of which are direct descendants of the historical Mission San Jose Tribe, also known as the Pleasanton or Verona Band of Alameda County ("the Verona Band")... From 1914 to 1927, the Verona Band was recognized by the federal

government as an Indian tribe... Neither Congress nor any executive agency ever formally withdrew federal recognition of the Verona Band... Nevertheless, after 1927, the federal government no longer acknowledged the Verona Band, or any past or present-day incarnation of the plaintiff, as a federally recognized tribal entity entitled to a government-to-government relationship with the United States... (alleging that “sometime after 1927 the Department began to simply ignore the Tribe for many purposes and substantially reduced the benefits and services provided to the Tribe”)... [pages 2–3].

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area has moved both its legal history and efforts seeking reaffirmation as a Federally Recognized Tribe almost full circle, thus completing its century-long-plus journey since the Tribe first became Federally Acknowledged through the Congressional Homeless Indian Acts beginning in 1906.

Sii Túupentak and the many other ancestral heritage/archaeological projects that the Tribe has worked on have also served as important “bridges” to the Tribe’s long historical and pre-contact ancestral past. This archaeological work has been exceedingly important and meaningful to the Tribal membership by providing a forum—in the form of the present study and its ethnohistorical ties to the Tribe’s larger territory—thus allowing the Muwekma Tribe to continually have a voice in telling part of its story after being completely disenfranchised for so many decades by public agencies, policy makers, academic institutions, and archaeologists.

This present ethnohistory study has provided ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and legal background information about the ancestral Muwekma Ohlone Indians—the aboriginal and historic tribal people of the greater circum-San Francisco Bay region—in both a historical and contemporary context. Furthermore, this chapter was structured using contemporary anthropological and historical frameworks with two major research goals in mind:

1. To present herein, ethnohistoric and historical information that addresses the biological and cultural continuation of the aboriginal Muwekma Ohlone Tribal people from the San Francisco Bay region and thus identifying and discussing those “vital” cultural linkages between the living people and their ancestors and ancestral heritage sites, and specifically in this case, to the ancestral Ohlone people who were buried at the *Sii Túupentak* and;
2. To bring forward an interpretive understanding about the life of the ancestral Muwekma Ohlone people who were buried at *Sii Túupentak*; and ultimately bring closure to this project with a Reburial-Honoring Ceremony for these ancestors by placing them back into the earth (*warep*), within or near the original cemetery location from which they were laid to rest by their people over the past millennium.

Although there are almost no protections against the destruction of Native American Ancestral Heritage cemetery and village sites, and as far as we know, no ancestral Muwekma Ohlone heritage site is eligible for Historical Landmark status under the Landmark statutes in Alameda County, and in general throughout the San Francisco Bay Area, it is nonetheless hoped that the Politics of Erasure will begin to change as a result of this project. The Tribe would like all Bay Area governmental agencies to minimally emulate what was accomplished in the City of San Jose, honoring our history and heritage. In conclusion, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe desires to honor the good efforts and diligent work displayed by SFPUC management and field staff and Far Western in facilitating the recovery of our ancestors who were buried at a place that the Tribal leadership has named: *Sii Túupentak* (Place of the Water Round House Site; Figure 14).



Figure 14. *Sii Túupentak* (Place of the Water Round House Site).