Chapter 9:

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Introduction

As presented elsewhere in this report Ohlone Families Consulting Services (OFCS), the Cultural Resource Management arm of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area had oversight on the burial recovery mitigation program conducted at the Tupiun Táareštak [Fox Man Burial] Site (CA-SCL-894). The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe has over the past 30 years continuously exercised its stewardship over the Tribe’s ancestral heritage and human remains discovered within their aboriginal territory. The Tribe’s leadership and members were involved in the recovery program and final report on this ancestral cemetery site encountered on Market Street which the Tribe has renamed the Tupiun Táareštak Site.

The Renaming of Site (CA-SCL-894) by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe in their Chocheño/Tamien Ohlone Languages

At the very beginning of this Burial and Archaeological Data Recovery project, it became apparent that the burial discovered at this location was the remains of Native people, most likely from the local Tamien Ohlone-speaking villages who were baptized at Mission Santa Clara. 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 ancestor by renaming the site with a new name in the Tribe’s aboriginal Ohlone Chocheño/Tamien language.

This practice follows Muwekma Tribal tradition by which the Tribal leadership has over these past decades renamed some of their ancestral village and cemetery sites as part of a process to reclaim the Tribe’s ancestral Heritage Sites. This renaming tradition has formally occurred at several other South Bay pre-contact ancestral Muwekma Ohlone cemetery sites which include: 1) CA-SCL-732 located 11½ miles to the southeast of CA-SCL-30/H along Coyote Creek. CA-SCL-732 was renamed Kaphan Umux (Three Wolves) Site [and recently corrected to Kaphan Húunikma] in 1995 (Cambra et al. 1996); 2) CA-SCL-38 located in Milpitas located approximately 5 miles to the north/northeast of Mission Santa Clara, consisting of a very large mortuary earth mound that was named the Yukisma (“at the Oaks”) Site in 1996 (Bellifemine 1997); 3) CA-SCL-867 which is located in the Willow Glen area of San Jose approximately 3¾ miles to the southeast of the mission was renamed the Ríipin Waréeptak Site which means “(in the) Willows Area” in 2006 (Leventhal, et. al 2007); 4) CA-SCL-869 located approximately 8 miles to the southwest of CA-SCL-30/H and renamed Katwáš Ketneyma Waréeptak (The Four Matriarchs) Site in 2009 (Leventhal et al. 2009); 5) in 2010 the CA-SCL-287/CA-SMA-263 site complex was renamed Yuki Kutsuimi Šaatoš
Inūxw [Sand Hill Road] Sites located approximately 20 miles to the northwest on Stanford University lands (Leventhal et. al 2010); and 6) the discovery of at least thirteen individuals whom were buried on top of each other and who had died very close in time to each other (1781-1818), the Muwekma Tribal Language Committee decided upon the name Clareño Muwékma Ya Tûnnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site for CA-SCL-30/H (Leventhal et. al 2011).

More recently the Muwekma language committee renamed a site excavated by San Jose State University in 1964 as part of a recently finalized archaeological report on site CA-SCL-895/Blauer Ranch (McDaniel et al. 2012). The language committee decided to rename this site after the original Mexican land grant Yerba Buena y Socayre which translates into the Muwekma language as Kiriṭ-smin ’ayye Sokôte Tápporikmatka [Place of Yerba Buena and Laurel Trees Site].

For this present study the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe’s Language Committee (comprising Monica V. Arellano, Sheila Schmidt Guzman and Gloria Gomez) renamed the site in the Chocheño/Tamien language to Tupiun Táareštak meaning Place of the Fox Man Site and will at times be referred to by this name in this chapter (see linguistic breakdown below).

Fox = Tupiun,
Man = Táareš
Site = -tka after vowels; -tak after a consonant
Tupiun Táareštak = Place of the Fox Man Site

The discovery and analysis of the individual was recovered from the California Fox Theater, therefore, CA-SCL-894 will at times be referred interchangeably as Tupiun Táareštak [Fox Man Burial] Site in this chapter.

In this ethnographic section, we provide an ethnohistoric overview of the Santa Clara Valley and surrounding geographic regions. This section also explores the complex historic interrelationships between the aboriginal Ohlone tribal groups from the greater San Francisco Bay region at the time of contact and the ensuing impacts resulting from the advent of the expanding late 18th century Hispanic Empire; the establishment of the Catholic Church and the effects of Missionization; the mid-19th century American conquest of California; the Gold Rush and theft of California Indian lands; the effects of the emergent State of California; and the Federal Recognition of California Indian Tribes and specifically the Verona Band of Alameda County. These topics are introduced and explored though 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.

**Ethnogeographic Setting**

The Tupiun Táareštak Site represents an ancestral Muwekma Ohlone cemetery located in downtown San Jose in proximately to the Guadalupe River and the Holiday Inn Site (CA-SCL-128).
Formally designated with the State’s trinomial system as CA-SCL-894, the site is located within the contact-period ethnogeographic territory of the Our Patron San Francisco Tribal Group/District which was part of the larger defined Tamien Ohlone-speaking linguistic territory of the Santa Clara Valley. The Tupiun Táareštak Site is also located within the larger catchment of the adjacent Contact-Period Tamien Ohlone-speaking village districts that included Our Mother Santa Clara, San Juan Bautista and San Carlos or Matalan Tribal Groups/Districts which were so named by the Mission Santa Clara priests (see C. King 1994, Milliken 1991, 1995, 2004; Hylkema 1995, 2007 [CA-SCL-690 Tamien Station].

Milliken notes that “Fathers Murguiá and Peña of Mission Santa Clara noted in the title page of their Libro de Bautismos (Book of Baptisms), and again in a letter of 1777, that the mission was built in an area known as Tamien” (Milliken 1995:256). Elsewhere, Milliken states that “Our Patron San Francisco, probably placed on the Guadalupe River near Our Mother Santa Clara and Santa Ysabel, east of present-day downtown Santa Clara” was part of the core villages that comprised the Tamien tribal district (Milliken in Hylkema 2007:52). He also suggests that “the villages of San Jose Cupertino, Our Mother Santa Clara, and Our Patron San Francisco formed a single tribelet that controlled most of the Guadalupe River system, and therefore, the core of the Santa Clara Valley” (ibid:54).

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, and 1994) and continued by Milliken (1983, 1991, 1995, 2004 and 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 and adjacent areas supported fairly large populations of Native peoples for upwards to over a period spanning the past 10,000 years. During the Early to Late Periods (past 4000 years) this is evidenced by the prevalence of large pre-contact cemeteries within the San Francisco Bay region [see reports on Emeryville (CA-ALA-309); Ellis Landing (CA-CCO-295); Santa Rita Village (CA-ALA-413) [Wiberg 1984]; Patterson Mound (CA-ALA-328) [Davis and Treganza 1959]; Ryan Mound (CA-ALA-329) [Leventhal 1993]; CA-SCL-732, Three Wolves Site (Cambra et. al 1996); CA-SCL-38 (Bellifemine 1997); CA-SCL-690 Tamien Station (Hylkema 2007); CA-SCL-674 Rubino Site (Grady et al. 2001); University Village (CA-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 Phase IA - Late Period (ca. 1100 A.D.), and presumably represents inclusion in the larger geographically-area-wide Kuksu religion that was practiced by a multitude of North–Central California Indian tribal groups.

These Kuksu practicing tribal groups ranged from the Hokan-speaking Salinans to the south (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 Athabascan-speaking Cahto tribe located to the north of Fort Bragg. (see Loeb 1932, 1933; Du Bois 1939; Gifford 1947:20; Bennyhoff 1977:50; Winter 1977, 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993:230-236; Hylkema 2007).

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 “tolé” and variations of “mayen” for females and “ese” (or a variant thereof) for males that are found amongst the different linguistic groups within the same macro-geographical area as the Big Head/Kuksu 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 (Lillard, Heizer and Fenenga 1939; Heizer and Fenenga 1939; Gifford 1947; Bennyhoff 1977; Leventhal 1993; Milliken 1995; Jones and Klar 2007; also see CA-SCL-128, Holiday Inn Site, Winter 1978).

The evidence of a far-flung ceremonial and economic interaction sphere further suggests that the Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal groups, including the Our Mother Santa Clara tribal group 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 region – 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) as well.

Limited detailed ethnohistoric (Contact Period) information about the aboriginal lifeways of the different San Francisco Bay Ohlonenean-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 20th century includes research conducted by more formally trained ethnographers, ethnohistorians, linguists as well as by other chroniclers to the greater Bay Area.
Early Spanish Expeditions to the San Francisco Bay Region

During the late 18th century, an expedition led by Captain Commander Pedro Fages, was perhaps, the first Spanish exploration to travel through the Tamien Ohlone-speaking territory in the greater Santa Clara Valley. Milliken commented on and noted in his 1991 doctoral study on the San Francisco Bay tribal groups at the time of contact (1770-1810) the following historical account derived from Captain Fages’ diary:

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) (sic) 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 observed at the “lake on the Fremont Plain just south of Alameda Creek” were from the Santa Agueda/Estero District and were missionized into the Santa Clara Mission “during the 1780s and 1790s” (Milliken 1995:258).

Captain Commander Fages apparently at a later date again passed through the Tamien-Ohlone-speaking region in 1772 and explored the interior of the East Bay (see Crespi in Bolton 1926:336; Hylkema 1995). However, 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 (Father) Francisco Palóu. Writing of this expedition, Milliken made note of one of Rivera y Moncada's accounts:

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.

‘We passed a patch of willows and cottonwoods, and now found running water in the creek. Here all at once there were heathens standing with their weapons in hand [though] they made no show of them. In people such as these, who have no knowledge of others and live like wild beasts at bay, it is a second nature to snatch them up (Rivera y Moncada [1774] quoted in Milliken 1991:80-81).’
Presumably near the same location as noted above by Rivera y Moncada, on November 26, 1774, Father Palóu independently recorded that the expedition had descended the north slope of what was probably Tulare Hill (south San Jose) and approached a stretch of trees where they found pools of water. Palóu wrote:

We descended the hill and approached the trees, which we found to mark a river which had water only in pools. At about half-past twelve we halted near it, close to some live oaks with which the plain of the river (was) covered. Near the camping place we found vestiges of a village which showed evidences of having been recently moved (Bolton 1926:261).

Bolton while translating Palóu's dairy also attempted to plot the location of where the party halted: "This camp was made soon after crossing the hills north of Coyote" (ibid). Conceivably, this location possibly represents the first written record near the location of the Kaphan Húunikma (Three Wolves Site: CA-SCL-732) locality because that site is located approximately one mile north of Tulare Hill (see Cambra et al 1996). The Three Wolves Site as mentioned above is located approximately 12½ miles to the southeast of the first Mission Santa Clara (where the San Jose International Airport is located) and approximately 9 miles to the southeast from the Tupiun Táareštak Site.

Three years 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 Ohlone 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 in one of his studies offered the following explanation of the circumstances under which the Ohlone tribal people agreed to enter into 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].

Most scholars have agreed with Palóu's assessment that a material impulse brought the first Indian converts to be baptized. Sherburne Cook [1943:73] wrote that "ceremony, music, processions" and "inducements of clothing, shelter, and food" attracted large numbers of converts over the first twenty years. Malcolm Margolin [1989:28] pointed out "the dazzle of Spanish goods" (Milliken 1991:109-110).
While these limited interpretive perspectives provide an explanation from the contemporary “dominant society” perspective, which suggests at its foundation that “lesser complex indigenous cultures” were unilaterally influenced by the “more complex European colonizing cultures,” perhaps as an alternative perspective we need to consider and explore possible other explanations, especially when viewing these dynamics through the social rules and mechanisms of late 18th 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, and etc.), there were specific rules that these groups would follow as social protocols. These same social principals 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, no doubt, those established elites and their families desired to have their children associated (to some degree) with these newly established powerful and (relatively) wealthy Spanish entities and power brokers.

Some of these 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;

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 with 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 (see Bean 1978). For example there was a reciprocal ceremonial practice of purifying with water (ritual washing) persons of the opposite moiety (deer vs. bear or land vs. 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 (see Rawls 1986, Hurtado 1988 and Monroy 1990). 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 rancherias and Californio ranchos surrounding each of the other greater Bay Area missions.

Distribution of Ohlone Tribal Groups of Santa Clara Valley and Adjacent East Bay

At the time of European contact in 1769, the Spanish explorers called the Indians living along the Monterey coast "Costeños," or people of the coast. After the missions were established, the Indians and the Spanish priests referred to the Mission Santa Clara Indian people as "Clareños" (Harrington 1921-1934) During the mid-19th century, scholars anglicized the term Costeños into "Costanoan"1 to encompass all those tribal groups whose aboriginal territories spanned from greater Monterey Bay, Soledad, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, East Bay and the Carquinez Straits, and who spoke cline of distinctive, but related languages (Heizer 1974; Levy 1978; Milliken et al 2007).

Very little information about the aboriginal Tamien-Ohlone speaking tribal groups who once occupied the lower Guadalupe River, Coyote Creek and Alameda Creek drainages was recorded by Contact Period Spanish missionaries who first established Mission Santa Clara. Apparently some of these missionaries did not record the names of the many Tamien tribal rancherias and villages, as was practiced at the other neighboring Costanoan linguistic area missions (e.g., Missions San Jose, Dolores, San Juan Bautista and others). Instead, the mission Fathers had simply assigned names of Saints to the various villages and "districts" surrounding Mission Santa Clara, rather than documenting the specific tribal villages from where the newly recruited and baptized Indians came from (see C. King 1994).

1 More recently, various authors have suggested that the present-day descendants prefer to be called "Ohlone"; however, there are three surviving historic BIA-documented tribal groups with ancestral ties to 1) Missions San Jose, Dolores, Santa Clara, 2) Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz, and 3) Missions San Carlos (Carmel) and Soledad, who have formally organized (in accordance with the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act). These three historic tribal communities whose ancestors spoke their respective Costanoan/Ohlone languages as late as the 1930s, have since revitalized and organized themselves as tribal governments and communities. All three are presently listed with the BIA’s, Office of Federal Acknowledgment (OFA) as: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Region, Amah-Mutsun Ohlone Tribal Band, and Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation respectively. The tribal name Muwekma is actually the aboriginal term referring to "la Gente" meaning “the People” in the Tamien and Chocheño languages spoken in the South and East Bay (Kroeber 1910; Harrington 1921-1934; Milliken et al. 2007).
Milliken (1983, 1991, 1995, and 2007) and C. King (1978, 1994) have to date, conducted the most comprehensive geopolitical reconstructive ethnohistoric studies using the available Santa Clara Mission records (also see Winter 1978a and 1978b). Their studies clearly demonstrate that both the Tamien-Ohlone speaking tribal groups of Santa Clara Valley and the neighboring East Bay Chocheño-Ohlone speaking tribal groups (e.g., Santa Agueda, Alson and Tuibun) of the Fremont Plain were brought under the sphere of influence of Mission Santa Clara and many of these Indians were baptized, married and had died at this mission. Chester King in his 1994 study entitled “Central Ohlone Ethnohistory” noted:

The area between San Jose and San Juan Bautista [mission] and extending from Santa Cruz to the San Joaquin Valley has proven to be difficult map by village or tribe. At Santa Clara Mission only the closest villages were given separate names. The more distant were grouped by region.

The closest villages to the mission were given the names “our mother Santa Clara” (north San Jose), “our father San Francisco” (downtown San Jose), San Juan Bautista (San Jose south of Hillsdale), San Jose Cupertino (Cupertino), Santa Ysabel (east San Jose), and San Francisco Solano (Milpitas-Alviso).

The next four groups recognized in the Santa Clara Mission registers are very large and include people from villages located in particular directions from the mission. The four groups were Santa Agueda (villages north of Milpitas), San Bernardino (villages west of Cupertino), San Carlos (villages south of San Jose), and San Antonio (villages east of San Jose), northeast of San Antonio were the Luechas and southeast of San Antonio were Tayssen. (King 1977, Milliken 1991) [Cited by King 1994:203].

Milliken, in his published monumental doctoral study A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area 1769-1810, provides a more detailed location for the neighboring Matalan or San Carlos group:

The Matalan tribe held the Santa Clara Valley corridor from the present town of Coyote south to the present town of Morgan Hill. (1995:248)

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

… Four of the seven towns near Mission Santa Clara supplied enough converts to suggest that they originally contained more than 100 inhabitants:

San Bernardino, probably located on lower Stevens Creek, at what is now Mountain View (44 adult married converts 1778-1800).

San Francisco Solano, probably situated on the lower Guadalupe River at or near present Alviso (44 adult married converts 1778-1800).
Santa Ysabel, probably established on the lower Coyote River or Penitencia Creek, now in north San Jose (40 adult married converts 1794-1802).

San Jose Cupertino, probably found on Calabazas Creek or upper Stevens Creek, now part of Cupertino (50 adult married converts between 1780 -1797).

The other three smaller villages were:

Our Mother Santa Clara, which was probably west of the Guadalupe River within a few yards of one of the Mission Santa Clara sites … .

Our Patron San Francisco, probably placed on the Guadalupe River near Our Mother Santa Clara and Santa Ysabel, east of present-day downtown 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 (2004:61; 2007:54) [see Map 9-1 and Map 9-2 below].

In an earlier study, Milliken (1983) determined that:

The East Bay people at Santa Clara Mission were listed under the district name "Santa Agueda". ... The earliest were the "Estero," "Alameda," "Palos Colorados," and "Este." Many "Alameda" and "Estero" adults at Mission San Jose had children that had been baptized at Santa Clara under the "Santa Agueda" designation. ... Most of the Santa Clara converts who later married at Mission San Jose were also "Santa Agueda"..., although some were from "San Bernadino"... .

... The Mission San Jose priests provided more detailed genealogical information for each person than did those at Mission San Francisco. ... The cross references indicate that people from the "Estero" and the "Alameda" districts came from the Yrgin and Tuibun tribelets (Milliken 1983:99).

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. (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 (1991:224).

Milliken's 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" (1991:265). These East Bay Chocheño (and possibly Tamien)-Ohlone speaking tribal couples were relations 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 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 Tatscans (1991:266); [see Map 9-3 and Figure 9-1 - Costanoan Indians at Mission Dolores Choris below].

It is interesting to note that some of the lineages 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 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” (1995:235). 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” (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.

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 20th century.
Map 9-1: Distribution of Ohlone Tribal Groups and Tribal Districts in the Santa Clara Valley  [From C. King 1994]
Map 9-2: Distribution of Ohlone Tribal Groups Surrounding the Tamien Region
[From Milliken 1994]

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Map 9-3: Distribution of Tribal Groups in the East Bay
[From Milliken 1991]
Thus two of the East Bay Chocheño Ohlone-speaking linguistic consultants, Maria de los Angeles Colos who was born in 1840 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]).

Chester King’s 1978 Almaden Valley Ethnohistoric Study

In 1978 Chester King contributed an important ethnohistoric study focusing on the first major Ohlonean tribal group to be brought into Mission Santa Clara. This study entitled Almaden Valley Ethnohistory was published in The Archaeological Mitigation of 04-SCL-132, Alamitos Creek by Archaeological Resource Management. The following subsection presents excerpted information from King’s study that principally focuses on the San Carlos Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal group from the greater Almaden Valley and adjacent areas that were brought into Mission Santa Clara beginning in 1781:
“Introduction

The Spanish colonization of the central Santa Clara Valley centered at Mission Santa Clara, where the Ohlone Indians living in the area were concentrated. The missionization program first directed its efforts to recruiting converts to the Church from the native settlements closest to the mission. As the population of these villages was depleted, the missionaries recruited converts from greater distances. The historical evidence indicated that conversions increased following Spanish military expeditions during which native people were killed. Fear of reprisals seems to have been one of the main motives for giving children to the missions or for personally joining the system.

After 1796, the mission population ceased to grow although many Ohlone were recruited every year. Diseases introduced by the Spanish resulted in the deaths of numerous Indians. It seems as though the concentration of people beyond a certain number resulted in increases in deaths as a result of disease. Violence against the native people by missionaries, settlers, and soldiers was also a cause of death. The data in the mission registers indicates that following 1782, many parents of young baptized children died without being baptized themselves.

Mission Recruitment From the San Carlos Tribe

… The people of the San Carlos tribe lived in the Almaden and Coyote Valleys with their tribal center at Rancho La Laguna Seca. The Ranchos were huge tracts of land, located in the undeveloped areas surrounding the Pueblo de San Jose, used for grazing. La Laguna Seca was centered in the Coyote Valley and encompassed the foothills on either side of the valley. Rancho de Los Capitancillos contained the Santa Cruz Mountain foothills on the east [west] side of the Almaden Valley, and was probably the "Mountains" referred to in the mission data of the 1780s … .

… When the missionaries began baptizing people from a settlement, they usually first recruited children who were surrendered by their parents. Later, the Fathers increasingly induced adults to come to the missions. Many adults were often baptized in large numbers following times of major military activity.

… [P]lacenames mentioned in the Santa Clara Mission registers for villages within the San Carlos group illustrate a model of recruitment from the area. As recruitment of neophytes for Mission Santa Clara diminished the size of the settlements closest to the mission, the missionaries began taking people from villages farther from the mission.

… The mission registers … show that in the San Carlos tribe, people who lived in the mountains or sierra (Los Capitancillos--Almaden) were, in 1781, the first group to be baptized by the missionaries. Following the mountain people, Indians from Rancho La Laguna Seca--Coyote (also called Matalanes) were then baptized, beginning in 1789. The last date for a baptism of a person from the mountains (Almaden) was September 1790. After 1790, most of the baptisms were from Rancho La Laguna Seca (Coyote). This dominance continued until July 1802, then a single baptism in September 1803 was the last recorded from Rancho La Laguna Seca. The main villages in the Coyote Valley and remaining settlements of the Almaden Valley were essentially abandoned in 1802. After 1802, most of the people baptized by the missionaries were from a "Rancheria de Guarto."
In the register, a man named Guarto was baptized #4871. Some of the latest (1807) associations between the mission and the Indians were with a rancheria of Tomoy which also contributed many baptisms to Mission Santa Cruz.

The information presented [in the Santa Clara baptism registry] shows that prior to 1794 some of the children baptized by the missionaries remained in their native villages with their unbaptized parents. The Fathers usually baptized the children in a settlement first, then tried to convert the parents at a later time.

The [data] also indicates that occasionally old people stayed in their native villages until they died. The relatively high frequency of burials or cremations of children by non-Christian parents demonstrates resistance by many adults to convert.

[The baptismal data also] indicates that a number of non-Christian San Carlos Indians were living in the Pueblo de San Jose at the time that they were baptized, during the later half of the 1790s. The move into the Pueblo was probably prompted by the Spanish military expeditions against the Ohlone in 1794.

Relations Between the Spanish and Indians From 1782 to 1802

Militarism and Baptism:

In January of 1783, Pedro Fages, Governor of Alta California, led a military expedition against rancherias in the vicinity of Mission Santa Clara. Father Palou of the mission reported:

‘He came back again to chastise some heathen in the neighborhood of Santa Clara who had killed some mares belonging to the settlers of the Pueblo de San Jose. The heathen took up arms, and our soldiers killed two of them without having one of ours even wounded, and being frightened by this they voluntarily gave up some of their children for baptism (Bolton, 1926:224).’

The increase in baptisms in the San Carlos tribe in 1783 … may have been an effect of this expedition. On May 15, 1783, Fages sent a letter saying, among other things, that "the Indians of the Sierra de San Jose (Almaden hills) and those around Monterey are very peaceful as a result of the threat made to them, and many have been baptized at Santa Clara Mission" (California Archives 23:99).

Except for those from close villages, most of the baptisms made between 1783 and 1789 were of children less than eleven years old. The recruitment situation during this time was described by Father Peña on December 31, 1786:

‘There are innumerable heathen in the Rancherias that surround the mission and only a few of them know [Christianity] from those who have become baptized. We are denied the assistance of the guard in order to go out to allure them, flatter them, and charm them, without which we are unable to assure the fruit that we are after, as we have experimented, visiting from time to time the rancherias, to request them humbly [to submit] to the superiority... (AGN. Mexico: Missions, Alta California, Series 2A, Vol. 2, Santa Clara Archives).’
Brutality on the part of the missionaries was both a symptom and a cause for resistance by the Ohlone. When Father Peña of Mission Santa Clara was tried in 1786 for beating four Indians to death, he cited the behavior of Spanish soldiers against the Indians in his own defense. It was probably the Fages expedition of 1783 to which Peña referred:

‘... it has already been two years since the same Captain Dn Nicholas Soler has told and published to the whole province that the Governor (Pedro Fages) had killed with lashes and had commanded the two Sargeants at the Monterey Presidio and the San Francisco Presidio to kill more than twenty heathen Indians. On occasions soldiers use their weapons against the heathen without having encountered resistance. At times the heathen have been left abused by the cruel punishment of being hung in the trees by a foot, by scarifying their buttocks with swords, the soldiers hang them and then beat them with staffs alternating until they have all had a turn (AGN Prov. Internas, Vol. 1, No. 6: 46).’

Military Policy in the Pueblo:

A series of dispatches written by Pedro Fages from Monterey and Ygnacio Vallejo, Commandante of the Pueblo de San Jose, indicate the 1785 to 1788 policy of the military. This policy was to keep all unbaptized Indians out of the settlement of San Jose, to not trade with the unbaptized Indians, to not allow the Indians to ride horseback, and to maintain an alert guard at the Pueblo because of potential attacks by the surrounding Indians, and to punish any neophyte who came to the Pueblo without passes (California Archives 44: 5-8).

On January 5, 1788, Fathers Peña and Noboa observed:

‘... [the heathen live with some] frequency in the Pueblo de San Jose, where many of both sexes have become semi-domestic servants and laborers of our neighbors. They are allowed to live with their old freedoms and heathen customs; along with these they have learned other unbecoming vices that they acquaint themselves with the Pueblo, and since they get food for their work they reject submission to the yoke of Evangalicism. (AGN Mexico: Missions Alta Calif, Series 2A, Vol. 2, Santa Clara Archives).’

The situation of non-Christian Indians living in the Pueblo de San Jose described by Fathers Peña and Noboa was counter to instructions issued by Governor Fages on September 4, 1785. Fages' orders stated that "the Indians should be watched, not let into houses, not allowed to sleep in houses, and not permitted to ride horses, nor herd animals" (California Archives 44: 5). Also, "if anyone goes out in order to trade with the Indians or non-Christians for otter hides that are worth some means ought to be punished, 103 estoperotes are required" (Ibid.: 22).

These orders seem to indicate that during the last half of the 1780s, interactions between the Spanish settlers, the military, and the unbaptized Ohlones increased. ... On April 30, 1788, Arguello reported to Fages concerning an altercation between heathen Indians in the vicinity of Santa Clara Mission and Spanish involvement. He said that Sargeant Amador was dispatched to Mission Santa Clara because of a report that the heathen of the rancheria near the mission had fought with the "Mountain Indians," and several mission Indians were involved in the skirmish.
Sargeant Amador found two or three Christian Indians, who had gone to see the skirmish, being punished by the missionaries upon his arrival. After this, Sargeant Amador went around to all the surrounding rancherias and scolded the leaders. He was informed that a heathen called "the Corporal of the laborers of the Pueblo" went about calling a meeting to make war against other heathen on account of a woman. He was captured, given several lashes and after being held prisoner for three days was set free (California Archives 4: 261).

A letter by Governor Fages to Macario Castro on January 2, 1790, outlined the degree to which the military should be involved in native disputes:

‘When some non-Christians are being persecuted by others who have taken their women, you should persuade them that they ought to return them (the women). Try to make the persecutors see the wrong in what they have done, and tell them that if I know [about it], it will make me angry. Then I will come with many soldiers to punish them. The same approach is to be used if natives of the distant Rancherias steal women of their neighbors. The officials should be sent to petition the chiefs with the same council. If, on the other hand, the women have already been captured for some time and are with children, leave them as they are since it is desired that the non-Christians be free” (California Archives 44: 27-29).

Monterey Presidio:

The first year in which non-Christian Indians recruited from the San Jose area worked for the Monterey Presidio was 1790. Indians who lived in the Almaden Valley were probably among those providing services at Monterey, though it seems that the San Carlos tribe was not extensively involved in the labor program. After 1795, it appears that the San Antonio tribe [from the hills to the east of San Jose] provided the Presidio with most of the day laborers and harvesters of hemp.

Men were given a blanket or other payment and provisions of grain in return for working for the Presidio. In correspondence concerning Indian day laborers, Capitancillos are mentioned. It is possible that the name Los Capitancillos, associated with the Land Grant in the Almaden Valley, was derived from "sub-chiefs" discussed in Fages’ May 31, 1790 letter to Macario Castro:

‘...neither hatchets nor other types of tools or arms are to be given to the Indians or their Capitancillos who struck the Indian woman. They should be admonished that if they repeat their act, they will be punished (California Archives 44: 37).

On July 22, 1790, Fages again wrote to Castro, this time concerning Indian laborers:

‘Of the twenty-four Indians who arrived, not all are useful. The old ones have little value for the work. Can you see to getting fifty or twenty more and send them. The saddened Indian is in grievous condition due to being surprised in his dance. He has been strange, this action was not commanded, but contrary to it.
In the company of Romero, you go to them. So as to not confuse them, it is best to see the Capitancillos and persuade them with suavity and style that four, six, or eight workers should come from each Rancheria. In this way they will come … (California Archives 44: 39).

On August 3, 1790, Governor Fages wrote:

‘The method of gathering Indians is for the Capitanejos to be found and shown the need that the King has of them (Ibid: 41).’

On August 22, 1798, Fages wrote:

‘Pablo and the other "capitan" came and pledged their aid, with Romero they will gather the Indians in the Rancherias that they are able to … (Ibid : 42).’

Abandonment of the Almaden Valley:

The mission registers seem to indicate that most of the members of the San Carlos tribe left the Almaden Valley and were baptized some time around 1795. Abandonment of the valley and joining the Church was probably a result of military expeditions in 1794, which were in reprisal to the Ohlone's slaughtering of Spanish stock animals. In late 1794 to early 1795, following the military action, an increase in the baptisms of adults occurred. Later baptisms listed for the San Carlos tribe are of people who were probably coming from the Coyote Valley and other areas more distant from the mission than the Almaden Valley. The pattern of baptisms from more distant areas seems to indicate that most of the Ohlone had been removed from the Almaden Valley by 1795 (King 1978:39–46)

Distribution of Costanoan/Ohlone Languages

Ohlone/Costanoan-related languages were spoken over a considerable geographic area, stretching from the San Francisco peninsula, Angel Island and the Carquinez Strait to the north, to a less well defined southern boundary near or inland around Soledad and just south of Monterey Bay on the coast bordering Esselen and Esselen-Costanoan (e.g., Sargentaruc) speaking tribal groups. The interpretive linguistic literature, which includes Kroeber (1910, 1925), Beeler (1961), Levy (1976; 1978), and Milliken (1991) diverges concerning the extent to which the variation between what language was spoken from place to place should be differentiated as either dialects of one idiom or as completely separate languages. Levy (1976; 1978) identified eight distinct Ohlone idioms: Ramaytush (San Francisco Peninsula), Awaswas (Santa Cruz area), Rumsen (Monterey Bay and Carmel Valley), Mutsun (San Juan Bautista), Chalon (Soledad), Tamien (Santa Clara Valley), Chocheño (East Bay), and Karkin (southern and northern shores of Carquinez Strait and possibly up to lower the Napa Valley).

Perhaps the most weighty first-hand study in this regard was initiated by Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, who was perhaps the first literary person to describe the regional variation and interrelatedness of Costanoan/Ohlone languages. In his May 1, 1814 reply to the Interrogatory of 1812 regarding the languages spoken around Mission San Juan Bautista, Father de la Cuesta stated the following about the Costanoan/Ohlone languages:
Though they appear to speak distinct languages this is only accidentally true; that is, some of the words are different only because of the manner of pronunciation, in some cases rough, in others agreeable, sweet, and strong. Hence it is that the Indians living in a circumference of thirty or forty leagues* understand one another (Arroyo de la Cuesta [1814] in Geiger and Meighan 1976: 20-21).

[*Note: a league equals about 2½ miles or 4.3 kilometers]

Aided by the linguistic records written by Father Arroyo de la Cuesta, Milliken (1991) concluded that people who lived in neighboring villages and regions likely would have spoken mutually comprehensible dialects, but that those who lived at the farthest extremes of the Costanoan/Ohlone area probably would not have been able to understand one another. If, in fact, language variation occurred as smooth clines in this way, then the southern Santa Clara Valley was one of the regions of transition from one dialect to another. The Mission San Juan Bautista Mutsun-speaking dialect, bordered on the south of the centrally located Santa Clara Valley dialect Tamien-Ohlone speaking language area, likely making the Coyote Creek corridor a place where dialectic differences merged or overlapped [see Forbes 1969:184 for the Muwekma (northern) and Mutsun-Rumsen (southern) divisions of Ohlonean languages; Levy 1976; 1978].

Ortiz (1994a) in her study entitled Chocheño and Rumsen Narratives: A Comparison points to this difference by employing Costanoan personal names generated by Milliken from the mission records centering around the terms Kaknú (prairie falcon) from the Santa Clara Valley area to the North Bay and Ka-kun (chicken hawk) which was used in Costanoan speaking tribal territories to the south of Santa Clara Valley (Mutsun/Rumsen –speaking areas within the greater Monterey Bay region):

Kaknú's use disappears in the personal names of those individuals baptized at Mission San Carlos Borromeo, Mission Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista. The similar "cancun," however, occurs in the names of four persons baptized at Mission Santa Clara. Two such names belong to individuals from the Fremont area, one from the San Antonio Valley, and only one outside that area. (Ortiz 1994a:107).

The existence of the Mutsun and Tamien linguistic boundary was also noted by 19th century historian Frederic Hall in his 1871 publication The History of San Jose and Surroundings:

...The tribe of Indians which roamed over this great valley, from San Francisco to near San Juan Bautista Mission, (known a century ago as the valley of San Bernardino,) were the Olhones (sic) or (Costanes.) Their language slightly resembled that spoken by the Mutsuns, at the Mission of San Juan Bautista, although it was by no means the same. (1871:40)

Although Levy strongly implied that language areas were coterminous with areas of ethnic identity, e.g., that those people who spoke the Chocheño dialect self-identified as the Chocheño people, there is no evidence to support such a view. To the contrary, regional cultural identities in native California clearly overlapped language boundaries.
Moreover, based upon pre-contact inter-marriages, especially among elites, natives (especially women due to village exogamy and patrilocal residential patterns) were more than likely multilingual speakers (see Blackburn 1976; Milliken 1983:70; 1991), which again in the case of the Coyote Creek corridor seems particularly likely amongst the Tamien-speaking San Carlos/Matalan tribal group due to their strategic location bordering north of the Mutsun speaking tribal groups.

**Evidence of Social Stratification and Hereditary Leadership in the S.F. Bay Area**

Clearly, the basic political unit for native Californians, including those of the Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal groups, was the residential village (representing one of many within the larger political tribal territory). Pre-contact and contact-period central California tribal geopolitical boundaries, social structures, subsistence-settlement patterns and ceremonial and economic institutions were very complex and social interactions and ritual obligations between lineages went beyond the residential village community (Goldschmidt 1951; Blackburn 1976; Bean 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; T. King 1970, 1974; Wiberg 1984; Luby 1991 and Leventhal 1993).

Because of the seasonality of subsistence-related activities covering a wide range of the micro-ecosystems (e.g. fresh water creeks and streams, inland lagoons and marshes, bay shore wetlands, coastal, and estuarine resources, hardwood and mixed chaparral forests, grasslands, etc.) that were all possibly located within a single tribal territory, Native families and small multi-family groups may have moved about during the course of a year from one harvesting locality to another all within a half day’s trek from villages or resource-base camps.

These temporary resource-based sites and camps, possibly composed of several temporary house-shelters, contrasted with the larger, permanent (or semi-permanent) strategically situated principal ceremonial village. Thus each tribal group actually occupied a territory dotted with seasonal resource-related occupational and specialized task sites, lesser villages as well as semi-permanent and permanent villages. The Coyote Creek corridor, with its mostly year-round water supply and mixture of seasonally variable riparian, marsh, hilly and valley habitats, fits this description well. Father Paloú, in 1774, described his encounter with this habitat:

> [We] came to a large bed of a river [Coyote Creek], well grown with cottonwoods, alders, and willows, but without water. We followed this bed along its bank, which was very high and steep, and we made out across the river on a hill to the north of a village of heathen.

> We followed the bed of the river and came to a thick wood of several kinds of trees and blackberry bramble which it was necessary to cross, and in it we found some little houses of the heathen, who at the noise we made, left their things and concealed themselves in the thick woods. We crossed, near a village, a good brook of running water, which we soon saw no more, and we judged that it sank into the sand (in Bolton 1926: 260).
Encompassing the territorial areas of each tribal group and its resource harvest (catchment) zone were larger regions composed of several villages and their outliers (ceremonial shrines, cemeteries and specialized task sites). The Spanish explorers called these territorial units *rancherias*. Anthropologists have described these larger regions variably. Kroeber (1939, 1962) used the term "tribelet" to denominate rather small multi-village regions that he asserted composed the largest political units in native California.

C. King's (1977) description of pre-contact conditions in the southern Santa Clara Valley offers an early assessment of the political geography of what he calls the *Matalan* tribelet, who inhabited the Coyote Creek corridor and environs just south of the Santa Teresa Hills area. Perhaps unsurprisingly, King conflated language boundaries with the political borders of Kroeberian defined tribelets. There is also some confusion between the extent to which villages and multi-village regions composed units of kinship, such as clans, moieties, lineages, or residence groups, which are not equivalent.

Milliken (1991) recognized that villages were residential units composed of several non-related kin groups in the Costanoan/Ohlone areas generally and the Santa Clara Valley specifically (Milliken 2004; 2007). He also described the larger multi-village regions as political groups that defended large territories. Bean (1976) has shown that intermarriage between village elites constructed regional elites, also described by King (1977) specifically for the Tamien-Ohlone speaking Matalan tribal territory. Through trade fairs and feasts, marriages and funerals, and other important ceremonial events were part of widespread ritual complexes such as the *Kuksú* religion, such elites were able to intermarry across considerable distances, effectively integrating even larger zones of complex interaction.

As far as these elites and the social hierarchy are concerned, many early explorers made clear that institutions of authoritarian leadership existed among native Californians in the San Francisco Bay area. While Father Arroyo de la Cuesta erroneously wrote "they neither had nor recognized any captain or superior," (Arroyo de la Cuesta [1814] 1976:115), he nonetheless described charismatic individuals who were instrumental in organizing both warfare and peacemaking with neighboring groups.

Milliken (2004) quoting Father Narciso Duran from Mission San Jose:

> They recognize neither distinction nor superiority at all. Only in war do they obey the most valiant or the luckiest, and in acts of superstition they obey the sorcerers and witch-doctors. Outside of these they do not recognize any subordination, either civil or political (Duran quoted in McCarthy 1958: 274).

C. King, by contrast, quoting Father Amoros' description of the natives near Mission San Carlos (Monterey) noted:

> The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe. They command obedience and respect during their lifetime. This office is hereditary, or, in default of an heir by direct descent, it goes to the closest relative.
This chief alone among the pagans could retain or desert a number of unmarried women; but if he had children by one of them, she was held in higher esteem and he lived permanently with her (King 1977 quoting Heizer 1974: 41).

Bean (1976) concurs that chiefs (often referred to as capitanes (captains) by the Spaniards) utilized their kin-ties with neighboring elites to facilitate trade relations that acted as insurance against periods of relative resource deprivations, as well as possessing the power to collect and redistribute food surpluses in their own territories.

The power of chiefs and the elite families that controlled chiefly positions were symbolized by the possession of treasure goods which passed down through families over considerable lengths of time. King's ethnohistory of the Matalan (the San Carlos Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal group) describes leadership and social stratification that accords with Bean's framework.

Milliken's view (1983, 1991), while tending more toward a strictly charismatic rather than stratified view of chiefs, also makes clear the importance of leadership among the pre-contact Costanoan/Ohlone peoples. He (Milliken 1983: 55-56) cites Father Vicente de Santa Maria who wrote:

We noticed an unusual thing about the young men: none of them ventured to speak and only their elders replied to us. They were so obedient that, notwithstanding we pressed them to do so, they dared not stir unless one of the old men told them to; ... [Santa Maria in Galvin 1971 [1775]: 31].

Leventhal (1993a:155-157) in his archaeo-mortuary study entitled A Reinterpretation of Some Bay Area Shellmound Sites: A View from the Mortuary Complex at CA-ALA-329, the Ryan Mound also considered the first-hand ethnohistoric observations made by Father Santa Maria in 1775 concerning political authority and military capability recorded among the Carquin (Karkin) Ohlone tribal group residing on the southern side of the Carquinez Straits in the vicinity of Martinez. Father Santa Maria noted:

On the 15th of August the longboat set out on a reconnaissance of the northern arm [of the bay] with provisions for eight days. On returning from this expedition, which went to have a look at the rivers, José Cañizares said that in the entranceway by which the arm connects with them [Carquinez Strait] there showed themselves fifty-seven Indians of fine stature who as soon as they saw the longboat began making signs for it to come to the shore, offering with friendly gestures assurances of good will and safety. There was in authority over all these Indians one whose kingly presence marked his eminence above the rest. Our men made a landing, and when they had done so the Indian chief addressed a long speech to them ... .

... After the feast, and while they were having a pleasant time with the Indians, our men saw a large number of heathen approaching, all armed with bows and arrows.
... This fear obliged the sailing master to make known by signs to the Indian chieftain the misgivings they had in the presence of so many armed tribesmen. The *themi* (chief) (sic), understanding what was meant, at once directed the Indians to loosen their bows and put up all their arrows, and they were prompt to obey. The number of Indians who had gathered together was itself alarming enough. There were more than four hundred of them, and all, or most of them, were of good height and well built [Santa Maria in Galvin 1971:51-53].

Captain Commander Fages (governor of Alta California, Monterey) in 1775 also contributed first-hand descriptive accounts about aspects of aboriginal contact-period political authority, social structure, and redistributive economy among the Costanoan-Esselen groups in the Monterey Bay region:

Besides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district another one who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinates.

Each of them collects every day in his village the tributes which the Indians pay him in seeds, fruits, game, and fish. ... The subordinate captain is under obligation to give his commander notice of every item of news or occurrence, and to send him all offenders under proper restraint, that he may reprimand them and hold them responsible for their crimes. ... Everything that is collected as the daily contribution of the villages is turned over to the commanding captain of the district, who goes forth every week or two to visit his territory. The villages receive him ceremoniously, make gifts to him of the best and most valuable things they have, and they assign certain ones to be his followers and accompany him to the place where he resides (Priestley1937:73-74).

**Material Culture and Subsistence**

The Spanish explorers encountered in central coastal California modes of living which were alien to their sensibilities. While the soils were clearly fertile, the native peoples did not cultivate. The numbers and diversity of wildlife astounded such early writers as Pedro Fages and Fray Juan Crespi, yet through their eyes such faunal abundance connoted untrammelled wilderness; everywhere they traveled they encountered villages and substantial populations of Native peoples. It is only recently that anthropologists have been able to pierce the incomprehension that the Spaniards and other European evinced about native Californian peoples before the latter’s ways of life were destroyed by the activities of the former.

The material culture -- in other words the technologies for producing goods and products [technomic, sociotechnic and ideotechnic products (after Binford 1962, 1971)] -- that native Californians created are clearly derived from their adaptation to the landscapes they inhabited and the resources they utilized.
Native Californians were sedentary-to-semi-sedentary gathering, hunting and fishing peoples living in an extraordinarily rich biotic habitat who, by their subsistence activities, tended to increase rather than deplete the resources upon which they depended. Lewis (1973), Bean and Lawton (1976) and Blackburn (1976) were among the first to demonstrate that natives' use of controlled burns augmented the growth of wild grains eaten both by humans and herds of herbivores who congregated around areas humans altered in this way. These practices have been referred to as "quasi-agriculture" and "incipient game management." Burns also helped to create concentrations of oak trees in specific areas from which harvests of acorns played an important seasonal role in native diets (Lewis 1973; Bean and Lawton 1976; Weigel 1993; Anderson 2006; Lightfoot and Parrish 2009).

Tools manufactured by natives were thus utilized to process the foods obtained from native resource management. Hunters, mostly male (women did engage in rabbit and possibly antelope drives and fishing; (see E. Wallace 1978), flaked ultra-sharp chert and obsidian arrow points, dart points, knives, chopping tools, scrapers, etc., found at the sites of their hunting camps and village sites. Such tools could also be used by women to process and cook meat, fish, and shellfish. Both sexes likely contributed to the weaving of string, cordage, rope, fishing nets and the construction of basketry traps for fish and small animals. But women clearly excelled in fiber manufactures: California is renowned as the locus of the finest and most diverse basketry in the world, and the Costanoan/Ohlone area was no exception in this regard. Women utilized porous baskets to leach acorn meal in order to remove toxic tannic acid, and water-tight baskets to cook a variety of meals from different plants, animals and fish. Baskets were used in fishing, for hauling abalone and other mussels from the waterside, and for winnowing wild grain. Very large woven baskets on stilts acted as granaries and very small baskets were used to store jewelry and other commodities (Elsasser 1978b; Shanks and Shanks 2006).

Both genders may have worked Haliotis (abalone), Olivella shell, and colorful feathers were integrated into elaborate necklaces, ear, nose and hair ornaments, and beads woven into dance skirts, headdresses and other regalia (Bates 1982). While men and children commonly virtually wore no clothing during the warmer summer months, women used plant fibers and deer skin to fashion skirts. Ritual regalia and the finery of the social elite were also manufactured from the pelts of rabbits, deer, elk, antelope, bear and wild cat or, in coastal areas, from sea otter and sea lion fur.

Residential shelters were basically round grass or tule and bulrush thatched structures built on willow pole frames, while the larger, excavated semi-subterranean ceremonial buildings utilized for assembly or dance houses and sweat lodges, probably used boughs of hardwood or redwood trees (especially on the West Bay) as center posts for structural support. The sweat lodges and dance houses (tupentak in the Chocheño dialect, but more commonly referred to in the literature by the Mexican term "temescal") may also have been earth covered as elsewhere in California.
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. It is clear that 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, Palou’, Crespi, 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’s caution (2004) that one ought not to 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 may be useful, but not necessarily conclusive. Notwithstanding that proviso, Santa Clara Valley 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., CA-SCL-128, Holiday Inn Site; CA-SCL-38, Yukisma Site; and CA-ALA-329, Ryan Mound).

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 of 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 (see Bean 1975; Bean and Vane 1978, Davis 1992).

Humans could also hallow sacred places through the burial of their ancestors in locations that even the Spanish identified as cemeteries (see Leventhal 1993, Font in Bolton 1933 below). This is of especial note for the purposes of this study since the Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H) contained at least several thousand burials that bridged traditional Ohlonean world view and the transformed/emergent Hispano-Catholic Clareño world view of cemeteries as “sacred places.”

Pedro Font traveling through different parts of the Santa Clara Valley made several observations about the nature of Contact Period Ohlone cemeteries. Near modern-day Gilroy, Font noted:

> On passing near the village I mentioned on the road we saw on the edge of it something like a cemetery. It was made of several small poles, although it was not like the cemeteries which we saw on the Channel [between Santa Barbara and the Channel Islands]. On the poles were hung some things like snails and some tule skirts which the women wear. Some arrows were stuck in the ground, and there were some feathers which perhaps were treasures of the persons buried there (in Bolton 1933: 322).
Even closer to the **Tupiun Táareštak Site (CA-SCL-894)**, Font described the following scene within the nearby Coyote Creek corridor located approximately 7 miles southeast of the Third Mission Santa Clara. From his description, it can be understood that the use of feathers and other regalia hung from poles and related structures may not have been exclusive to cemeteries but were established as a kind of shrine:

> At this place we found still standing the poles of the little bower erected in the journey which in September of last year was made by the ship captain Don Bruno de Hezeta and Father Paloú … . We found that the Indians had made a fence of little poles around them, and in the middle had set up a thick post about three spans long, decorated with many feathers tied in something like a net, as if dressed, and with an arrow stuck through them.

> On one pole many arrows were tied and from another were hung three or four balls of grass like tamales, filled with pinole made of their seeds and of acorns, or of others of their foods which we did not recognize. In the middle of a long stake there was hung a tuft of several goose feathers, but we were unable to understand what mystery this decoration concealed (Font 1930 [1776]:321-322).

These above cited first-hand observations provide some of the parameters of ceremonial activities and ritual performances that were practiced by Contact Period Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal groups.

**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., Kroeber 1932, 1939; Goldschmidt 1951; Gifford 1955; T, King 1970, 1974; Fredrickson 1973; Bennyhoff 1977; Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984; Moratto 1984; Bean and King, eds. 1974; Bean and Blackburn, eds. 1976; and others), 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 as stated above geographically ranged from the Salinan tribal groups to the south in Monterey County to the Cahto and Yuki to the north in Mendocino County; (see Mason 1918; Loeb 1932, 1933; Bennyhoff 1977; Bean and Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993).

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., Kuksu ceremonies, trade feasts, funerals and mourning anniversaries [see 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/Ohlonel-related languages may or may not have been spoken (see Milliken 1993).

Interruption gave rise to extended kinship networks of multi-lingual elite families and communities, whose wealth and status represented the accumulation of economic surpluses from territories much larger than the village community itself (Bean 1978; Milliken 1990, 1991; Brown 1994). Through elite intermarriage, larger regions were integrated which overlapped and crossed linguistic boundaries (Bean and Lawton 1976; Bean 1992).

Elite intermarriage patterns also facilitated and underscored other regional integrating forces such as trade and ritual obligation (see Blackburn 1976). People from different villages, often distantly related, struck up personal trading relationships, called “special friendships,” which often lasted whole lifetimes (Bean 1976). Through networks of “special friends” different foods, tools, and treasure goods were traded from village to village over long distances.

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 (see Fages 1775; Bean 1992). These elite-ruled realms might be described as quasi-chiefdoms or ranked chiefdoms (Service 1962, 1975; Fried 1967; for an archaeological perspective on evidence of social ranking within the San Francisco Bay see T. King 1970, 1974; Wiberg 1984; Luby 1991; and Leventhal 1993).

The paradox of a bountiful environment, large populations, and lack of recognizable cultivation confounded the Spaniards, the first Europeans determined to control what is now the state of California. Elsewhere in Latin America, particularly in the Andes and Meso-America (see Salomon 1981, Rappaport 1990, Smith 1990, many others), indigenous structures of governance and processes for manufacturing commodities were more familiar to European eyes. Therefore, at least for a time following the initial conquest of indigenous civilizations, the Spaniards harnessed indigenous political and economic organization for their own purposes. Because the Spaniards could not cognitively apprehend a civilization whose productive base, economic surplus, and sources of wealth were fundamentally alien, their domination of Californian natives hinged upon completely re-molding their cultures and societies into forms that were comprehensible to European sensibilities.

The Franciscan missions, the method the Spanish Empire used to lay claim to California, may be seen as the process of implanting European political and economic systems. This process required that Native American religions and cultural practices be restricted and eventually forbidden, and later, the destruction of the economic and environmental foundations of native life (Cook 1976b; Castillo 1978).
The missionized peoples of the Bay Area and elsewhere in coastal California became a labor force for an emergent agricultural and pastoral economy which obliged natives to leave aside most indigenous ritual and ceremonial practices, as well as the manufacture of many aspects of aboriginal material culture. As agricultural laborers, missionized Indians were largely separated from the seasonal rhythms of their own food production practices, while the growth of mission farms and rangeland for cattle initiated an environmental transformation of the Bay Area and the entire coast that destroyed much of the resource base of the indigenous economy.

Demographic collapse of the Costanoan/Ohlone populations held captive at Mission Dolores at the tip of the San Francisco peninsula, Missions Santa Clara and San Jose in the South and East Bay respectively, Mission San Juan Bautista farther to the south (San Benito County), and the Esselens at Mission San Carlos on the Monterey peninsula occurred because of the horrendous effects of European-introduced diseases, exacerbated by the unhealthy diet and over-crowded living conditions at the missions. Birth rates plummeted from a psychological phenomenon now recognized as post-traumatic stress (Cook 1976a; Rawls 1986; Hurtado 1988; Jackson 1992).

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 forty 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, and 2008). Such intermarriage patterns was, 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. Milliken (1991) discussing common female name suffixes amongst the Huchiu-Aguastos Costanoan/Ohlone speaking tribal group of the southeast shore of the San Pablo Bay region noted:

The Huchiu-Aguastos spoke a Costanoan dialect most similar to their Huchiu neighbors, and also very similar to the Carquins, if female personal names suffix clusters are good reflections of language. “Maen/main” was the most common female name suffix at thirty-one percent, higher than any other Bay Area group.
… Huchiun-Aguastos, Huchiun, and Carquin personal names contains numerous root and suffix syllable clusters common to Coast Miwok, and Bay Miwok names, such as “eyum,” “joboc,” “ottaca,” “saquen,” and “tole”, suggesting extensive culture sharing in the San Pablo Bay area across language boundaries. (1991:427)

At the missions, intermarriage apparently continued to subtly reinforce sociopolitical hierarchies and older surviving elite families. Even under the triple assault of religious conversion, ecological and economic transformation, and demographic collapse, indigenous political leadership and resistance did not disappear.

The missions struggled against frequent desertions by neophytes, and armed rebellions occurred at Missions Dolores, San Jose and Santa Clara (Milliken 1983, 1991). Led by Pomponio at Mission Dolores (early 1820s), by the famous Estanislao at Mission San Jose, and by Cipriano at Mission Santa Clara, indigenous guerrilla armies combined the forces of both runaway neophytes and natives from villages the Spanish had not yet dominated (Holtermann 1970; Brown 1975; Rawls 1986). Yet the Spaniards mostly succeeded in destroying the ecological basis for the indigenous economy, and in transforming the Bay Area peoples and their close neighbors into an exploited, impoverished soon-to-be landless working class.

It was as indebted peons that the ancestors of the Muwekma, the Ohlone people of the San Francisco Bay Area and elsewhere in Hispanic California confronted the next two stages of European domination, with the secularization of the missions and the ensuing conquest of California by the United States.

1834-1846 Secularization of the Missions and its Aftermath

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, as mentioned above, the mission's fathers were obliged to seek further a field for native people for conversion and to provide the labor to maintain the mission's farmlands, ranches and extensive herds. As discussed above, 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 as well, were converted at Missions Dolores, San Jose and Santa Clara (Cook 1957, 1960; McCarthy 1958; Bennyhoff 1977; Milliken 1982, 1991, 1995, 2008; Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 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 neofeudal lords (Phillips 1981; Milliken 2008; Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 1987).

Milliken, conducting research with the Muwekma Tribe for the Interpretive Recommendations and Background Report for the East Bay Regional Park District, noted:

Under Spanish law, Mission lands were to be held in trust for the Indians until the government felt that they had become enough like Europeans to be considered "people of reason". The Mexican government came under strong pressure during the 1820's to ignore the Indian land rights and open up mission lands to settlement by the families of ex-soldiers and by new settlers from Mexico. The government of Mexico finally gave in to these pressures with a series of secularization acts between 1834 and 1836. On paper these acts protected the Indian land rights. Administrators were to divide mission properties among the Indians, with the left over lands to be allocated to Mexican immigrants through petition.

A veritable landrush began among local Mexican families from San Jose when Jose Jesus Vallejo became administrator of Mission San Jose in 1836. Within a two year period an instant feudal aristocracy was formed, complete with a population of Indian serfs. Families such as the Vallejos, Pachecos, Alvisos, Castros, and Bermals gained control of the mission lands and herds. These new land owners continued to live in San Jose, while former Mission San Jose Indians did all the labor on various ranchos (Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 1987:11).

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. 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 with the exception of three or four individual land grants to several Clareño Ohlone Indian families (see below). Most Indians left the missions to become manual laborers, domestics and vaqueros on neighboring Califorino-owned ranchos.

**Mexican Land Grants Issued to Secularized Clareño Indians**

Around the area of Mission Santa Clara, however, several (Clareño) Ohlone families were fortunate to be granted land grants by the Mexican government. In 1845, Governor Pio Pico granted the Ulistac land grant near Alviso in Santa Clara to Marcello (SCL-B #1360; baptized June 15, 1789 at age 4), whose father Alejandro Seunes (SCL-B # 4577; baptized July 21, 1804 at age 44 and died August 5, 1812) and whose mother Pacanagua (not baptized) were from the
San Bernardino (district) Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal group located to the west of Mission Santa Clara.

The Ulistac land grant was also issued to two other Mission Santa Clara Indian men named Pio Guatus (SCL-B # 4805; baptized June 21, 1805 at age 12 and died November 21, 1846) and Cristobal (SCL-B # 6157; baptized November 7, 1813 at age 3 days) and whose father Audito Lataig (SCL-B # 4737; baptized June 20, 1805 at age 20) and whose mother Audita Petsilate (SCL-B # 4838; baptized June 21, 1805 at age 20, and died February 1, 1825) were from the Tayssen Ohlone-speaking tribal group.

As mentioned above, the San Bernardino tribal group/district was located in the Stevens Creek, Saratoga and Pescadero Creek water shed region to the west/southwest of Mission Santa Clara (Milliken 1995). Pio Guatus and Cristobal were traced through the Mission Santa Clara Baptismal records to the Tayssenes Ohlone-speaking tribal group whose territory included the upland valleys to the southeast of San Jose towards the Orestimba Creek drainage.

Rancho Ulistac measured half a league (2270 acres) and included the bay shore of the present-day cities of Santa Clara and Alviso (Brown 1994).

Earlier, on February 15, 1844, another Clareño Ohlone Indian named Lope Yñigo, was issued title to 1695.9 acres (2.64 square miles) around present-day Moffett Field near Mountain View by Governor Micheltorena (Brown 1994). This land grant was called Rancho Posolmi y Pozitas de las Anima (Little Wells of Souls). Apparently, Yñigo was recognized as a chief or capitane of the "San Bernardino" Ohlone-speaking people who originally occupied this region. He was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1789 (SCL-B # 1501; baptized December 26, 1789 at age 8 years old). Yñigo's father Celedonio Samis (SCL-B # 3106; baptized April 5, 1795 at age 4 and died November 8, 1820) and mother Temnen (died before being baptized) were also from the San Bernardino tribal district (Huntington Library On-Line Mission Database).

The Posolmi land grant was also referred to as Yñigo's grant, Yñigo Reservation (Thompson and West 1876 Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County) and Pozitas de las Anima, or Little Wells of the Souls. Although reduced to approximately 400 acres, Yñigo's claim came under review in the U.S. Land Commission of 1852 (Walkinshaw vs. the U.S. Government, Posolmi, 125, Land Case 410) and he retained this small portion of his land until his death on March 2, 1864. Yñigo was buried somewhere on his land which is now occupied by Moffett Field and Lockheed Corporation. After Yñigo's death, it appears that his descendants may have afterwards moved to the Alviso Rancho [(see U.S. Land Commission Index to land Grants 1852, U.S. General Land Office, Posolmi, 125, Land case 410); Bancroft 1886; Harrington 1921-1934; Arbuckle 1968; see: Thompson and West 1876 Map identifies Yñigo Reservation (Moffett Field); Yñigo Rancho by Pat Joyce; Obituary of Yñigo in San Jose Patriot)].

Also in 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena formally granted Rancho de los Coches (the Pigs), totaling 2219.4 acres, to a Mission Santa Clara (Clareño Ohlone) Indian named Roberto Balermino. Since 1836 Roberto had occupied this land west/southwest of the confluence point where the Guadalupe River and Los Gatos Creek meet in downtown San Jose.
It is interesting to note that Rancho San Juan Bautista borders on the southeastern side of Rancho de los Coches and the **Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnnešte Nómmo Site** (CA-SCL-30/H) is located approximately three miles to the northwest of Roberto’s adobe/homestead. Roberto was baptized **Roberto Antonio** on September 26, 1785 at the age of 3 years old (SCL-B # 0791). He was identified as being from the **San Juan Bautista (district)** Tamien Ohlone-speaking tribal group. Roberto’s father was Juan Jose, who was baptized on December 4, 1802 at the age of 40 years (SCL-B. # 4384). Juan Jose was also identified as being from the San Juan Bautista (district) Ohlone tribal group. Juan Jose’s Indian name was **Guascai** and he died on February 7, 1825 (MSC death register #5808). Roberto’s mother’s name was identified as **Sulum** but there was no additional baptism information.

Rancho de los Coches was adjacent to the aboriginal territory of Roberto’s tribal homeland that included the **district** that the Spanish Priest called **San Juan Bautista** (again not to be confused with Mission San Juan Bautista located south near Hollister). At the age of nineteen (around 1801) Roberto had married his first wife Maria Estefana (this date is based upon the birth of one of their children). Roberto’s marriage to Maria Estefana connected him to the **San Francisco Solano** district located to the north of Mission Santa Clara (Milpitas/Alviso), and also connected him to the **Santa Ysabel** district to the east hills above San Jose (Brown 1994; C. King 1994). Maria Estefana was baptized on August 8, 1785 (5 days old) and she was identified as coming from the **Santa Ysabel** (district) Costanoan/Ohlone-speaking tribal group (SCL-B. # 0773). Maria Estefana’s mother was **Micaelina Antonia** who was baptized at Mission Santa Clara on June 18, 1780 at the age of 18 years. She was identified as belonging to the **San Francisco Solano** (district) Costanoan/Ohlone tribal group (SCL-B # 0181). Maria Estefana’s father was named **Francisco Gil** by the Spanish priests and was baptized on April 21, 1782 at the age of 20 years (SCL-B # 0347). His Indian name was Gilan. Francisco Gil was identified as coming from the **Santa Ysabel** (district) Costanoan/Ohlone tribal group. Roberto had died on October 26, 1847 (MSC death register #8053).

On the West Bay, a land grant was issued to another Clareño Ohlone Indian man named **Jose Gorgonio** and his family. **Jose Gorgonio** and his son, **Jose Ramon**, were granted **Rancho La Purisima Concepcion** by Governor Juan B. Alvarado on June 30, 1840. This rancho comprised 4,440 acres or 1 square league around the present day Palo Alto/Los Altos Hills area (Brown 1994). **Jose Gorgonio** was probably baptized as **Gorgonio** (SCL-B # 1721; baptized July 15, 1790 at age 1½ years). His father’s Indian name was **Lulquecse** and his mother’s name was **Seguem**. Lulquecse was identified as **Chrisostomo Lulquesi** (SCL-B # 2672; baptized November 27, 1794 at age 42 and had died November 5, 1801). He was listed as being from the **San Bernardino** district located to the west of Mission Santa Clara. Gorgonio was also identified as being from the San Bernardino tribal district.

During the post-secularization period (after 1836), there were at least six Indian rancheria settlements established areas surrounding **Pueblo de San Jose**. One major rancheria was located on the **Santa Teresa Rancho** (Bernal's property) south of the Pueblo San Jose near the Santa Teresa Hills.
Another was located in the valley east of San Jose called **Pala Rancho**, while a third was established along the Guadalupe River above Agnew on the **Rinca de los Esteros Rancho** (City of Santa Clara).

In the present-day City of Cupertino was the **Quito Rancho**. In **Pueblo de San Jose**, there was a settlement of "free Indians" on the east side of Market Street, and the sixth community was located further west along the banks of the Guadalupe River near Santa Clara Street (King 1978; Winter 1978a).

**Establishment of the East Bay Rancherias**

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 (see Nicholas Gray Survey Map of 1855; also see Harrington 1921-1934 interviews with Susanna Nichols, Jose Guzman and Maria de los Angeles Colos).

Based upon Mission San Jose record studies, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe has documented that **Efrena Quennatole** [who was the great-grandmother of Dario, Dolores, Isabelle, Ramona, Mercedes, Victoria, Lucas and Trina Marine, grandmother of **Avelina Cornates Marine** and **Francisca Nonessi Guzman**, and the mother of **Liberato Nonessi**] was recalled by Verona Band/Muwekma Ohlone consultants **Jose Guzman** and **Maria de los Angeles Colos** during one of their interviews with Harrington (see below). Mission record’s suggest that Efrena Quennatole and her third husband **Ybon Uacu-uga**, were living at "**de Rancho de San Lorenzo**" at the time of the birth and baptism of their son Ybon in 1838 (Mission San Jose baptism dated March 31, 1838). Years later, Ybon (Jr.) went through life by the name of Miguel Santos Pastor and he had married Celsa Santos².

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² On the 1880 Census, **Miguel Santos** (age 40); Maria (Celsa), wife, age 35; Hosa S. (Jose Santiago), son, age 15; Maria (Antonia), daughter, age 7; Vincent (Jose Antonio), son, age 5; and Pappoose, son, age 5/12, (born January 1880), were residing in Brooklyn Township, north of the San Leandro Creek near the old San Lorenzo Rancheria, possibly near the old town of Fitchburg (now Oakland).
The following is Ybon’s Mission San Jose 1838 baptismal record.

1838 Mar 31, Ybon, "de Rancho de San Lorenzo"
Born: Mar 16, 1838 (15 days old)
Father: Ybon
Mother: Efrena

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

One group of Indians established an independent community somewhere along the road north from Mission San Jose toward Alameda Creek during the 1840's. 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 (JOB 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 1850's did not recognize the license as a valid land title, however [Land Case 290 n.d.:11] (Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 1987).

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

1846 - 1870s American Invasion and Post-Conquest Period

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 a thousand 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 historic 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 1846-47 (American Conquest), Gold Rush of 1848-49, 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) [Figure 9-2] 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.

Figure 9-2: Governor Peter Hardeman Burnett (1849-1851)

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).
Peter Burnett's legacy is largely mixed. While regarded as one of the “fathers” of modern California, Burnett's openly racist attitudes towards Blacks, Chinese, and Native Americans has left a tarnished legacy for himself and California’s treatment toward minority groups. Furthermore, while Burnett was serving in the Oregon Territorial Legislature (1848) his attitude toward minorities especially African Americans helped facilitate the exclusion of Blacks from the state until 1926. Also, his open hostility to foreign laborers influenced a number of federal and state California legislators to push legislation, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

As mentioned above Burnett was also an advocate of exterminating California Indian tribes, a policy that continued with successive state administrations over the ensuing decades. The State at one point offered a bounty ranging from 25 cents to 5 dollars for Indian scalps.

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 for the purpose of ceding and quit claiming all lands identified within the eighteen treaties which were negotiated between 1851-1852 (Figure 9-3). 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 D.C., these eighteen 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 beneficiaries of two of the treaties: **E. Treaty of Dent’s and Ventine’s Crossing**, May 28, 1851 and **M. Treaty of Camp Fremont**, March 19, 1851.

During this transformative American Conquest period between the late 1840s and 1860s, the small steps that the Indian rancherias of the San Francisco Bay, the ancestors of the contemporary Muwekma Ohlone, had taken to revitalize their communities and culture suffered a series of severe blows. The military invasion of California by the United States in 1846 and the subsequent Gold Rush (1849), followed by statehood in 1850, ushered in a new period of genocide against indigenous Californians.

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 (Rawls 1986; Hurtado 1988). 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, Leventhal and Cambra 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.

One historic account about the establishment of some of the East Bay rancherias has recently come to light via the oral recollections of Mary Ann Harlan Smith which was recorded by her daughter Emma Smith. Mary Ann Harlan was the daughter of George Harlan who was a wagon master on the ill-fated Donner Party expedition and who led his group successfully into California in 1846/47. Mary Ann Harlan had married Henry C. Smith in 1847 and was living at Mission San Jose at the time of the removal of the Indians to Alisal located between Sunol and Pleasanton. Emma Smith recorded the following account from her mother:
My husband was appointed the first Alcalde or justice of the peace by Gov. Riley, Military Governor of California. He could speak Spanish very fluently and the Spaniards came to him with their difficulties. My husband and his brother remained in partnership for a couple of years, then his brother sold his interest to E. L. Beard and moved to Martinez. Beard and my husband continued in business for a short time. My husband purchased tract of land two and a half miles from the Mission, and also 800 acres on the Arroyo De Alameda, where he afterwards laid out and named the town of Alvarado. My second daughter, Emma was born in Mission San Jose. ….

I grew very tired of living there, so we built a house on the rancho, near the Mission and moved there. We engaged in farming and stock raising. In the summer of 1850, my father who was living in Mission San Jose died from typhoid fever the age of forty-eight. ….

The Mission Indians had a rancheria on our rancho and we often watched them performing their religious ceremonies. They had a large room dug in the ground and covered with brush and earth, with one door to enter. This place was called a sweet house. The Indians decorated themselves with feathers and all sorts of ridiculous costumes. A fire was built in the center of the room and the Indians danced around it. When one made a trip in those days from Oakland to San Jose, one would see millions of cattle and quite a lot of wheat which was raised by the Indians.

Cholera broke out among the Indians, and a number of them died. Their crying and howling and moaning were almost unbearable. My brother Joel, was obliged to take his family and go away where they could not hear the dreadful noise. When I found out that he was going, I had our men take me and my family along. I was very much afraid of the disease. My husband was away at the time. When he returned and found us gone, he immediately had all the Indians moved to the Alisal, located where Pleasanton now is (emphasis added) (Emma Smith, 1923).

The Alisal Rancheria 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.

Furthermore, Maria de los Angeles Colos (Angela), one of J. P. Harrington's principal East Bay Ohlone Chocheño speaking and cultural consultants, stated that she was born in the 1840s on the Bernal rancho located at the Santa Teresa Hills (near prehistoric site CA-SCL-125) in south San Jose located approximately nine miles southeast from the Third Mission Santa Clara (Harrington 1921-1934; Ortiz 1994a).

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From the Santa Clara and San Jose Mission records research conducted by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, it was discovered that Maria de los Angeles' parents were Zenon and Joaquina Pico whom were married at Mission Santa Clara in 1838.

Other examples of interrelationships with the Bernal and Sunol families are found in the mission records, censuses and historic documents. In the Alisal Rancheria community there was a Clareño Ohlone man named Raymundo Bernal, who was also identified in San Jose Mission records as Raymond Sunol. Mission Santa Clara baptismal records identifies a child by the name of Jose Raymundo (Bernal) who was baptized on April 10, 1842 (MSC Baptism # 10219). He was identified as the son of Domingo Bernal and Maria Tacia Sunol who were both listed as “neofitos” (baptized Indians). His godparents were Antonio Bernal and Eusebia Valencia.

Raymundo Bernal (Sunol) was married to a Mission San Jose woman named Angela Cornelia (probably Angela Colos) and they had a child named Joaquito Guadalupe Sunol who was baptized at Mission San Jose on May 15, 1872.

1872 May 15, #1046, Page 211, Joaquito Guadalupe Sunol (Indiesi) [Indians]
Born: Jul 7, 1872 (probably 1871)
Father: Raimundi Sunol (Bernal)
Mother: Angela Cornelia (Colos?)

A year later, on May 30, 1873, Maria de los Angeles and Raymundo Bernal (Sunol) joined with other Indian couples of the Muwekma community to renew their marriage vows at Mission San Jose. Interestingly, this was done during the height of the 1870 Ghost Dance religious movement.

1873 May 30, #212, Page 62, Jose cum Refugia - This entry holds three marriages.
Die 30, May 1873, coram Maria Selio et Raimundo consentium renovavares J.o Jose cum Rafaela; 2. Reimendums Bernal (Sunol) et Maria de los Angeles 3. Maria con Selso.

In 1875, Raymundo Sunol (Bernal) and Maria had their third son, Eduardo Sunol who was baptized at Mission San Jose on December 19, 1875:

1875 Dec 19, #1378, Page 262, Eduardo Sunol
Born: Oct 13, 1875
Father: Raymundo Sunol
Mother: Maria (de los Angeles)
Godparents: Philippo & Maria Catharina Gonzales*
[*Note: Philippo and Maria Catherina Gonzales were Indians from the Alisal community]

On the 1880 Census for Murray Township, Alameda County (District 26), Angela Colos was identified as Sincion, Anchaline, (Asuncion, Angeline) Indian, age 30. She was listed as a widow and living with her daughters, Francisca (Luecha), Indian, age 14 (born ca. 1866), Juana, Indian, age 11 (born ca. 1869), Louisa (Aloisia?), Indian, age 6, Rita (Aloisia?), Indian, age 2. Angela Colos and her family were living eight houses away from Antonio Bernal, Jr.
Also on the 1880 Census for Murray Township, Alameda County (District 26), a Ramon Sinol (Sunol), estimated age 22 (born ca. 1858) was listed as a farm hand in the household of John Kottenger. He was also living not too far from Angela Colos and her daughters. Ramon was most likely Angela and Raymundo’s son Joseph who was born in 1862. Raymundo Sunol (Bernal) and his half sister, Francesca Luecha appeared as godparents for another Indian couple in 1882.

Raymundo Bernal was remembered by Muwekma Ohlone Elder Dario Marine in 1965, when he was interviewed by members of his sister’s family during the time when the Tribe was involved in saving the Ohlone Indian Cemetery located in Fremont from destruction. Dario was born in 1888 and in that 1965 interview he identified the Ohlones who were members of the Muwekma/Verona Band/Mission San Jose Indian community. Dario remembered Raymundo and Guadalupe Bernal stating:

Raymundo Vernal [Bernal/Sunol] was Great grandfather people, so were Lupe Vernal and Jose Vinoco [Binoco] an uncle” (Avelina Family History, Dario Marine Interview 1965).

In 1894, Antonio Bernal (most likely Jr.?) and Muwekma ancestor, Magdalena Armija Marshall Thompson (b. 1878 – d. 1931) had a daughter named Rosa Bernal who was baptized at Mission San Jose on January 26, 1895:

1895 Jan 26, Rosa Bernal (Indian)  
Born: Nov 20, 1894  
Father: Antonio Bernal  
Mother: Magdalena Armina (Armija)  
Godparents: Manetta Cosmo* & Petra Igo (Phoebe Inigo)  
[*Note: Rosa’s Godfather was either Daniel Cosmo or Manuel Santos]

Perhaps, as a consequence of these factors and familial interrelationships between the Bernals and Sunols and the ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone, the Bernal family was willing to allot a portion of their rancho lands to the Muwekma Indian community which became the Alisal Rancheria.

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 Spring) and Sunol (Harrington 1921-1934). All of these rancherias maintained close ties with their Plains, Bay, and Coast Miwok and North Valley Yokut neighbors and Ohlone blood-relations as well (Kroeber 1904; Gifford 1926, 1927; Kelly 1932).

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 the first known post-American conquest Indian revitalization center 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 kinds of 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 (Gifford 1926, 1927; Gayton 1936; Kelly 1978; Harrington 1921-1934). 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 (Gifford 1926, 1927; DuBois 1939).

1870 Religious Revitalization Movement: The Ghost Dance at Pleasanton Rancheria

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 (Du Bois 1939).

At Alisal, the ancestors of the contemporary Muwekma Ohlone combined elements and doctrine from the imported Ghost Dance with the ancient Kukstú Religion, regalia and compliment of dances, the World Renewal Ceremonies as well as other rites practiced throughout central and northern California (Gifford 1926; Loeb 1932, 1933; DuBois 1939; Bean and Vane 1978). 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 (Gifford 1926, 1927, 1955; Kelly 1932, 1991; Gayton 1936; Field et al. 1992).

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 field work 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 named Yoktco, from Pleasanton, introduced similar dances to Southern Maidu, while a third, named Tciplitcu taught these dances to Miwoks and North Valley Yokuts at Knight's Ferry.

Interestingly, all three teachers had non-Hispanic or non-Anglo names, thus perhaps representing through a revitalized religious doctrine a rejection of the colonial (alien) order. Knight's Ferry is on the Stanislaus River, in Lakisamne North Valley Yokut tribal territory (see information relating to Estanislao), showing continuous ties to the area throughout the 1870s.
The Lakismame tribal region is also where Muwekma Elder Jose Guzman's maternal grandmother, Nimfadora, originally came from in the early 19th century (Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 1987; Milliken 1991; see MSJ baptismal record # 4276, September 26, 1820).

Ethnographic information from the Coast Miwok region on the Marin Peninsula recorded by Isabel Kelly 1931-1932 (1932, 1978, and 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).

There were also specific references to Mrs. Martha Guzman (herself a Coast Miwok and Costanoan descendant) from Marin regarding the kawai-yoyolomko (horse eaters) [Costanoans]:

This is what the people around Redwood City were called. Mrs. Guzman's father belonged to those people. I saw Mrs. Guzman last night. Her father came from Santa Clara, although once before she said Redwood City (Kelly 1991:355).

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.

Although not mentioned by name, Cora Du Bois attempted to interview Jose Guzman in 1934 as part of her 1870 Ghost Dance Study:

In the central portion of California which lies to the north and south of the Sacramento delta there occurred during the 1870’s an interchange of dances and ceremonies. Gifford described a portion of these movements when he presented data concerning the Pleasanton revival. One man from Pleasanton, called Yoktco, took the Kuksui and other dances to the Nisenan of Ione; while Sigelizu, also of Pleasanton, imported a series of dances to the Central Miwok of Knights Ferry. Gifford is inclined to attribute the Pleasanton “revival” and the spread of dances from there to the 1870 Ghost Dance. …

Unfortunately the last survivor of the Pleasanton period is unable to throw light on the tentative suggestions of Gifford and Gayton. Repeated attempts to elicit information were useless because his physical disabilities and senility. (1939:114)
U. C. Berkeley ethnographer Edward Gifford during the early twentieth century interviewed various Maidu and Miwok elders who remembered aspects of the 1870 Ghost Dance religious revitalization when they were young. These interior Miwok elders recollected that "there appeared... teachers of dances who came from the west" (Gifford 1926:400). As mentioned above, based upon Gifford's interviews with both Miwok and Maidu elders they identified the names of three such missionaries: Yoktco, who preached among the Southern Maidu; Sigelizu, himself a Plains Miwok, who came to the Central Sierra Miwok; and Tciplitcu, a Costanoan/Ohlone man who taught the dances to the Plains Miwok were known to have come from the Pleasanton area (ibid).

Also as mentioned above, all of these men's names are in their respective indigenous language, whereas after missionization, Costanoan/Ohlones, Miwoks, Yokuts, and their descendants were given either Hispanic or Anglo Christian names when baptized. A more generalized revival of indigenous names may have also taken place at Alisal as well as on the other rancherias in order to "reject" the older imposed colonial system. Although the Ghost Dance did not achieve its full objectives, its fluorescence at Alisal and at the other rancherias demonstrates the depth and conviction of indigenous identity and culture in the East Bay during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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 (see Gifford 1926, 1927; Du Bois 1939). 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 (News from Native California, Vol. 7 No. 3, 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.

A number of published and unpublished documents also record the lifeways and linguistic complexity of the Alisal Indian community or as it also came to be known after the construction by Western Pacific of the Verona Railroad Station nearby, the “Verona Band of Alameda County.” In 1880, French linguist Alphonse Pinart recorded a detailed North Valley Yokuts vocabulary at Alisal (Kroeber 1908; Merriam 1955). Other languages were also spoken, particularly the Plains Miwok Ki’k (meaning “water”) language, as well as the Chocheño and Tamien Ohlone dialects as well as other Costanoan idioms (Curtin 1884, Kroeber 1910; Gifford 1914; Mason 1916; Harrington 1921-1934; Milliken, Leventhal and Cambra 1987).

Late 19th Century: East Bay

Sometime during the mid-1880s, George and Phoebe Apperson Hearst purchased a large parcel of land from the Bernal's that included the Alisal Rancheria, and they allowed the Indians to maintain their community for a time being and some worked for the Hearsts and Appersons.
A slow decline in the Verona Band community during the late 19th century, however, is apparent in light of 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, and some out-migration, as well as death due to infectious diseases all contributed to the waning of the indigenous revival at Alisal (Olsen, Leventhal and Cambra 1985; Milliken 1994 in Davis et al. 1994).

According to several historic documents, the last Kuksú dances were held at Alisal in 1897 (Womens’ Research Committee of Washington Township 1904; Marine Family History 1965; Galvan 1968). 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 Cooksuy--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" (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 (p. 147):

Josephus Antonius, Indian DOD: 6 Jan 1897, Age: about 70 [60]. Buried:
Indian Cemetery, Mission San Jose, D.A. Rapora, Asstt. 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).

In Alameda County, the Schedule identified the Indians living at Pleasanton (Verona Band) as having a population of 70, at Niles, there was a community of 8, and in Contra Costa County in the towns of Danville and Byron having a population of 5 and 20 people, respectively. All four communities were identified as “Costanoan.” (Sen. Doc. No. 131, 58th Cong., 2d Sess., 1904, 1-16 (reprinted in Robert Heizer's Federal Concern about Conditions of California Indians 1853 to 1913: Eight Documents 1979) [see Figure 9-4].
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).
From the interviews conducted between 1925-1930 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 Field Notes 1921-1934). Jose Antonio was a great-great-grand relation to the some current generation of the Muwekma Elders and ex-council members such as Lawrence Marine, Jr. and his younger brother (Dance Leader) Marvin Lee Marine are directly descended from him and Jose Guzman. Jose Guzman had married 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. Interestingly, just two years prior to his death, Capitan Jose Antonio and his wife Jacoba served as godparent to Raphael and Avelina’s fourth daughter, Mercedes Marine (co-authors Monica V. Arellano and Gloria Gomez’s great-grandmother) who after the death of her mother, 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 (Figure 9-5).

Just before the turn of the 20th century (1897) there were still at least eleven casitas (houses) and the Tupentak (temescal/round house) still standing on or near the Alisal Rancheria. During this critical period of time, 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.

The house of Catherine Peralta (granddaughter of Jose Guzman) and Dario Marine (eldest son of Avelina Cornates Marine) which was originally owned by Jacoba and Jose Antonio had burned down as a result of that fire. Prior to the fire, Catherine and Dario had raised their first four children, Beatrice (born 1909), Josephine (b. 1911), Evelyn (b. 1914) and Filbert Marine (b. 1915) on the rancheria. By the time their fifth child, Lawrence Domingo Marine was born in 1919, they had moved to 544 Alvarado-Centerville Road in Centerville now part of the City of Fremont (see 1900 and 1910 Indian Censuses and 1920 Census, Washington Township; Harrington field notes; Olsen, Leventhal and Cambra 1985; 1928-1933 California Enrollment Applications # 10298 and 10675; 1910, 1920 and 1930 Federal Censuses).
After the Alisal Rancheria was abandoned, 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 the local orchards, ranches, and farms.

During the 20th century Muwekma families continued to marry and baptize their children at Mission San Jose, St. Augustine's Church in Pleasanton, Corpus Christi in Niles, and St. Edwards in Newark. Photographic and other records showing life around the Alisal Rancheria and neighboring areas from the early 1900s, WW I, the depression, and WW II survived.
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 1851-1852) from the U.S. 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/Bureau of Indian Affairs) in Washington, D.C. 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.

One of the bands officially identified by Special Indian Agent Kelsey was the Verona Band of Alameda County residing between Pleasanton, Sunol and Niles (as well as living in other adjacent areas and ranches surrounding Mission San Jose). The direct ancestors of the present-day Muwekma Tribe who comprised the Verona Band became Federally Acknowledged by the U.S. Government through the Appropriation Acts of Congress beginning in 1906. Between the years 1906 and 1927, the Verona Band fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Indian Service Bureau in Washington, D.C., 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.

To this effort, both the Indian Service Bureau agents and the Indian bands were faced with two major obstacles:

1. Many Californian landowners did not want Indians living next to or near them, so they would not sell suitable parcels of land.

2. Others who were willing to sell parcels to the government wanted greatly inflated prices, usually at prices much higher than what was either allocated to purchase lands, or above the actual value of the land.

After the Congressional Appropriation Acts of 1906, 1908 and ensuing years (until 1937) many Indians in California obtained trust lands as members of tribes which had not abandoned their respective tribal areas, and these homesites became known as Indian “rancherias.” [see the Indian Homestead Act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. L. 420), 25 U. S. C. 334, 336, Feb. 8, 1887, Ch.. 119, Sec. 4, and other statutes, (34 Stat. 325, June 24, 1906 and 35 Stat. 70, April 30,
1908), and using an added set aside of $10,000 under the Joint Resolution of March 4, 1915 (CR 6122, March 4, 1915).

The evidence of previous **Federal Recognition** of virtually all the present-day unacknowledged tribal groups in California and especially in this case, the **Verona Band of Alameda County**, is found in the Federal records at the National Archives (Record Group 75. California Consolidated Files, Cal. Special, file # 12026113-032, filed with 114202-13-032; **Map**, accompanying **Letter** of October 41 1913, Special Indian Agent for California C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner in response to request for information from 2nd Dist. Congressman John Raker, 9/22/1913. See file # 114202) (**Figure 9-6 – Special Indian Agent Kelsey’s Map of Indian Rancherias – Verona Band**).

*Figure 9-6: Indian Agent Kelsey’s Map of Indian Rancherias – Verona Band*

By 1913, being exhausted and personally in debt to the amount over $18,000, Special Indian Agent C. E. Kelsey tendered his formal resignation. It was not until a year later that a new agent was selected to replace Kelsey.

Writing to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on Dec. 7, 1914, from the Reno, Nevada Indian Agency, **Charles H. Ashbury**, already named Special Indian Agent for California, reported progress in his investigation of the character, location and need of landless California Indians.
It is noteworthy that he called on his predecessor C. E. Kelsey for help in locating 30 individuals at Verona, and then proceeded to suggest that they receive assistance in a land purchase in his report to the Commissioner. However, a thorough investigation of the Indians of California not provided with land would have required a great deal of time and expense.

Being understaffed and located in Reno, Special Agent Asbury was not able to accomplish anything on behalf of the landless California Indian bands and he was reassigned to the Indian Agency in the Southwest sometime in 1915. John Terrell was then selected as a replacement as Special Indian Agent for most of northern and central California by May 1915 and he continued to conduct on-site inspections and make censuses of many the bands that were under his jurisdiction. However, during Terrell’s tenure between 1915 and 1919, his efforts were oriented towards “needy” tribes and bands that were located in northern California counties (e.g., Mendocino and north) as well as the Sacramento Valley and the Sierra. Those tribes that were located within the northern “mission area” including the Muwekma (Verona Band of Alameda County), Amah Mutsun (San Juan Bautista Band), Esselen Nation (Monterey Band of Monterey County), the Salinan tribal communities (Pleyto, Milpitas and Jolon) centering around Missions San Miguel and San Antonio, as well as the Coast Miwok located at the towns of Bodega Bay, Marshall, and Fishman were all but ignored and neglected.

After Terrell left the Indian Service, the jurisdiction fell to James Jenkins, Superintendent of the Reno Agency. 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: also Indians whose allotments, homesteads, etc., are carried at the land offices located at Stockton, Sacramento, Visalia, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Independence and Marysville, California, and Carson City and Elko, Nevada. …

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>Estimated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alameda</td>
<td>Verona</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Reno Annual Report 1923:3-5)

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 of 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, D. C. 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 on-site 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. Although not formally “terminated” by any policy decision or act of Congress these tribes were essentially knocked off the “radar screen” of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and as landless tribes were considered ineligible to organize as tribes under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act.

During the 20th Century, no other state within the United States had experienced the massive illegal “termination” of so many Federally Recognized tribal groups whose rights were extinguished by crass neglect. This massive dismissal and removal was deliberate and due as a result of the callous actions anddereliction of duty by an incompetent Bureau of Indian Affairs agent.

Three years later, Dorrington, still being prodded by BIA officials in Washington, D.C. about the needs of the landless and homeless Indians in California under his jurisdiction, offered insight to his actions and his personal beliefs in a letter he wrote to Commissioner Rhoads. In that letter dated April 23, 1930, Dorrington wrote:
…Kindly be respectfully advised that the matter of land purchase for homeless Indians has really been given constant and diligent attention throughout the current fiscal year to date and an earnest effort has been made to fully meet the needs of the Indians to the fullest extent without unnecessary or unjustified expenditure of funds, believing that to be the spirit of the law and your wishes in the premises. …

**It has been my opinion, and therefore my belief,** for several years that the best interests of the Indians will be served through an arrangement whereby those concerned may be settled on the already acquired land **instead of procuring additional which cannot be turned to beneficial use and occupancy by the Indians** in mind because of their inability financially to establish themselves thereon.

…In its final analysis, Mr. Commissioner, kindly understand and know that **additional land for homeless Indians of California is not required and therefore further demands on the appropriation for the fiscal year 1930 are not warranted or justified** (Dorrington Letter to Commissioner Rhoads April 20, 1930). [Emphasis added]

By July 1931, Dorrington had either quit the Indian Service or was transferred or was fired and he was replaced by Oscar H. Lipps as Superintendent of the Sacramento Agency. Lipps, responding to an inquiry written by Assistant Commissioner J. Henry Scattergood offered specific concerns about the **conditions of the homeless California Indians** for whom land was purchased:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter, dated June 30, 1931, relating to the matter of purchasing land for homeless Indians of California. …I am addressing this letter to you personally and calling the subject matter thereof to your special attention for the reason that there **appears to be a grave lack of understanding in the Office regarding this whole matter of providing homes for homeless California Indians. …**

I think it is all the more important that this matter be brought to your personal attention at this time in view of your recent visit to California with the Senate Committee and your familiarity with the sentiment and feeling in this State with respect to the past administration of the affairs of the California Indians.

The conditions on some of these rancherias are simply deplorable. No one can view many of them and observe the conditions under which the Indians are trying to exist without the feeling that some one is guilty of **gross neglect** or **inefficiency** and that a **cruel injustice** has been meted out to a helpless people under the name of beneficent kindness… And yet there are those who say that I will never do to let the local authorities have charge of the affairs of the Indians lest the Indians be neglected and abuse.
…I have not yet seen a single instance where the federal government has done anything like so much for the improvement of the homes and living conditions of the Indians under this jurisdiction as has been done by Sonoma County for the Indians residing on the Stewart’s Point Rancheria.

Now it seems to me that the thing for us to do is to look at the facts in the face and admit that in the past the Government has been woefully negligent and inefficient, and then start out with the determination, as far as possible, to rectify our past mistakes. It is difficult to locate the blame, but somewhere along the line there appears to have been gross negligence or crass indifference. If Congress has been honestly and fully advised of conditions and has refused or failed to give relief asked for, then the Indian Bureau is not responsible for the neglect of the Indians. On the other hand, if Congress believed and intended by appropriating funds for the purchase of lands for homeless Indians and improvements thereon that good and suitable lands would be purchased and houses constructed and improvements made, then we have neglected to do our duty. [Emphasis added]

Although left completely landless, and in some instances completely homeless, between 1929 and 1932 all of the surviving Verona Band/Muwekma lineages enrolled with the BIA under the 1928 California Indian Jurisdictional Act which were approved by the Secretary of Interior in the pending claims settlement. Concurrently, during the last decades of the 19th century and first three of the 20th century (between 1884 and 1934), renowned anthropologists and linguists such as Jeremiah Curtin, Alfred Kroeber, E. W. Gifford, James Alden Mason, C. Hart Merriam and John Peabody Harrington interviewed the last fluent speakers of the “Costanoan” and other Indian languages spoken at the East Bay rancherias. It was during this time period that Verona Band Elders still employed the linguistic term “Muwekma” which means “la Gente or the People” in Chocheño and Tamien Ohlone language spoken in the East and South San Francisco Bay region.

A Call to War: Muwekma Men Enlist in the U.S. Armed Forces During World War I

Even before California Indians legally became citizens in 1924, 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. These Muwekma men enlisted through the San Francisco Presidio and Mare Island and four of them are buried at the Golden Gate National Cemetery: [Figure 9-7].

Antonio (Toney) Guzman, U.S. Army, Private, Battery F., 347th Field Artillery, 91st Division. Toney Guzman was born on March 27, 1890 either in Centerville or on the Niles Rancheria. He was the son of Muwekma Indians Francisca Nonessa and Jose Guzman. Toney enlisted in the U.S. Army and he fought in the Meuse-Argonne (September 26 to October 8, 1918), Ypres-Lys, and Lorraine campaigns in France. Toney served in the Army from April 29, 1918 and was honorably discharged at the San Francisco Presidio on April 26, 1919.
The 91st Division was known as the "Wild West Division." The Division's shoulder patch was a green fir tree referring to its origin at Camp Lewis in the Pacific Northwest. The Division was deployed to France in August, 1918 and fought with great distinction. In the Ypres-Lys campaign, the Division served in the Flanders Army Group, under the command of the King of Belgium. The Division was headquartered adjacent to Flanders Field. Five members of the Division earned the Congressional Medal of Honor. The 347th Field Artillery Regiment was assigned 4.7" inch guns, and the 91st Division received the following Victory Medal Clasps: Ypres-Lys, St. Mihiel, Meuse-Argonne and Defensive Sector. In October 1931, Toney Guzman and his brothers, enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs under their mother’s BIA Application #10293. On his WW II Registration Card dated April 27, 1942, Toney was identified as “Indian”. Toney passed away on October 8, 1948 and was buried on October 12, 1948 at the Golden Gate National Cemetery (Section J, Grave 254).

Alfred (Fred) Guzman, U.S. Army, Private, Company “C,” 110th Infantry. 28th Division under Brigadier General T. W. Darrah. Alfred Guzman was born on the Pleasanton Rancheria on June 27, 1896 to Francisca and Jose Guzman. Prior to the declaration of War, Fred Guzman had served in the National Guard at Fort Mason in San Francisco in 1917. Afterwards he enlisted in the U.S. Army, and served in the 28th Division, 55th Brigade Infantry, 110th Infantry, Company “C” and fought in the major battles at Ourcq-Vesle (July 28, 1918), Second Battle of the Marne (July 15-August 5, 1918), Meuse-Argonne Offensive (September 26 to October 8, 1918), and Havrincourt (October 8 – November 11, 1918) in France. The 28th Division fought in the following campaigns: Champagne-Marne, Aisne-Marne, Oise-Aisne, Meuse-Argonne, Champagne (1918), Lorraine (1918). The cost in lives of these six campaigns was 4,183 casualties including 760 dead. The six fleurs-de-lis on the regimental insignia commemorated their World War I service. The 28th Infantry Division was a unit of the United States Army formed in 1917 at the outbreak of World War I. It was nicknamed the "Keystone Division", as it was formed from units of the Pennsylvania Army National Guard; Pennsylvania is known as the "Keystone State". It was also nicknamed the "Bloody Bucket" division by German forces in WWII, after its red insignia. Fred Guzman served from July 28, 1917 and was honorably discharged at San Francisco Presidio on May 31, 1919. On his WW II Registration Card dated April 25, 1942, Fred is identified as Indian. Fred Guzman died on November 3, 1961 and was buried at the Golden Gate National Cemetery (Section Y, Grave 1059).

Joseph Aleas, U.S. Army, Sergeant, Company D, 21st MG BN, 7th Division. Joseph Aleas was born on the Alisal (Pleasanton) Rancheria on May 11, 1893 and was the son of Margaret Armija. He enlisted in the US Army on June 30, 1916. According to Armija-Thompson family recollections, he was a good horseman and wanted to fight against Pancho Villa had led approximately 1,500 Mexican raiders in a cross-border attack against Columbus, New Mexico, in response to the U.S. government's official recognition of the Carranza regime. Villa’s troops attacked a detachment of the 13th U.S. Cavalry, seized 100 horses and mules, burned the town, killed 10 soldiers and eight of its residents, and made off with ammunition and weapons. President Woodrow Wilson responded by sending 6,000 troops under General John J. Pershing to Mexico to pursue Pancho Villa and his troops. This military mobilization was called the Punitive or Pancho Villa Expedition.
Later, Joseph Aleas served in France in the 21\textsuperscript{st} Machine Gun Battalion, 7th Division (its Hourglass insignia dates back to 1918). Organized originally to serve in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) during World War I, the U.S. Army's 7th Infantry Division was created at Camp Wheeler, Georgia on December 6, 1917 and it fought in Alsace-Lorraine, France during the war. The division also served as an occupation force in the post-war period. On October 10-11, 1918 the 7th was shelled for the first time and later it encountered gas attacks in the Saint-Mihiel woods. Defensive occupation of this sector continued from October 10th to November 9th during which the infantry regiments of the 7th Division probed up toward Prény near the Moselle River, captured Hills 323 and 310, and drove the Germans out of the Bois-du Trou-de-la-Haie salient. After 33 days in the line of fire the 7th Division had suffered 1,988 casualties, of which three were prisoners of war. Thirty Distinguished Service Crosses were awarded members of the 7\textsuperscript{th} Division.

Joseph Aleas was honorably discharged at Camp Funston, Riley, Kansas on July 9, 1920 and was awarded the World War I Victory Medal and the Bronze Victory Button. Joseph Aleas enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in October 1931 (BIA Application # 10299). On May 24, 1955 Joseph enrolled during the second enrollment period with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Joseph Francis Aleas passed away July 13, 1964 and was buried at the Gold Gate National Cemetery Plot Z, grave 2597 (Figure 9-7).

Figure 9-7: Graves of Muwekma Men Joseph Aleas, Fred Guzman and Toney J. Guzman

John Michael Nichols was the older brother of Henry Nichols and he served in the U.S. Army from 1914 to 1920. John enlisted on October 27, 1914 at Fort McDowell on Angel Island. He fought in France serving with the 59\textsuperscript{th} Coast Artillery Corps. The 59\textsuperscript{th} was converted to a tank battalion and was engaged in the St. Mihiel offensive and the Meuse-Argonne offensive. John was discharged at Fort Winfield Scott at the SF Presidio on June 4, 1920. John M. Nichols was listed as an Indian on the 1930 Federal Census along with his son Alfred in Santa Cruz County. On John Nichols’s Draft Registration Card dated April 27, 1942 he was identified as residing at the Veteran’s Home in Napa (Yountville), California and he had resided there from 1941 to 1953. John Nichols died in April 1968 while living in Stockton, California (Figure 9-8).
Henry Abraham Lincoln Nichols, U.S. Navy, Fireman 1st Class, Battleships USS Arizona and USS Oklahoma. Henry Nichols was born in Niles on February 12, 1895 to Charles Nichols and Muwekma Ohlone Susanna Flores Nichols. Henry enlisted on May 23, 1917 and first served on the USS Albatross. By December 31, 1917 he was transferred to the Battleship USS Arizona, and later on March 26, 1918 he was transferred again to the Battleship USS Oklahoma. During World War I Henry Nichols served in the North Atlantic and was on escort duty in December 1918 when the Oklahoma was serving as escort during President Woodrow Wilson’s arrival in France at the end of the war (November 11, 1918). The Oklahoma returned to Brest, France on June 15, 1919 to escort home President Wilson who was transported on the USS George Washington from his second visit to France. Henry Nichols was honorably discharged at Mare Island on August 14, 1919 and was issued the World War I Victory Medal. On Henry Nichols Draft Registration Card dated April 27, 1942 he is identified as Indian. Henry Nichols passed away on January 5, 1956 and was buried at the Golden Gate National Cemetery (Section L-5, Grave 7455) [Figure 9-8].

Figure 9-8: Henry A.L. Nichols (left) and his Brother John Nichols (right) [circa. 1919]
Franklin P. Guzman (Service # 87843) Sergeant, U.S. Second Marine Corps Division, Fourth Marine Infantry Brigade, Sixth Machine Gun Battalion, 81st “D” Company. Franklin was born on the Alisal Rancheria on January 15, 1898 and was the son of Pleasanton Indians Teresa Davis and Ben Guzman (who later died in 1907). He was also the nephew of Toney and Fred Guzman. Franklin was listed on the 1910 Federal Indian Population Census for “Indian Town”, Pleasanton Township. He enlisted on October 20, 1916 while working near Sacramento, reported for duty on October 25, 1916 and was assigned to Company “B” Marine Barracks, Navy Yard, Mare Island. On May 28, 1917 Franklin was promoted to the rank of Corporal. By March 31, 1918, he earned an Expert Rifleman Badge and a Marksman Badge and by April he was assigned to the 111th Company, 8th Regiment. In May, Franklin was transferred to the 150th Company 1st Machine Gun Replacement Battalion at Quantico, Virginia and he was promoted to Sergeant on May 22, 1918. The 1st Machine Gun Replacement Battalion sailed on May 26, 1918 on the USS Henderson and disembarked in France on June 8, 1918. The 1st Machine Gun Battalion was later renamed the 6th Machine Gun Battalion in France. From September 12 to 16, 1918 the brigade was engaged in the St. Mihiel offensive in the vicinity of Remenauville, Thiaucourt, Xammes, and Jaulny.

On September 16, 1918, Franklin was wounded in the left thigh and from September through December he was placed in various Field and Base Hospitals in France, and finally transferred back to the States on December 16, 1918. Franklin remained in recovery at the US Navy Hospital at Norfolk, Virginia until he was honorably discharged from service as a Sergeant on June 27, 1919.

Franklin’s Battalion participated in the Chateau-Thierry sector (capture of Hill 142, Bouresches, Belleau Wood) from June to July, 1918; Aisne-Marne (Soissons) offensive from July 18 to July 19, 1918; Marbache sector, near Pont-a-Mousson on the Moselle River from August 9 to August 16, 1918; St. Mihiel from September 12 to September 16, 1918; and later the Meuse-Argonne offensive (October 1 to 10, 1918, and November 1 to 10, 1918).. Franklin passed away on May 30, 1979 and was buried in the Riverside National Cemetery (Section 8, Grave 2826).

After serving overseas during World War I, the over 17,000 Native American servicemen were offered a path to citizenship if they wanted to apply. On November 6, 1919, the United States Congress granted citizenship to the honorably discharged Indian veterans of World War I who were not yet citizens.

BE IT ENACTED . . . that every American Indian who served in the Military or Naval Establishments of the United States during the war against the Imperial German Government, and who has received or who shall hereafter receive an honorable discharge, if not now a citizen and if he so desires, shall, on proof of such discharge and after proper identification before a court of competent jurisdiction, and without other examination except as prescribed by said court, be granted full citizenship with all the privileges pertaining thereto, without in any manner impairing or otherwise affecting the property rights, individuals or tribal, of any such Indian or his interest in tribal or other Indian property.
The 1919 American Indian Citizenship Act did not grant automatic citizenship to American Indian veterans who received an honorable discharge. The Act merely authorized those American Indian veterans who wanted to become American citizens to apply for and be granted citizenship. Few Indians actually followed through on the process, but it was another step towards citizenship.

It was during the Coolidge Administration that the United States Congress finally granted citizenship to Native American servicemen and their respective tribes on June 2, 1924, (Figure 9-9). However, the Native American tribes of Arizona and New Mexico would have to wait another 24 years before full citizenship and voting rights were granted in 1948 after their service in the Armed Forces during World War II.

![Figure 9-9: President Calvin Coolidge with Four Osage Indian Leaders](image)

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

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 1851-1852. Between the years 1928 and 1932 almost all of 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 Federal Court [Figures 9-10 - 9-14].

Enrolling were members of the Marine-Peralta, Marine-Alvarez-Piscopo-Galvan, Marine-Sanchez, Marine-Arellano-Garcia, Marine-Munos, Marine-Armija, Armija-Thompson, Armija-Aleas, Armija-Nichols, Guzman, Binoco, Bautista-Armija, Inigo-Gonzalez-Alaniz, Santos-Pinos-Saunders-Pena-Corral, and Pinos-Juarez families. All of these Muwekma families were living in the Pleasanton, Sunol, Niles and Livermore areas of the East Bay.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Application Number 10298

Application for enrollment
with the Indians of the State of California under
the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602)

The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I hereby make application for the enrollment of myself (and minor
children living on May 18, 1928) as Indians of the State of California in ac-
cordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat.
L. 602). The evidence of identity is herewith subjoined.

1. State the full names, ages, sex, and dates of birth of yourself and your
minor children living on May 18, 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Degree of Indian Blood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marine, Lucas</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10-18-1900</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1-26-1928</td>
<td>3/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * See application of Katie Marine, wife, Centerville, Alameda
County, California. App. No. 10615

2. Residence on May 18, 1928 Centerville, Alameda County, California.
    Box 6.
3. Post Office Centerville, Alameda County, California.
    Town or City, Box Number or Rural Route Number.
    Note: * Does not live on Trust Lands.
4. Place of birth of yourself and each of your minor children
    Near Sunol, Alameda County, California. My child was born
    in Alameda County, California.

Figure 9-10: Lucas Marine BIA Application # 10298
5. Where have you and your children resided since birth?  
In Alameda and Mendocino Counties, California.

6. Are you married? Yes.

7. If a married woman, give your name before you were married. __________

8. Name and exact date of birth (Month, Day, and Year) of your wife (or husband).  
Katie Marine, see Peralta—Age about 35 years.

9. Is he (or she) of Indian blood? If so, state the name of the Tribe or Band, and degree of Indian blood.
   Yes 4/4 Ohlones, (Tribal name unknown)
   Alameda County, California.

10. What is your degree of Indian blood and to what Tribe or Band of Indians of the State of California do you belong? Ohlones (?) Tribal name
   1/2
   Degree of Indian Blood
   Unknown, Alameda County, California.
   Name of Tribe or Band

11. To what Treaty or Treaties were you or your ancestors a party, and where did you (or they) reside on June 1, 1852? Where and when were said Treaties negotiated?  
   I do not know.

12. Give the names of your California Indian ancestors living on June 1, 1852, through whom you claim, who were parties to any Treaty or Treaties with the United States. If you claim through more than one ancestor living on that date, set forth each claim separately. State your descent from said ancestor or ancestors setting forth your relationship to them.

   Names                  Tribe or Band            Relationship by Blood
   Evalina Marine         Ohlones, Tribal name unknown.  Mother.
   Alameda County, California.

(See Nos. 15 and 26.)

Figure 9-11: Lucas Marine BIA Application Identifying His Tribe “Ohlones”
Application Number 10293.

Application for enrollment with the Indians of the State of California under the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602)

The Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I hereby make application for the enrollment of myself (and minor children living on May 18, 1928) as Indians of the State of California in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602). The evidence of identity is herewith subjoined.

1. State the full names, ages, sex, and dates of birth of yourself and your minor children living on May 18, 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Relationship in Family</th>
<th>Age in 1928</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Dates of Birth</th>
<th>Degree of Indian Blood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guzman, Francisca</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10-11-1863</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; , Tony J.</td>
<td>Son (Separated)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10-11-1891</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; , Jack</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2-6-1903</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernandez, Paul</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1-14-1907</td>
<td>1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Residence on May 18, 1928 NILES, ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA. Box 101, NILES, ALAMEDA, CALIFORNIA.

3. Post Office Town or City, Box Number or Rural Route Number.

Note: * Does not live on Trust Lands.

4. Place of birth of yourself and each of your minor children.

ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIFORNIA.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Application Number 10301

Application for enrollment
with the Indians of the State of California under
the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602)

The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I hereby make application for the enrollment of myself (and minor
children living on May 18, 1928) as Indians of the State of California in ac-
cordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat.
L. 602). The evidence of identity is herewith subjoined.

1. State the full names, ages, sex, and dates of birth of yourself and your
minor children living on May 18, 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Name</th>
<th>Relationship in Family</th>
<th>Ages in 1928</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Dates of Birth Month Day Year</th>
<th>Degree of Indian Blood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alaniz, Phoebe</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8-1-1877</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garcia, Thomas</td>
<td>Adopted Son</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1-1-1917</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonzales, Trinidad</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>11-28-1856</td>
<td>4/4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Died October 28, 1928)*

Note: The husband of the applicant was a Mexican.

2. Residence on May 18, 1928: Livermore, Alameda County, California. General Delivery.


Rural Route Number

Note: *Does not live on Trust Land.*

4. Place of birth of yourself and each of your minor children.

Between Sunol and Pleasanton, Alameda County, California.

Adopted son born near Sacramento, California.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Application Number 10296

Application for enrollment
with the Indians of the State of California under
the Act of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat. L. 602)

The Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I hereby make application for the enrollment of myself (and minor
children living on May 18, 1928) as Indians of the State of California in ac-
cordance with the provisions of the Act of Congress of May 18, 1928 (45 Stat.
L. 602). The evidence of identity is herewith subjoined.

1. State the full names, ages, sex, and dates of birth of yourself and your
minor children living on May 18, 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Names</th>
<th>Relationship in Family</th>
<th>Ages in 1928</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Dates of Birth Month Day Year</th>
<th>Degree of Indian Blood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Magdalena</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5-27-1877</td>
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<td>Thompson, Emily</td>
<td>Dau</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>10-31-1910</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ernest</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4-21-1912</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Eduardo (Edward)</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7-21-1914</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lorenzo (Lawrence)</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9-9-1918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:* The husband of the applicant is not of Indian blood.

2. Residence on May 18, 1928
   Alameda County, California
   P.O. Box 5

3. Post Office
   Newark, Alameda, California
   Town or City, Box Number or County State
   Rural Route Number.

Note:* Does not live on Trust Land.

4. Place of birth of yourself and each of your minor children
   Alameda County, California.
Muwekma Children and Indian Boarding Schools: 1931 to 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, religious, economic and political ties with each other.

Just prior to the outbreak of World War II, the youngest son of Dario Marine (BIA Application # 10677) and Catherine Peralta Marine (BIA Application # 10675), Lawrence Domingo Marine was sent to the Bureau of Indian Affair’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). Lawrence and Pansy’s first three children Lawrence Mason Marine, Marvin Lee Marine and Suzie Marine were born and raised in Quincy, California (Maidu territory) and later they lived in Sacramento. Both Lawrence and Marvin Lee became traditional California Indian dancers with the help of their grandmother Marie Potts and Nisenan/Miwuk tribal elder, Bill Franklin (see Bibby article in News for Native California Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1993:21-36).

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. At this time, leadership was still in the hands of Muwekma adults and elders: Phoebe Alaniz (Petra Inigo) [died 1947], Margarita Pinos Juarez, Francisca Nonessi Guzman (died 1942), Dolores Marine Galvan, Dario Marine, Lucas Marine, and Trina Marine.

John Peabody Harrington’s Ethnographic and Linguistic Field Work: 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 of time sound recordings made by Harrington of twenty-seven songs sung by Jose Guzman in 1930 and later in 1934 photos were taken by C. Hart Merriam of Jose Guzman and his family members which attest to the Tribe’s presence within their historic homeland (See Figure 9-15 - John P. Harrington, Muwekma Elders Jose Guzman and Maria de los Angeles “Angela” Colos).

J. P. Harrington's field notes (dated October 12, 1929, and October 1934) provides 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 Abajénos, 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 & also a smaller hole in the roof. Tu'pentak, temescal. Used to have fiestas here.

Figure 9-15: J. P. Harrington, Muwekma Elders Jose Guzman and Angela Colos
The Outbreak of World War II: Muwekma Men Once Again Answer the Call to War

During World War II, almost all of the Muwekma men served in the United States Armed Forces both in the Pacific and European theaters and stateside.

Hank A. Alvarez, Pfc. U.S. Army, 101st Airborne Division landed Utah Beach Normandy. Hank was born on February 27, 1922 in San Jose. He spent his childhood in Santa Cruz, Alvarado and Brentwood. While living in Brentwood, on March 18, 1932, his mother Dolores Marine enrolled herself and her children with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA Application # 10681).

Hank enlisted at the San Francisco Presidio and served from December 28, 1942 to December 15, 1945 in the 101st Airborne Division. He returned home from Europe with the 82nd Medical Battalion, 12th Armored Division. While serving in the 101st Airborne Division he landed at Utah Beach in Normandy, he was later reassigned to the 106th Infantry Division, 423rd Infantry Regiment, Company B and continued to fight in France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany. He regiment saw action at Saint Laurent sur Mer and Saint Nazaire, France, and near Malmedy, Belgium. Later, Hank was reassigned to the 326th Engineer Battalion during the Battle of the Bulge at Bastogne and at the Ramagen Bridge crossing the Rhine River in Germany. After landing in Europe Hank’s units fought in the following campaigns with the 101st Airborne Division: Ardennes, Rhineland (GO 40 WD 45), and Northern France (GO 33 WD 45). Hank was issued the following medals and badges: Sharpshooter M1, WWII Victory Medal, and European African Middle East Campaign Medal. The 101st Airborne Division and the 106th Infantry Division earned Presidential Unit Citations. Hank was honorably discharged at Camp Beale, California on December 15, 1945.

Hank enrolled himself and his family with the BIA on April 26, 1950 during the second enrollment period. During the early 1960s Hank served in a leadership position along with his brothers and sister to save the Tribe’s Ohlone Indian Cemetery from destruction. Hank has served on the Muwekma Tribal Council since 1992 and is presently the oldest surviving member of the Verona Band of Alameda County and oldest veteran in the Tribe.

John (Johnnie) Abraham Alvarez was the older brother of Hank Alvarez. John Alvarez was born on May 24, 1914 in San Jose and spent most of his life living in Santa Cruz. He was enrolled with his siblings with the BIA in March 1932. John enlisted in U.S. Army on October 22, 1941 just prior to America’s Declaration of War against Japan, Germany and Italy and he served as a Pfc. in the U.S. Army Air Corps in the Pacific Theater. A letter was sent to Dolores Marine Alvarez Piscopo Galvan that her son John while serving overseas was missing in action, however, although the details are now clouded he was either liberated or saved and he continued to serve. John was honorably discharged on November 20, 1945 and received the American Defense Service Medal, American Campaign Medal, WWII Victory Medal, and Honorable Service Lapel Button WWII. John Alvarez died on March 6, 2002.
Francis Salvador “Sal” Samuel Dominic Piscopo, Sergeant Technical [E-7] U.S. Army, European Theater. Salvador was born in San Jose on October 1, 1923 and was a younger brother of Hank and John Alvarez. He went by the name of Samuel Dominic by the time he enlisted in the US Army. Sal was enrolled on March 18, 1932 with the Bureau of Indian Affairs with his siblings under his mother Dolores Marine’s BIA Application # 10681. Sal spent his younger years in Brentwood and San Jose.

Sal enlisted in the U.S. Army on January 25, 1943. He attained the rank of Sergeant Technical (E-7) and served in Patton’s tank/armored 3rd Army Division. Patton’s Third Army Division had begun the Lorraine Campaign by August 1944 and reached the Moselle River near Metz, France. By December 1944, Salvador’s tank division turned north to relieve the surrounded and besieged 101st Airborne Division at Bastogne in the Ardennes during the Battle of the Bulge. By February 1945 the Third Army moved into the Saar Basin in Germany and later crossed the Rhine River at Oppenheim on March 22, 1945.

On Salvador Piscopo’s uniform at the time when his photograph was taken he had four service bars representing two years of overseas service and also one three year reenlistment service stripe. Sal was wounded when his tank was hit by German anti-tank fire. He carried shrapnel in his chest all of his life. He also was captured by the Germans and was issued a Prisoner of War Medal with three Bronze Stars, Good Conduct Medal and World War II Victory Medal. He was hospitalized after being liberated and after he was discharged. His brother Hank Alvarez said that Sal’s nickname was “Fade Away” meaning that “no one can find him, one day he’s around and then he would be gone for weeks and then show up again”. Sal was discharged at Camp Beale in 1945. Salvador died on September 21, 1968 and is buried in the Disabled Veterans section of Oak Hill Cemetery in San Jose, California.

Philip Galvan Pvt. US Army, Fort Benning, Georgia. Philip was born in September 1926 in Alvarado, Alameda County and was the younger brother of Sal Piscopo. He was enrolled along with his siblings with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on his mother Dolores Marine’s BIA Application # 10681. Philip enlisted in the U.S. Army on April 13, 1944 and was sent to the Monterey Presidio and afterwards he was stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia. Fort Benning was the home of the 2nd Armored Division called “Hell on Wheels”. Ft. Benning The core units of the 2nd Armored Division were the 41st Armored Infantry Regiment, the 66th Armored Regiment, the 67th Armored Regiment, the 17th Armored Engineer Battalion, the 82nd Armored Reconnaissance Battalion, and the 142nd Armored Signal Company. The 2nd Armored had three artillery battalions (the 14th, 78th, and 92nd). The Division also had support units, including the 2nd Ordnance Maintenance Battalion, a Supply Battalion, the 48th Armored Medical Battalion, and a Military Police Platoon. Some of the units were attached to the 41st Infantry Division in Europe Philip was honorably discharge at Camp Beale in 1946. During the 1960s Philip and his siblings were responsible for protecting the Tribe’s Ohlone Indian Cemetery from destruction. Later, Philip joined the editorial board of the American Indian Historical Society’s Indian Historian publication journal. Philip also served as the Secretary for the Ohlone Indian Tribe from 1965 to 1971. Philip Galvan is still living and is presently the caretaker of the Tribe’s Ohlone Indian Cemetery, located near Mission San Jose.
“Ben” Michael Benjamin Galvan, Merchant Marines, U.S. Navy – (USS Enterprise), U.S. Army and Army Air Corps. Ben was born on June 23, 1927 in Alvarado and was the last “formal” member of the Federally Recognized Verona Band of Alameda County. In March 1932, he was enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs under his mother Dolores Marine Alvarez Piscopo Galvan’s BIA Application # 10681. After serving in the Merchant Marines because he was under aged, he served in the Navy on board the USS Enterprise. The USS Enterprise participated in nearly every major engagement of the war against Japan, including the Battle of Midway, the Battle of the Eastern Solomons, the Battle of the Santa Cruz Islands, various other air-sea actions during the Battle of Guadalcanal, the Battle of the Philippine Sea, and the Battle of Leyte Gulf, as well as participating in the “Doolittle Raid” on Tokyo. USS Enterprise has the distinction of earning 20 battle stars, the most for any U.S. warship in World War II. After being injured during combat on the USS Enterprise, Ben requested to be transferred to the U.S. Army/Army Air Corps. At the end of his service, he reenlisted in the service on January 15, 1946 at Camp Beale, Marysville, California. On December 4, 1951 Ben enrolled himself and his family during the second BIA enrollment period. During the early 1960s he was involved in saving the Ohlone Indian Cemetery from destruction and in 1965 Ben became the first chairman of the Ohlone Tribe. Ben served as the chairman of the Ohlone Tribe for thirteen years from 1965 to 1978. Ben Galvan passed away on April 13, 1987.

Thomas Joseph Garcia, Pfc. U.S. Army, Co. F. 358th Engineers GS Regiment. Joseph Garcia was born on December 12, 1912 on the Alisal Rancheria near Pleasanton. Both his mother Mercedes Marine and his father Joseph Armijo Garcia were Muwekma Ohlone Indians. After the death of his mother in 1914, Joseph was adopted by his godmother Phoebe Inigo Alaniz who was also a member of the Verona Band Indian Community. He enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs with his step-mother Phoebe Alaniz on October 7, 1930 (Application # 10301) and spent most of his life in Livermore.

Thomas Garcia enlisted on July 30, 1942 at the San Francisco Presidio and he served until November 27, 1945. On January 10, 1943 the 358th Engineers Regiment was activated at Camp Claiborne, Louisiana and they departed the U.S. for Europe on July 1, 1943. The Regiment landed in France on August 24, 1944 and crossed into Belgium November 27, 1944 and participated in the Normandy, Northern France, Rhineland, and Central Europe Campaigns. He was honorably discharge on November 27, 1945. On April 22, 1953, he enrolled during the second BIA enrollment period. Thomas Garcia passed away on February 9, 1956 and was buried Golden Gate National Cemetery (Section Q, Grave 59).

Ben L. (Angel) Guzman, Pfc. U.S. Army. Bennie Guzman was born on October 2, 1922 in Niles. His father was Fred Guzman who had served in the 28th Infantry Division during WW I. Bennie enlisted on November 5, 1942 at San Francisco Presidio. He first went to Camp Niles, California and then onto Camp White, Oregon, and fought in the Asiatic Pacific Theater of Operations. His enlistment record identifies him as an “American Indian, Citizen”. Ben attained the rank of Private and was discharged on January 9, 1946 at Camp Beale, California. He was issued the World War II Victory Medal, WW II Lapel Button, Asiatic-Pacific Campaign Medal, Bronze Star, and Combat Infantry Badge. Ben Guzman died on March 11, 1995 and he is buried in the San Joaquin National Cemetery in Gustin, Ca. (Plot C-3 0 517).
Frank Harry Guzman, Pfc. U.S. Army. Frank was the younger brother of Bennie Guzman and he was born on April 2, 1926 in Pleasanton. Muwekma Ohlone Indians Dario Marine and Cecelia Armija were his godparents. Frank and his brother Bennie were photographed with their uncle Toney Guzman by anthropologist C. Hart Merriam in September 1934.

Frank’s enlistment record identified him as an “American Indian, citizen” and that he enlisted at the San Francisco Presidio. Frank served from July 21, 1944 to June 1946 as a Light Machine Gunner in the unattached 345th Infantry Regiment, 87th Infantry Division that was during the war assigned to the 3rd Corps, 8th Corps, 12th Corps of General Patton's 3rd Army (25 Nov 1944), 15th Corps of the 7th Army, 8th Corps of the 1st Army and the 8th Corps of the 9th Army during the European Theater of Operations (October 1944 - May 1945). Frank was also briefly assigned to the 82nd Airborne Division and received his Parachute Badge.

On December 15, 1944, the 345th Infantry Regiment was in the vicinity of Rimling, France and by December 17th the regiment took the town of Medelsheim, Germany. By December 26th the Germans had broken through the American defenses along the German-Belgian border between Malmedy, Belgium and Echternach, Luxembourg and create a fifty-five mile salient through the Ardennes Forest. The 345th was sent to the Cathedral city of Rheims to prevent a German breakthrough there and by December 28th the regiment was reassigned to General Patton's Third Army. On 29 December 29th the 345th Infantry Regiment was again on the road bound for an assembly area in the Luchie Woods 19 kilometers southwest of Moirncy, Belgium.

The Battle of the Bulge which lasted from December 16, 1944 to January 28, 1945 was the largest land battle of World War II in which the United States participated. More than a million men fought in this battle including some 600,000 Germans, 500,000 Americans, and 55,000 British. At the conclusion of the battle the casualties were as follows: 81,000 U.S. with 19,000 killed, 1,400 British with 200 killed, and 100,000 Germans killed, wounded or captured.

Frank was engaged in the Rhineland and Central Europe campaigns. He received the Army Presidential Unit Citation Ribbon, Combat Infantry Badge, European, Africa and Middle Eastern Campaign Medal (Three Bronze Stars for Campaigns), Good Conduct Medal, American Campaign Medal, World War II Victory Medal, Army of Occupation Medal (Berlin), Parachute Badge, Marksman Badge for Machine Gun and Rifle. Frank was honorably discharged at Camp Beale, California on June 27, 1946. Frank Guzman was a member of the V.F.W. Post No. 1537 of Tracy, California; he died on March 17, 1982.

Ernest Marine, Pfc. U.S. Army, 58th Field Artillery Battalion, 76th Division. Ernest Marine was the son of Muwekma Ohlone Indians Lucas Marine and Catherine Peralta. He was born on January 26, 1926 in Centerville. He was enrolled with his father with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on January 11, 1930 (BIA Application # 10299) and his mother had filled out a separate BIA enrollment (Application # 10675). His father had identified his mother and Ernest’s mother as “Ohlones” on his BIA Application.
Ernest Marine enlisted on April 13, 1944 at the Monterey Presidio and he served in Europe in the **58th Field Artillery Battalion** and Tank Battalion in the **76th Division** and fought in the **Rhineland** (September 15, 1944 – March 21, 1945), **Ardennes-Alsace (Battle of the Bulge, Bastogne, Belgium, December 16, 1944 – January 25, 1945)** and **Central Europe Campaigns** (March 22, 1945 – May 11, 1945). Ernest enrolled with his father Lucas Marine during the second **BIA enrollment period** on December 23, 1950. Ernest Marine was honorably discharged at Camp Beale on June 15, 1946. After the war he spent most of his life living with his aunt Trina Thompson Ruano in Newark and he passed away on October 20, 1977 in Sacramento.

**Filbert S. Marine, U.S. Army, Pacific Theater.** Filbert was the last child born on the Alisal Rancheria on December 31, 1915. Both of his parents Dario Marine and Catherine Peralta were **Muwekma Ohlone Indians**. His godparents were also Muwekma Ohlone Indians Franklin Guzman who served in the Marine Corps during WWI and Francisca Guzman. Filbert and his siblings were enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on their father’s BIA **Application # 10677** on March 11, 1932.

Filbert enlisted in the Army on February 18, 1942 at the Presidio of Monterey. He fought in the Pacific Theater. His enlistment record identifies him as “**American Indian, citizen.**” He died in Sacramento on March 31, 1953.

**Lawrence Domingo Marine, Staff Sergeant, U.S. Marine Corps** (Serial # 299599). Domingo was the younger brother of Filbert Marine and he was born on May 4, 1919 in Centerville. He was one of the last Muwekma Ohlone Indians to be baptized at Mission San Jose. He was enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on his father’s BIA **Application # 10677** on March 11, 1932. He was also sent to **Indian Boarding School at Sherman Institute**, Riverside, California in 1931 and graduated from there in 1939. He also met his future wife Pansy Potts from the Maidu Tribe while attending Sherman Institute.

After leaving Sherman Institute, Domingo returned to the Bay Area and enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps in January 1940 in San Francisco. He was later assigned to the 2**nd** Marine Brigade and on August 2, 1942, Lawrence was promoted to a Line Sergeant. According to his son, Lawrence Marine, Jr., he was in the **1st Marine Division** as a “**Para-Marine**” or **Marine paratrooper**. Although his military records are not clear he was possibly assigned to the **1st Marine Parachute Regiment, 3rd Marine Parachute Battalion** which was formed in early 1941 near San Diego). Although the Para-Marines were never dropped by parachute into combat, they were utilized during beach raids in the Pacific Theater, including on August 7, 1942 on **Guadalcanal** and by amphibious landing craft on the island of Gavutu 20 miles to the north.

Domingo was later assigned to anti-aircraft batteries and was engaged in the following major battles, engagements, and ports from January 2, 1942 – November 8, 1945: **Hawaiian Islands Area, American Samoan Islands, Wellington, New Zealand, Guadalcanal, B.S.I (British Solomon Islands, New Georgia), Eniwetok, Marshall Islands, Ulithi, Caroline Islands, Okinawa, and Ryukyu** (southern Japanese Islands). The **Battle of Eniwetok** was a battle of the Pacific campaign of World War II, fought February 17, 1944 - February 23, 1944 on Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The invasion of Eniwetok followed the American
success in the battle of Kwajalein to the southeast. Capture of Eniwetok would provide an airfield and harbor to support attacks on the Mariana Islands to the northwest. **Battle of Okinawa** was the largest amphibious invasion of the Pacific campaign and the last major campaign of the Pacific War. More ships were used, more troops put ashore, more supplies transported, more bombs dropped, more naval guns fired against shore targets than any other operation in the Pacific. The fleet had lost 763 aircraft. Casualties totaled more than 38,000 Americans wounded and 12,000 [including nearly 5,000 Navy dead and almost 8,000 Marine and Army dead, killed or missing], more than 107,000 Japanese and Okinawan conscripts killed, and perhaps 100,000 Okinawan civilians who perished in the battle.

Lawrence Marine was honorable discharged at Treasure Island on November 20, 1946 after having an extended two year reenlistment. He received the Presidential Unit Citation, Good Conduct Medal, and Good Conduct Medal Bar No. (1), Honorable Discharge Button, Honorable Service Button. Lawrence Domingo Marine enrolled during the second BIA enrollment period on October 12, 1950. Domingo died on May 21, 1988 and was buried in Woodland, California.

**Henry Vernon Marshall, Sergeant, U.S. Marine Corps** was born in Newark on June 27, 1925. He was the son of Muwekma Ohlone Indian Henry Marshall, Sr. who was the son of Magdalena Armija Marshall Thompson. Henry Marshall, Jr. was a member of the Verona band of Alameda County. His grandmother, Magdalena enrolled her children with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on October 7, 1930 (BIA Application # 10296). Henry Marshall, Jr. enlisted in the United States Marine Corps and was assigned to the 1st Marine Division (Guadalcanal). He fought in the Pacific Theater of Operations and was issued the Navy Presidential Unit Citation with one Bronze Star, American Campaign Medal, Asiatic Pacific Campaign Medal, Rifle Sharpshooter Badge, and a three tiered Weapons (?) qualifying badge. His father enrolled the family during the third BIA enrollment period on May 7, 1969 as part of the California Indian Claims Judgment. Henry passed away on September 24, 1986.

**Arthur M. Pena, Sergeant, U.S. Army, Company A, 155th Engineers Combat Battalion, Pacific Theater.** Arthur was born in Crockett, California on September 4, 1924. His mother was Erolinda Santos (Juarez/Saunders) Pena Corral who was a member of the Muwekma Ohlone Verona Band Indian Community. Arthur was enrolled along with his mother and siblings with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on his great-aunt Maggie Pinos Juarez’s BIA Application # 10676 on March 18, 1932.

Arthur Pena enlisted on April 13, 1943 at the San Francisco Presidio and served in the unattached 155th Engineering Combat Battalion in the Pacific Theater. He served in the Southern Philippines and Western Pacific Campaigns (Leyte October 17, 1944 – July 1, 1945 and Western Pacific June 15, 1944 – September 2, 1945) and his battalion was sent to Guadalcanal (August 12 – August 24, 1944). From Guadalcanal, the battalion went on to Palau, Ulithi, New Caledonia (February 20, 1945), Southern Philippines (May 16, 1945) and Japan (September 8, 1944 – September 25, 1945). Arthur Pena was honorably discharged at Camp Beale, Marysville, California on February 2, 1946 and he was issued the Philippines Liberation Ribbon, Asiatic Pacific Campaign Medal, American Campaign Medal, Good Conduct Medal and World War II Victory Medal.
Arthur reenlisted on August 7, 1946 and served in Germany in Company C 793rd Military Police Battalion and he also went through the European Command Intelligence School. He was honorably discharged on March 25, 1955 and then reenlisted again on March 26, 1955. After serving another two years, Arthur was discharged at Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri on December 9, 1957. Arthur was also issued the UN Service Medal, National Defense Service Medal, and Army of Occupation Germany Medal. On December 27, 1957, he enrolled his family with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the second enrollment period.

Robert P. Corral, U.S. Army, Pfc. Infantry, Head Quarters Regiment, Ft. Benning, GA. Robert was born in Crockett, California on June 1, 1926 and was the younger brother of Arthur Pena. His mother was Erolinda Santos (Juarez/Saunders) Pena Corral who was a member of the Muwekma Ohlone Verona Band Indian Community. Robert was enrolled along with his mother and siblings with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on his great-aunt Maggie Pinos Juarez’s BIA Application # 10676 on March 18, 1932.

Robert enlisted at the San Francisco Presidio on December 18, 1944 and was honorably discharged on November 13, 1946. At Fort Benning, Georgia Robert completed six parachute jumps and was awarded a Parachutist Badge, World War II Victory Medal, Good Conduct Medal, and American Campaign Medal. On May 16, 1955 Robert enrolled himself and his family during the second BIA enrollment period. During the third BIA enrollment period on April 30, 1969, Robert enrolled his family as “Ohlone Indians” with the BIA as part of the California Indian Claims Judgment (Application # 21123). During the 1990s Robert P. Corral served as a Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Elder and he passed away on June 28, 1996 in Stockton.

Enos Marine Sanchez, Pfc. U.S. Army, 89th Division, 1st Battalion, Co. M, 354th Infantry Regiment, (39 390 899). Enos Sanchez was born on February 1, 1910 near the Alisal Rancheria in Sunol and his birth certificate identified him as “California Indian”. Enos and his younger siblings were enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on March 18, 1932 (BIA Application # 10680). His mother was Ramona Marine who was a member of the Verona Band of Alameda County.

Enos enlisted on June 29, 1942 in Sacramento and was shipped to Camp Carson, Colorado Springs and later that year served in Greenland and Iceland. The 89th Division was called the “Rolling W” standing for MW (Middle West). After landing at Le Havre, France, the 89th received orders to move into Mersch, Luxembourg (March 8, 1945). The 89th was assigned to the XII Corps of General Patton’s Third Army. Crossing into Germany the 89th met the German 2nd Panzer Division and seven Volksgrenadier Divisions and by March 26, 1945, the 89th crossed the Rhine River. Enos’ MOS was a Heavy Machine Gunner (605). On April 4, 1945, the 89th was involved in the liberation of the Ohrdruf Death Camp, which was part of the Buchenwald concentration camp network. Enos’ unit fought in the Rhineland and Central Europe (GO WO WD 45) Campaigns and he was awarded the Combat Infantry Badge (31), Good Conduct Medal, American Campaign Medal, European, African, Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, World War II Victory Medal (TWX WD 23 Oct 45), and Marksman M1 Rifle Sep 42 (55). Enos was honorably discharged on November 15, 1945 and separated from Camp Beale, California.
In 1965 Enos was identified along with his family and fellow Tribal members by the American Indian Historical Society on a list of “Ohlone Contacts and Ohlone Members”. He died on July 19, 1995 at the age of 85 and was buried at the Calvary Cemetery in San Jose California.

Robert R. Sanchez, U.S. Army, Technician Fourth Grade, 7th Co. 508th Prcht. Infantry, 82nd Airborne Division. Robert Sanchez was the younger brother of Enos Sanchez and he was born in Sunol near the Alisal Rancheria on March 26, 1917. Robert and his siblings were enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on March 18, 1932 (BIA Application # 10680).

Robert enlisted in October 1942 and he volunteered to join the 82nd Airborne Division, 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment. On June 5-6, 1944, the paratroopers of the 82nd’s three parachute infantry regiments and reinforced glider infantry regiment boarded hundreds of transport planes and gliders and, began the largest airborne assault in history. They were among the first soldiers to fight in Normandy, France. The Division air-assaulted behind Utah Beach, Normandy, France, between Sainte-Mere-Eglise and Carentan on June 6, 1944, being reinforced by the 325th Glider Regiment the next day. The 82nd Airborne Division was reinforced by both the attached 507th PIR and the 508th PIR.

The 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment (a.k.a. the Red Devils) whose battle cry was “Diablo!” was originally an organic part of the 2nd (Battalion) Airborne Infantry Brigade that was attached to the 82nd Airborne Division through most of its time in combat. Campaigns include Normandy (D-Day June 6, 1944), Rhineland, Ardennes-Alsace (France), and Central Europe (Nijmegen-Arnhem Holland, and Belgium). By July 1945, the 82nd Airborne was moved to Berlin to occupy the American Sector. The 508th, which had fought along side the 82nd since Normandy, was sent to occupy Frankfort, Germany. For his service in the 508th PIR, Robert Sanchez was issued the Distinguished (Presidential) Unit Citation, Combat Infantry Badge, Parachute Badge, European Africa and Middle Eastern Campaign Medal, World War II Victory Medal, Army of Occupation Medal (Berlin), Belgian Citation (Lanyard) and French Citation (Lanyard).

The 82nd Airborne Division and the 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment were issued the Distinguished (Presidential) Unit Citations for actions during the Normandy Campaign. "The 508th Parachute Infantry is cited for outstanding performance of duty in action against the enemy between 6 and 9 of June 1944, during the invasion of France. … The courage and devotion to duty shown by members of the 508th Parachute Infantry are worthy of emulation and reflect the highest traditions of the Army of the United States. The Netherlands Citation was issued by the Dutch Government to the 82nd Airborne and its attached divisions (508th PIR) on October 8, 1945 for airborne operations and combat actions in the central part of the Netherlands (Nijmegen) during the period from September 17, 1944 to October 4, 1944. The 82nd Airborne Division became the first non-Dutch military unit to be awarded the Militarie Willems Orde, Degree of Knight Fourth Class to wear the Orange Lanyard of the Royal Netherlands Army.

The Belgian Citation (Lanyard) was issued by the Belgian Government to the 82nd Airborne Division with the 508th Parachute Infantry attached “has distinguished itself particularly in the Battle of the Ardennes” from December 17, 1944 – December 31, 1944.
The **French Citation** (Lanyard) was issued to the 508th Parachute Infantry by the Government of France. “The President of the Provisional Government of the French Republic Cites to the Order of the Army: 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment: A magnificent unit, reputed for the heroism and spirit of sacrifice of its combatants and which made proof of the greatest military qualities during the battle of Normandy” (June 6, 1944 – June 20, 1944). This citation includes the award of the *Croix de Guerre with Palm*.

O. B. Hill from the 508th P.I.R. Association, 82nd Airborne Division wrote: “2,056 men of the 508th Parachute Infantry Regiment (attached to the 82nd Airborne) jumped into Normandy on D-Day, and on July 15, 1,918 returned. The rest had been killed, captured or wounded”. Robert was honorably discharged on February 2, 1948 and spent most his life in the greater Bay Area. Robert Sanchez was one of the early prime movers and active Elders in the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. He passed away on April 26, 1999.

**Daniel G. Santos (Juarez), Technical Sergeant, U.S. Army, 41st Division** – 1941-1945. Daniel Santos (Saunders/Juarez) was born in Sunol near the Alisal Rancheria on January 21, 1917. Both his parents Joseph Saunders and Erolinda Santos were members of the **Verona Band of Alameda County**. Daniel was enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs along with his mother and siblings under his great-aunts’ **BIA Application (# 10676)** on March 18, 1932.

**Daniel Juarez (Santos)** received a draft notice dated **March 14, 1941**, from Local Board No. 36 located in Manteca, California. It was addressed to Mr. Dan George Juarez, Route, Box 29A, Tracy, California. The letter stated:

> We received a call for 70 men to be inducted from this area on March 27th 1941. … it is probable that you will be included in the group, and we are therefore taking this opportunity of notifying you, before (?) official order is issued, so that you may make your plans accordingly.

Daniel enlisted on March 27, 1941 at Sacramento before the war was declared. The **Jungleer or Sunset Division** was Federalized on September 16, 1940. By December 7, 1941, the 41st Division was ready. It continued the series of "firsts" by being the first United States Division to deploy to the South Pacific. It became the first American Division sent overseas after Pearl Harbor, the first American Division trained in Jungle Warfare. It spent 45 months overseas (longer than any other Division), and earned the title of "**Jungleers**". The 41st Division left for Australia in March of 1942. Elements of the division landed January 23, 1943 in **Dobodura, New Guinea**. On the **Island of Biak** (May 27, 1944) the American Forces fought the first tank battle of the war against the Japanese destroying seven without loss. The division also fought in the Philippines (January 9, 1945) and fought on **Palawan** and **Sulu Archipelago** (March 10, 1945) and arrived in **Japan** on October 6, 1945. They participated in 3 campaigns (**New Guinea, Luzon, and Southern Philippines**) and suffered 4,260 casualties.

Former Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger also served in the 41st Division as an officer. The 41st Division earned three **Distinguished (Presidential) Unit Citations**. Daniel Santos was honorably discharged in 1945.
Daniel enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the second BIA enrollment period on May 23, 1955. He also worked at Leslie Salt Company in Newark and spent his life working on and racing cars. Daniel passed away on April 28, 1980.

**Lawrence Thompson, Sr., Tech. Fifth Grade U.S. Army, 640th Tank Destroyer Battalion.** Lorenzo Thompson, Sr. was born in Newark September 9, 1918. His mother Magdalena Armija Thompson was a member of the Verona Band of Alameda County. Lawrence and his siblings enrolled with their mother with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on October 7, 1930.

The 640th Tank Destroyer Battalion was formed at Camp San Luis Obispo on December 19, 1941 as an element of the 40th Infantry Division, and served in the Pacific Theater of Operation. The 640th was activated on March 3, 1941 from National Guard Divisions from California and Utah and was sent overseas on August 23, 1942. The 640th Campaigns included: Bismarck Archipelago, Southern Philippines, and Luzon and were issued 3 Distinguished Unit Citations; Awards: MH-1; DSC-12; DSM-1; SS-245; LM-21; SM-30; BSM-1,036; AM-57.

Lawrence Thompson enlisted at the age of 23 on September 10, 1941 at the San Francisco Presidio. At that time he was living at 2370 Pine St. in San Francisco. His MOS was Cannons S45 and he fought in the following campaigns: Aleutian Islands [Attu and Kiska Island with the 7th Infantry Division], Luzon and Southern Philippines and Eastern Mandates [Marshall Islands, Kwajalein, Eniwetok].

Initially deployed to Hawaii in September 1942, the 640th Tank Destroyer Battalion participated in combat landings at Guadalcanal (February 5, 1944), Cape Gloucester, New Britain (May 3, 1944), Lingayen Gulf, Luzon, Commonwealth of the Philippines (January 9, 1945), and Los Negros Islands (March 29, 1945). The 640th Tank Destroyer Campaign Honors include: Bismarck Archipelago [islands of New Guinea] (December 15, 1943 – November 27, 1944), and Luzon and Southern Philippines [GO 33 WD 45] (December 15, 1944 – July 4, 1945). “Seek, Strike, and Destroy” was the motto of the Tank Destroyers.

Lawrence Thompson was honorably discharged on October 2, 1945 at Camp Beale, Marysville, California and was issued the American Defense Service Medal, Asiatic Pacific Campaign Medal and Philippine Liberation Ribbon with Bronze Star.

After the war Lawrence Thompson, Sr. and his son Lawrence Thompson, Jr. enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the third BIA enrollment period on June 24, 1969. Later during the early 1990s Lawrence, Sr. served on the Muwekma Tribal Council. He passed away in November 1999. (Figures 9-16 and 9-17)
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe WWII Veterans 1941 - 1945

Lawrence Domingo

Ernest Marine
Pfc. U.S. Army, 58th Field Artillery Battalion, 1944-1946, WWII

Daniel Santos Juarez (center)
Sergeant, U.S. Army, 41st Division, WWII 1944

Lawrence Thompson, Sr. (photo taken in 1997, 79 years old)
Tech. Fifth Grade, U.S. Army, 640th Tank Destroyer Battalion, Pacific Theater 1941-1945, WWII

Hank A. Alvarez
U.S. Army, 101st Airborne Division 1942-1945, WWII

Michael Benjamin Galvan (right)
U.S. Navy And Army WWII

Figure 9-16: Muwekma Men Who Served During World War II
Post-World War II to the 1960s

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, became a member of the Bay Area California Indian Council which represented the contractual interests for over one thousand 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.
After 1950, those surviving Muwekma and other California Indians were issued checks for the sum of $150.00 per person as compensation for the value (with interest going back to 1852) for the 8.5 million acres of land and promised services that they never received. Deducted from the final lump sum was the cost of every military operation, Indian services and bullets spent so that the settlement would not be a burden to the American taxpayer.

Community and tribal related activities fell under the leadership of Muwekma Elder, Margarita (Maggie) Pinos Juarez, and Dolores Marine Galvan and her brothers Dario Marine and Lucas Marine and her younger sister, Trina Marine Thompson Ruano (Ernest Thompson, Sr., had married Trina after the death of his first wife, Magdalena Armija Thompson). These tribal activities and revitalization were also spurred by communications with the BIA Sacramento Agency, which notified the Muwekma lineages of the expanded enrollment opportunities under the California Indian Jurisdictional Act for children born after May 28, 1928. Families contacted and helped each other go to Sacramento to enroll their children, nieces and nephews. After the California Indian Roll was approved on November 23, 1951, the Sacramento Area Office published a list of enrollees that identified forty Muwekmas as "Tribe Mission San Jose" (BIA list 1951).

Also, during this period of time (from 1930s and 1950s), some of the families moved about seeking new employment opportunities and residential stability. The residence of Lucas Marine and Catherine Peralta (before her passing in 1934) on the Shinn Ranch in Niles became an important gathering place for the families and relations (see Harrington notes 1921-1934 regarding events between Liberato and Pedro Confessor prior to the turn of the century). Other important households were the residences of Dolores Marine Galvan in Brentwood and San Jose, Dario Marine in Centerville and later Woodland, and Margarita Pinos Juarez and Trina Marine Thompson Ruano in Newark where the families would gather for various occasions.

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 1960’s 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 of time 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 9-18 – Ohlone Cemetery**). As mentioned above, 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 Family History 1965; Leventhal, Escobar, Alvarez, Lameira, Sanchez, Sanchez, Sanchez and Thompson 1995).

**Figure 9-18: Lillian Massiatt, Ramona and Michael Galvan at Ohlone Cemetery (1966)**

**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.
Since World War II, Dolores Marine's children have married and raised families and presently Henry Alvarez and Dolores "Dotty" Galvan Lameira are Muwekma Tribal Elders and have served as elected council members. Dotty Lameira’s son Arnold Sanchez had served as an elected tribal councilman. The family of Benjamin and Jenny Galvan are also enrolled in the Tribe and their son, Albert Galvan, had also served as a tribal council member. The same is the case for the children and grandchildren of Victoria Marine (1928 BIA Application # 10678) and Ramona Marine's children (1928 BIA Application # 10680). Magdalena Armija had married Ernest Thompson, Sr. and their sons Edward Thompson and Lawrence Thompson, Sr. were elders, and Lawrence was a former elected tribal councilman of the tribe (1928 BIA Application # 10296).

The children of Ernest Thompson, Jr. are also enrolled tribal members. As discussed earlier, Francisca Nonessi (1928 BIA Application 10293) was married to Jose Guzman, their son Jack Guzman (Sr.) had married Flora Freda Munoz (Victoria Marine's daughter), and their son John Guzman, Jr. (now deceased) and daughter, Rena Guzman Cerda and their respective children are Muwekma tribal members.

In the late 1890s, George Santos (grandson of Hipolito Santos and Refugia Simon who were one of the founding families of the Niles rancheria) had married Peregrina Pinos (who was the daughter of Benedicta Guerrera and Manuel Pinos). Their eldest daughter, Erolinda Pinos Corral, enrolled with the BIA with her children along with her aunt, Maggie Pinos Juarez, in 1932 (1928 BIA Application 10676). The children and grandchildren Alfonso Juarez, who was the eldest son of Erolinda Santos Juarez Pena Corral are enrolled members of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. Presently Carol Juarez Sullivan is a Muwekma tribal councilwoman (Figure 9-19).

![Figure 9-19: Muwekma Elders Maggie Juarez and Erolinda Santos Juarez Corral](image-url)
Muwekma Families Enroll with the BIA 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:


Third BIA Enrollment 1968-1971

Following the Act of 1964, between 1969 and 1971, the following Muwekma “heads of households” and their families once again enroll 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”:

Madeline Cynthia Thompson Perez, March 27, 1969, “Mission Indians.”
Karl Thompson, March 27, 1969, “Mission Indians.”
Glenn Thompson, June 11, 1969, “Mission Indian.”
Lorenzo Thompson, June 24, 1969, “Costanoan.”
Lawrence Thompson, Jr., June 24, 1969, “Costanoan.”
Dolores Sanchez Martinez, August 11, 1969, “Ohlone.”
Joan Guzman, August 26, 1969, “Ohlone Indian.”
Beatrice Marine, January 5, 1971, “Costanoan.”
The efforts of California Indians to sue the federal government under the Jurisdictional Act of 1928 resulted in the creation of the Federal Indian Claims Commission in 1946. This federal body allowed Indian groups to press for compensation to tribes over the theft of their lands in the 19th century. After 20 years of tortuous maneuvering all separate California Indian claims were consolidated into a single case.

A compromise settlement of $29,100,000 was offered for 64,425,000 acres of land. 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 was issued by 1972 (Figure 9-20). What is of great significance here is the fact that the entire claims activities were conducted outside of normal court proceedings protected by the constitution. Thus Indians are the only class of citizens in the United States who are denied constitutional protection of their lands.

![Image: Distribution Check for Muwekma Elder Beatrice Marine for $668.51 (1972)]

Figure 9-20: Distribution Check for Muwekma Elder Beatrice Marine for $668.51 (1972)

Muwekma Service in the U.S. Armed Forces 1950s, Viet Nam War to the Iraq Campaign

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

Candelario T. Martinez served in the United States Marine Corps during the Korean War.

Lawrence Mason Marine served in the United States Marine Corps from 1959-1965 and was a Staff Sergeant serving in Viet-Nam, 3rd Marine Division, 3rd Tank Battalion, and 3rd Force Reconnaissance, Charlie Company (Viet-Nam) from 1960-1961. Lawrence also served on the Muwekma Tribal Council.

Marvin Lee Marine (younger brother of Lawrence Mason Marine) also served in the Viet-Nam War in the U.S. Army’s 173rd Airborne Division. Muwekma Elder Lawrence Mason Marine and his family are enrolled members of the Muwekma Tribe.


Rick Martinez, Vietnam


Thomas Joseph Marshall (U.S. Army Vietnam Era) [deceased]


Paul Guzman (Service Records n/a)


9-85
In the 1990s, Michael Galvan, son of Benjamin and Jenny Galvan, and Thomas Alvarez, Jr. both served in Desert Storm. Presently, Jesse Calles, the grandson of Muwekma Elder Faye Thompson Frei is serving in the U.S. Army in Iraq since December 2005 in the Headquarters and Headquarters Battery Fires Brigade 41D Division (Mechanized), Awarded the Army Commendation Medal 2006. 2004 – Present. Jesse served in Baghdad, Iraq since December 2005.


JayP Massiet, Jr. U.S. Army, Second Tour in Iraq; issued a Purple Heart.

Muwekma Tribal Stewardship over their Ancestral Heritage and Culture Sites

Since 1980 to the present, the Muwekma families have worked independently to establish the "Most Likely Descendant" (MLD) status of members of the Muwekma Tribe in their area with the Native American Heritage Commission of the State of California. Also in 1984 the Muwekma developed their own Cultural Resource Management firm, Ohlone Families Consulting Services (OFCS), which has been recognized since 1986 by the Department of the Interior as a Native American business under the Buy Indian Act.

Since the establishment of OFCS many of the Muwekmas, as well as Amah-Mutsun and Esselen Nation tribal members, and Pomo, Sioux, Yokuts, Miwok, Wiyot and other tribal people have gone through archaeological training and obtained employment as field crew on various archaeological projects. OFCS has sought alternatives for indigenous people who are concerned about their ancestral past. Under these circumstances, the aboriginal tribal people have taken greater responsibility for their ancestral heritage by becoming fully engaged in the environmental and ensuing scientific processes that affect their ancestral sites as in the case of the burial recovery project conducted at such as the Clareño Muwékma Ya Túnešte Nómmo [Where the Clareño Indians are Buried] Site (CA-SCL-30/H) and the Tupiun Táareštak Place of the Fox Man Site (CA-SCL-894).

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and its Reaffirmation as a Federally Recognized Tribe

In 1989 the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe began the arduous process of petitioning the U.S. Government regarding its status clarification as a Federally Recognized tribe under 25 C.F.R. 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, 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.

9-86
On May 24, 1996, the United States Department of the Interior, Deborah Maddox, Director of the Office of Tribal Services for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 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, D.C.).

In 2000 – U.S. 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 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% 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.

On June 30, 2005, Congressman Richard Pombo, the ranking Republican Chair of the House Resources Committee wrote to Secretary of Interior Gail Norton supporting a settlement of the Muwekma lawsuit against Interior:

Dear Secretary Norton:

As part of my Committee's oversight of the procedures for federal recognition of Indian Tribes, I have heard testimony in a hearing earlier this year of the protracted litigation concerning the recognition of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. The Tribe informs me that the Department of the Interior has determined that Muwekma is a previously recognized tribe, federally recognized until 1927, also
that no formal action by the Department and no Act of Congress removed it from recognition and that 99% of the members of the current tribe are direct descendants of the members of the recognized tribe.

The Muwekma Tribe raises the issue that, in a very similar situation, the Department reaffirmed the federally-recognized status of the Lower Lake Koi Tribe and the Ione Band of Miwok in California by a letter signed by the then Assistant Secretary of the Interior restoring them to recognized status without making them go through formal recognition procedures.

I understand that in December of 2003 the Tribe explored with the Department a possible settlement, including a rehearing that might lead to reaffirmation of the Tribe, or, according to the Tribe, at the suggestion of a Department attorney, the organization of the half-blood members of the Tribe as a new Tribe under the Indian Reorganization Act.

Despite numerous calls and letters from the Tribe, I understand these efforts at settlement have been largely ignored. I urge you to bring to resolution this dispute with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe if possible. My concerns stem from the fact that in continuing this litigation, only unnecessary time and expense will result and some settlement along the lines your Department has already considered may be the best result.

Therefore, I would suggest, if possible, that the Department meet with the Tribe to pursue settlement opportunities. …

After the Office of Federal Acknowledgement “declined” to extend, and therefore reaffirm the Tribe’s Federally Acknowledged status on September 6, 2002, the Muwekma Tribe had to pursue its second lawsuit against the Department of the Interior.

**Muwekma Tribe’s Recent Litigation Against the Department of Interior**


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) …

The Recent Litigation

Muwekma brought this action on June 6, 2003, seeking reversal of the Final Determination, placement on the Department’s list of federally recognized tribes, and other injunctive relief. ... On July 13, 2005, Muwekma moved for summary judgment, alleging, inter alia, that the Department violated the APA and the Equal Protection Clause when it required Muwekma to petition for acknowledgment of its tribal status pursuant to the “lengthy and thorough” regulatory procedures of Part 83, …, despite administratively reaffirming the status of similarly situated tribes without requiring those tribes to undertake the Part 83 process and without sufficient explanation for the disparate treatment. ... Specifically, Muwekma contends that “[t]he Department returned Lower Lake and Ione to the list of recognized tribes outside of the [Part 83] procedures [while] requir[ing] Muwekma to complete the Part 83 process and then, applying a greater evidentiary burden, denied Muwekma recognition despite [its] significantly stronger case for recognition” … (pages 10-11).

If the Department were compelled to require tribes seeking federal recognition to complete petitions under Part 83—that is, if it had no discretion to exempt certain tribes from the Part 83 procedures—then its argument that “federal acknowledgment regulations specifically take into account demonstrations of previous acknowledgment,” … Here, however, the Secretary of the Interior is expressly empowered to “waive or make exceptions to [the Department’s regulations] in all cases where permitted by law,” if the Secretary makes a finding that “such waiver or exception is in the best interest of the Indians.” 25 C.F.R. § 1.2; ... Thus, if the Department is “permitted by law” to waive or except the Part 83 tribal acknowledgment procedures when it is “in the best interest of the Indians,” 25 C.F.R. § 1.2, and if it appears that it has waived the acknowledgment procedures in other, ostensibly similar instances, then it is incumbent upon the Department to explain to Muwekma “why it has exercised its discretion in a given manner” in this instance, State Farm, 463 U.S. at 48-49. ... This it has not done. (pages 18-20) …

In addition, the Department’s representation to Muwekma that it lacked the authority to confer federal recognition on the tribe outside of the Part 83 acknowledgment process, see Answer at 23 (admitting that “[n]otwithstanding the Department actions to the contrary with respect to the Ione Band and Lower Lake, [Department] staff repeatedly advised [Muwekma] that the Assistant Secretary [of Indian Affairs] lacked authority to administratively reaffirm tribal status”), appears from the Department’s own admission to be patently false, ... (footnote 12, page 21) …
Upon remand, the Department must provide a detailed explanation of the reasons for its refusal to waive the Part 83 procedures when evaluating Muwekma’s request for federal tribal recognition, particularly in light of its willingness to “clarify the status of [Ione] . . . [and] reaffirm the status of [Lower Lake] without requiring [them] to submit . . . petition[s] under . . . Part 83.” … At issue for the purpose of this remand is not whether the Department correctly evaluated Muwekma’s completed petition under the Part 83 criteria, but whether it had a sufficient basis to require Muwekma to proceed under the heightened evidentiary burden of the Part 83 procedures in the first place, given Muwekma’s alleged similarity to Ione and Lower Lake. In addition, the Department shall express its position regarding whether it is permitted, under 25 C.F.R. § 1.2 or otherwise, to waive or make exceptions to the Part 83 acknowledgment procedures, and whether this waiver or exception imposes a lesser evidentiary burden on petitioning tribes than the completion of a Part 83 petition (pages 31-32).

IV. Conclusion

When an agency provides a statement of reasons insufficient to permit a court to discern its rationale, or states no reasons at all, the usual remedy is a ‘remand to the agency for additional investigation and explanation.” ... Here, the Court is unable to discern the Department’s rationale for requiring Muwekma to proceed through the Part 83 tribal acknowledgment procedures while allowing other tribes that appear to be similarly situated to bypass the procedures altogether, an issue which is dispositive of Muwekma’s Equal Protection Act and APA claims. Accordingly, it will remand this matter to the Department for the limited purpose of supplementing the administrative record in a manner consistent with this Opinion. During this time, the case shall be administratively closed. The Court shall retain jurisdiction over this matter and shall require the Department to complete its evaluation and submit a supplement to the administrative record by November 27, 2006. In light of the Department’s past delays, and given the narrow purpose for which this matter is being remanded, the Court will look extremely skeptically on motions for extensions of time … (page 32).

On September 30, 2008 the US District Court in Washington, D.C. handed the Muwekma Tribe another victory. Judge Reginald B. Walton opined:

These arguments, and the explanation from the Department giving rise to them, seemingly cannot be reconciled with the Court’s September 21, 2006, memorandum opinion. In that opinion, the Court noted that the defendants opposed the plaintiff’s initial motion for summary judgment on three grounds, two of which concerned whether the plaintiff was similarly situated to Ione and Lower Lake for purposes of the plaintiff’s constitutional and APA arguments. Specifically, “the defendants argue[d] that the Department ha[d] not treated like cases differently because by their very nature, federal acknowledgment decisions require highly fact-specific determinations,” and “claim[ed] that [the plaintiff] was not treated differently than similarly situated petitioners because
groups demonstrating or alleging characteristics similar to [the plaintiff] are regularly required to proceed through the federal acknowledgment process.

**The Court rejected both of these arguments.** It dismissed the defendants’ “hand-waving reference to ‘highly fact-specific determinations,’” which, in the Court’s estimation, “[did] not free the defendants” of their obligation to justify the decision to treat the plaintiff differently from Ione and Lower Lake based on the administrative record for the plaintiff’s petition. Further, the Court found the argument “that groups such as [the plaintiff] have been regularly and repeatedly required to submit Part 83 petitions” insufficient “to refute [the plaintiff’s] claim that the Department has treated it differently from similarly situated tribal petitioners without sufficient justification.

The Court further noted in a footnote that the defendants “obliquely” provided a “basis for distinguishing [the plaintiff] and Lower Lake in their reply to [the plaintiff’s] opposition to their cross-motion for summary judgment,” but also found this argument wanting. Specifically, the Court explained that:

First, and most obviously, [the defendants’ argument] pertain[ed] only to a difference between [the plaintiff] and one of the tribes with whom it [was] claiming to be similarly situated. **The defendants [did] not assert any “highly fact-specific determination[ ]”** that would explain why [the plaintiff] is not similarly situated to Ione in such a way as to require a reasoned explanation of the Department’s disparate actions. Second, the Department [did] not contend, here or in the administrative record, that it required [the plaintiff] and not Lower Lake to undergo the Part 83 procedure because the latter, unlike the former, had received land in trust and had participated in an election.

**Having rejected all of the defendants’ arguments on the issue of similarity of circumstances,** the Court proceeded to find that “**the Department . . . ha[dl] never provided a clear and coherent explanation for its disparate treatment of [the plaintiff] when compared with Ione and Lower Lake,”** nor had it ever “articulated the standards that guided its decision to require [the plaintiff] to submit a petition and documentation under Part 83 while allowing other tribes to bypass the formal tribal recognition procedure altogether.” Because there was “virtually nothing” in the administrative record that would “allow the Court to determine whether [the Department’s] judgment . . . reflect[ed] reasoned decisionmaking,” the Court concluded that it was “necessary to remand [the] case to allow the Department to supplement the administrative record in this regard.

In other words, the Court determined in its prior memorandum opinion that the defendants’ arguments to the effect that the plaintiff was not similarly situated to Ione and Lower Lake were without merit, and remanded the case to the Department so that the Department could explain why it treated the plaintiff differently than other, similarly situated tribes. The necessary implication of both conclusions is that the Court found the plaintiff to be similarly situated to Ione and Lower Lake.
… Here, the Department’s explanation and the defendants’ arguments in defense of that explanation and in support of summary judgment in their favor would appear to run afoul of the law of the case established in this Court’s prior memorandum opinion. The Court concluded, implicitly if not explicitly, that the plaintiff is similarly situated to Ione and Lower Lake, and remanded the case to the Department for the sole purpose of ascertaining a reason as to why the plaintiff was treated differently. Yet, the defendants do not even acknowledge that their arguments are inconsistent with the law-of-the-case, let alone provide a “compelling reason to depart” from it.

The defendants’ insouciance regarding the law-of-the-case is particularly troubling because they appear to rely at least in part on administrative records for Ione and Lower Lake that were not considered when the Department initially considered the plaintiff’s petition for recognition. This tactic harkens back to the defendants’ reply memorandum in support of their initial cross-motion for summary judgment, where they argued “that because the full body of administrative records regarding Ione and Lower Lake [was] not before the Court, [the plaintiff] [could not] establish a violation of the Equal Protection Clause or the APA simply by alleging that it ha[d] been treated differently than those tribes.

**The Court rejected that argument**, explaining that “[w]hat matter[ed] . . . [was] whether the Department sufficiently justified in the administrative record for [the plaintiff’s] tribal petition its decision to treat [the plaintiff] differently from Ione and Lower Lake.

The Court remanded this case to the Department so it could explain why it treated similarly situated tribes differently, not so that it could construct post-hoc arguments as to whether the tribes were similarly situated in the first place. **It certainly did not remand the case so that the Department could re-open the record, weigh facts that it had never previously considered, and arrive at a conclusion vis-à-vis the similarity of the plaintiff’s situation to those of Ione and Lower Lake that it had never reached before. The Court would therefore be well within its discretion to reject the defendants’ arguments outright, grant the plaintiff summary judgment with respect to its equal protection claim, and bring this case to a close.** [Emphasis added]

Based upon the failure of the BIA and Justice Department to respond to the Judge Walton’s Court Order, the Tribe is now waiting for this Court to remand a final order back to the Department of Interior to have Muwekma restored and placed back onto the list of Federally Recognized Tribes once again. When this is accomplished this year, it will be 104 years after the Tribe first obtained its Federally Recognized status in 1906 and will once again be eligible for funding, services and finally a land base that will help the ensuing generations of Muwekma children to maintain their rich Indian identity and heritage, as well as establishing equal standing with the other Acknowledged tribes in the United States.
Historical Markers and Public Art Honoring the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe in Downtown San Jose, California by the Holiday Inn Site (CA-SCL-128) [9-21 – 9-22]

Figure 9-21: History Walk Historical Marker Downtown San Jose, California

For over 10,000 years the ancestors of the Ohlone Indians hunted, fished and harvested the diverse natural resources within the greater San Francisco Bay Area. Through time the Ohlone tribes established sedentary villages along creeks. One such village was established at this site. Occupied between 250 to 1792 AD, this site is thought to be the village of Tamien. Tamien is an Ohlone word referring to the Guadalupe River. With the establishment of Mission Santa Clara in 1777, over 2600 Ohlones were converted, the majority of whom perished from diseases. Today, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is the successor to the aboriginal people who inhabited this valley.

Figure 9-22: Historic Marker: The Site of Tamien an Ohlone Indian Village
Transcription of the Historical Marker Village of Tamien Text
“For over 10,000 years the ancestors of the Ohlone Indians hunted, fished and harvested the diverse natural resources within the greater San Francisco Bay Area. Through time the Ohlone tribes established sedentary villages along creeks. One such village was established at this site. Occupied between 250 and 1792 AD, this village is thought to be the village of Tamien. Tamien is an Ohlone word referring to the Guadalupe River. With the establishment of the Santa Clara Mission in 1777, over 2600 Ohlones were converted, the majority of whom perished to diseases. Today the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is the successor to the aboriginal people who inhabited this valley.”

Public Art over the Park Avenue Bridge: Eagle, Coyote and Hummingbird

On May 13, 1994 the City of San Jose unveiled the public art displaying Eagle, Coyote and Hummingbird and a version of the Ohlone Creation Narrative honoring the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and later immigrants to San Jose, California with a plaque and sculptures (Figures 9-23 – 9-28)

Figure 9-23: Honoring Plaque over the Park Avenue Bridge Downtown San Jose

Transcription of the Informational Plaque on the Park Avenue Bridge

“The Park Avenue Bridge Decorations honor the rich cultural history of San José. The Muwekma/Ohlone people, the first known residents of the Santa Clara Valley, are represented by the Eagle, Coyote, and Hummingbird. The flags recognize the people who have governed San José: the Spanish Empire, 1769-1821; the Mexican Federal Republic, 1822-1846; the State of California, 1850; and the United States of America. Ultimately, all people who have come to this special valley following the dream of a better life, are those to be honored.”

9-94
The Muwekma Ohlone Tribute (Presented by the Guadalupe River Park Conservancy)

“The Muwekma Ohlone people, Native Americans who once lived along the Guadalupe River, are honored with animal sculptures important to their tradition, on the Park Avenue Bridge. These include the Coyote, the Hummingbird, and the Eagle. The four flags that fly from atop the bridge represent the past and present governments of the area: Spain, Mexico, California and the United States. The Coyotes were created by artist Peter Schiffrin; the Eagle and Hummingbirds by Tom Andrews. The Coyote, Hummingbird and Eagle represent the Muwekma Ohlone creation story. Coyote was the father of the human race who was responsible for creating people and teaching them how to live properly. Hummingbird was wise and clever. Eagle was a leader” (http://www.grpg.org/public-art_).

Figure 9-24: Eagle with two Humming Birds above
Figure 25: Coyote (One of the First People)

Figure 9-26: Hummingbird (One of the three First People in Creation Narrative)
LONG AGO, IT WAS SAID THAT EAGLE, COYOTE AND HUMMINGBIRD WATCHED FROM THE MOUNTAIN TOPS THE WATER RECEDE AFTER THE GREAT FLOOD. EAGLE, THE CHIEF, SENT COYOTE TO SEE IF THERE WAS LAND BELOW. COYOTE RETURNED AND ANNOUNCED THAT “THE LAND IS DRY”.

AFTERWARDS, COYOTE MADE ALL THE INDIAN PEOPLE OF CALIFORNIA. HE MADE THE MUWEKMA, (THE PEOPLE) OF THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY. TOGETHER THE MUWEKMA, EAGLE, COYOTE, HUMMINGBIRD AND ALL THE OTHER ANIMALS/shared THIS GREAT AND BEAUTIFUL VALLEY.

WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EL PUEBLO DE SAN JOSE DE GUADALUPE, THE COYOTE AND THE TRADITIONAL MUWEKMA/ohlone WAY OF LIFE BECAME PART OF OUR VALLEY’S RICH HISTORIC PAST.

Figure 9-27: One of the Four Cornerstones Honoring the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe

For a transcription of the text engraved on one of the cornerstones at the Park Avenue Bridge and information about this Commemoration honoring the History of San Jose and Muwekma Ohlone Tribe see Figure 9-28 below:
Long ago, it was said that Eagle, Coyote, and Hummingbird watched from the mountain tops the water recede after the great flood. Eagle, The Chief, sent Coyote to see if there was land below. Coyote returned and announced that "the land is dry".

Afterwards, Coyote made all the Indian people of California. He made the Muwekma, (The People) of the Santa Clara Valley. Together the Muwekma, Eagle, Coyote, Hummingbird and all the other animals shared this great and beautiful valley.

With the establishment of the El Pueblo De San José De Guadalupe, the Coyote and the traditional Muwekma / Ohlone way of life became part of our valley's rich historic past.

Muwekma / Ohlone creation story

Figure 9-28: Commemoration of the History of San Jose and the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe
The continuation of the Muwekma Tribe’s cultural traditions and language has been an ongoing concern over these past decades. The following photos (Figures 9-29 - 9-40) are from Tribal gatherings and events that celebrate our Native heritage, history, culture and traditions.

Figure 9-29: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Christmas Party and Gathering at Stanford 1999
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Cultural Campout
Camp Muwekma 2000

Camp Ohlone Campsites
Sunol Ohlone Regional Wilderness, Sunol, CA
June 18-25, 2000
Photo taken at Del Valle Regional Park, Livermore, CA,
June 21, 2000

Figure 9-30: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Campout at Camp Muwekma 2000

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Cultural Campout
Camp Muwekma 2001

Cedar Group Campsites
Del Valle Regional Park, Livermore, CA
June 17-24, 2001
Photo taken at the “BIG FEAST BBQ” – June 23, 2001

Figure 9-31: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Campout and Big Feast 2001
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Cultural Campout
Camp Muwekma 2002 “Big Feast BBQ”

Del Valle Regional Park, Livermore, CA
June 23, 2002

Figure 9-32: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Campout and Big Feast 2002

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Cultural Campout
Camp Muwekma 2003

Family Campsite #24
Del Valle Regional Park, Livermore, CA
June 18 - 22, 2003

Photo taken at the “BIG FEAST BBQ” – June 21, 2003

Figure 9-33: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Campout 2003

9-101
Mak suyyakma... Our family

Nonwente Mak Ćočenyo
Let’s Speak Chochenyo Workshop Series
~<>~<>~
Taahe Mak Ćočenyo
“Let’s Listen To Chochenyo” Lesson

Mak ’aččokma... Our friends

Figure 9-34: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe Chocheño Language Workshop 2004

Figure 9-35: Muwekma Christmas Choir in Front of Mission San Jose 2005
Figure 9-36: Muwekma Christmas Gathering at Stanford University 2005

Figure 9-37: Muwekma Tribal Gathering 2008
Figure 9-38: Rosemary Cambra at the Muwekma-Tah-Ruk 20th Anniversary Stanford 2009

Figure 9-39: Muwekma-Tah-Ruk 20th Anniversary Stanford 2009
Revised Linguistic Map of SF Bay Area
(after Callaghan and Milliken 2007)

Figure 9-40: Revised Linguistic Map of San Francisco Bay Area
Figure 41: View from the Santa Clara Street Bridge of the Guadalupe River which the (Muwekma Tribe has Renamed Thámien Rúmmey Meaning Thámien River)
Figure 42:  Eagle as One of the First People Standing Guard over the Park Avenue Bridge
Concluding Remarks

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

The Tupiun Táareštak [Place of the Fox Man Site] (CA-SCL-894) as well as the many other ancestral heritage/archaeological projects that the Tribe has worked on have also served as important “bridges” to the Tribe’s long historic 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 finally 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 historic 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 historic 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 honor our ancestor whom we now call Tupiun Táareš – Fox Man, and;

2. To bring forward an interpretive understanding about the lifeways of our ancestor Tupiun Táareš – Fox Man who was buried at Tupiun Táareštak [Place of the Fox Man Site] (CA-SCL-894); and to ultimately bring closure to this project at some future date that will involve the reburial-honoring ceremony of this person by placing him back into the earth, near or within the original cemetery location from which he was laid to rest by his people approximately 1700 years ago.