

## *Chapter 9. Ohlone/Costanoans in the United States, 1847-1927*

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This chapter examines the time period that began with the U.S. takeover of California during the Mexican-American War and ended in the 1920s, the decade during which many of today's Ohlone/Costanoan elders were born. The U.S. takeover of California marked the end of the 75 year long process of missionization and subsequent secularization that had caused the catastrophic decline of the native peoples of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas. But it also marked the beginning of new negative processes that removed the ex-mission Indians to the nearly invisible edges of society.

The first section of this chapter contextualizes the American cultural practices and governmental decisions that forced the Indians of our maximal study area to the edges of society. (The larger context of marginalization and racialization, even genocide, of Indians across California during the 1847-1900 period, is discussed in Appendix D.) The second section covers the specific history of Indians on the San Francisco Peninsula from 1847 to 1900. In the third section we follow the histories of the Evencio and Alcantara families, the last documented native families of the San Francisco Peninsula. The fourth section discusses the ex-mission Indians in Ohlone/Costanoan areas east and south of the San Francisco Peninsula. The final section returns to contextual issues, those that pertain to the 1900-1927 period.

### **CONTEXT: MARGINALIZATION AND CONTINUING DECLINE, 1846-1900**

#### **U.S. Military Rule and the Gold Rush**

The Mexican-American War began on May 13, 1846. Although it was triggered by a border dispute in Texas, the ultimate cause was the United States' drive for more land, under the banner of Manifest Destiny. The U.S. Navy took control of Monterey on July 7, 1846 and San Francisco (Yerba Buena and the Presidio) on July 9. Although central California came quickly under general United States military control, Mexican forces resisted in southern California.

John Fremont, leader of a U.S. military exploring expedition that had been in the Sacramento Valley at the outbreak of hostilities, recruited 40 Indian men from the Mokelumne and Stanislaus River tribes to fight with the United States against the Mexican forces. The Indian group included a number of ex-Mission San Jose new Christians who gave their Spanish names upon enrollment (Bryant 1849:340-342). They served with the U.S. forces in a number of minor skirmishes in

southern California and were present when Fremont signed a treaty with Mexican provincial forces to end hostilities in San Fernando on January 12, 1847. Their battalion was disbanded in April of 1847. By that time, U.S. military forces were in control of southern California as well as central California.

The military governor of occupied California appointed three Indian agents in the spring of 1847 to give advice and solve problems between Indians and settlers. Mariano Vallejo was agent for the North Bay area and John Sutter for the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. A third agent was responsible for the lands east of Los Angeles and San Diego. No Indian agents were considered necessary for the latinized ex-mission Indians living in the homes and on the ranchos of west-central California.

Gold was discovered in the Sierra Nevada foothills in early 1848. It was soon announced in newspapers worldwide. By the spring of 1849 people were streaming into California from points around the world. The population of San Francisco, less than 600 at the beginning of 1849, swelled to an estimated 100,000 by the end of the year. Meanwhile, Mexican rancheros sent ex-mission Indian crews into the Sierra in search of gold. Unattached ex-mission Indians may also have gone to the gold fields. Entrepreneurial activity by ex-mission Indians in the gold fields was described in late 1849 or 1850:

Mission Indians, with scarlet bandanas round their heads, a richly colored *zarape* over their shoulders, a pair of cotton drawers, and bare-footed, would push their way through the crowd, carrying pails of iced liquor on their heads, crying ... *agua fresca*, *cuatro reales* (Perkins 1964:106).

The role of Indians in the mines, either ex-mission Indians or local tribal people, diminished quickly because newcomers, primarily North Americans with strong racist attitudes towards both Indians and Latin Americans, took control of the mining areas in 1850.

### **Statehood, Racialization, and Institutionalized Racism**

California was admitted to the United States on September 9, 1850. It was admitted as a free (non-slave holding) state in the midst of debates in the U.S. Senate over the free state-slave state balance. Most Americans newly arrived in California, from free or slave states, treated California Indians at least as badly as black slaves were treated in the south. As Laurence Shoup discusses in Appendix D, Americans “racialized” the Indians, classified them as inferior human beings worthy neither of respect nor protection of the law. Peter Burnett, California’s first governor, stated in his 1851 message to the state legislature that a war of extermination would be waged “until the Indian race should become extinct” and that it was “beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert the inevitable destiny” (in Heizer and Almquist 1971:26). While the governor was speaking primarily about the non-Christian tribal Indians of the northern and eastern portions of the state, most white citizens lumped together latinized and tribal Indians as a single class of marginal people.

Beginning in 1850, the California state legislature passed a series of laws that codified the marginalization of the Indians. One such law allowed Indians without jobs to be arrested for vagrancy and auctioned out as laborers for periods of four months at a time. Another law provided that orphaned Indian children could be bound over to white citizens as wards until adulthood (a practice already in place in Mexican California). Other laws eliminated the right of Indians to testify in court, serve on juries, or be recognized as citizens (Heizer and Almquist 1971, Castillo 1978a).

The lack of legal protections for Indians led to abuses that some American citizens did find appalling. In 1853, the District Attorney of Contra Costa County authored a report complaining of the sale of Indian slaves by Hispanic men in his county:

Ramon Briones, Mesa, Quiera, and Beryessa of Napa County, are in the habit of kidnapping Indians in the mountains near Clear Lake, and in their capture several

have been murdered in cold blood. There have been Indians to the number of one hundred and thirty-six thus captured and brought into this county, and held here in servitude adverse to their will. These Indians are now to be in the possession of Briones, Mesa, and sundry other persons who have purchased them in this county. It is also a notorious fact that these Indians are treated inhumanly, being neither fed nor clothed; and from such treatment many have already died (Heizer and Almquist 1971:40).

Old Mexican families were not the only ones to continue the practice of stealing tribal Indian children into the American era. Some North Americans also engaged in the practice. But most newly arrived Americans despised Indians so strongly that they did not want to have them as laborers at all.

A federal official in charge of Indian affairs wrote about the abuse of Indian laborers at Rancho San Pablo in the East Bay area in a report of January of 1853:

I went over to the San Pablo rancho, in Contra Costa county, to investigate the matter of alleged cruel treatment of Indians there. I found seventy-eight on this rancho, and twelve back of Martinez, and they were the most of them sick, all without clothes, or any food but the fruit of the buckeye. Up to the time of my coming, eighteen had died of starvation at one camp: how many at the other I could not learn. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall, and as the winter set in, when broken down by hunger and labor, without food or cloths, they were turned adrift to shift for themselves (U.S. Congress. Senate Documents 1853:9).

In the earlier Rancho Period, the incredible level of abuse reported here occurred rarely, if at all, because the Mexican ranch owners lived in reciprocal dependent relationships with their ex-mission laborers. It should be noted that conditions for Indians in Contra Costa County in 1852-1853 were exacerbated by disease. In 1913 a farmer in the Walnut Creek area reminisced about earlier times.

There was a band of 40 to 50 Indians living on the mound [near Concord] in 1850. They worked for Galindo and Salvio Pacheco, two Spaniards who had the land around the mound. The informant C. B. Nottingham ... says there was an epidemic in 1853 and "I saw about 9 dead there at one time, dying off all the time, I think most of the band died at that time" (Loud 1913).

Two historical events during the 1860s caused Indians to become unwelcome on many of the ranches where they had lived and worked since the beginning of the Rancho Period some thirty years earlier. First, a drought in the early 1860s caused many of the Hispanic cattle ranchers to go into debt. At the same time, the final patents (recognition of ownership) of most of the local ranchos were being issued by the federal government. Hispanic families who had proven their titles needed to pay attorney costs incurred in proving their claims. Many of them had to sell their ranches to North Americans to pay their debts. And many of the North American ranch owners immediately forced any Indian laborers off of their new ranch holdings.

It was not until the 1870s that indenture laws and the laws prohibiting Indians from testifying in court were removed from the California legal code (Heizer and Almquist 1971:48). The 1870s were a period of social reform that accompanied the spread of middle class society and the realization that California Indians were not a threat to that society (Rawls 1984:205-206). This new mood of the 1870s will be discussed in the latter part of the next subsection below, insofar as it stimulated acquisition of reservations for ex-mission Indians in some parts of California.

## Early Treaties and Reservations

The history of U.S. government treaty making and reservation development with Indian tribes in California did not initially involve ex-mission Indians who remained in the Coast Range environs inhabited by the Mexican Californios. And it never did treat directly with ex-mission Indians who lived in west-central California south of San Francisco Bay. In 1851 U.S. government agents negotiated 16 treaties, signed by representatives of 134 separate local tribes, groups living to the north and east of the old mission lands, agreeing to set aside large tracts of Central Valley and northern California land as reservations (Heizer 1972).<sup>41</sup> Similar treaties were signed with ex-mission San Diego and Mission San Luis Rey Indians in early 1852. The treaties met with hostility from California citizens, who pressured Congress not to ratify them. Therefore, the two United States Senators from California successfully blocked ratification. The draft treaties were subsequently placed in secret files where they remained unexamined for the following 53 years (Heizer 1972).

Smaller reservations were set aside in the 1850s and 1860s for tribal Indians of the northern part of California and the San Joaquin Valley, leading to many tragic forced removals (Castillo 1978a:110-113). Again, these events did not concern the ex-mission Indians of central California. As California became more settled and gentrified, some members of the white community began to show concern for the difficult situation of California Indians. In the 1870s President Grant gave control of the California reservations to reformist representatives of the Methodist Church. Reports to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1873 and 1874 described the need of southern California ex-mission Indians for reservations. A number of small rancherias were obtained in San Diego County by executive order in 1875 and 1876. The BIA also set up a separate Mission Agency in the 1870s.

Further concern for the poor condition of ex-mission Indians was provoked by Helen Hunt Jackson's publication of *A Century of Dishonor* in 1881, an exposé of poor U.S. Indian policy. That book was followed by her novel *Ramona* in 1884. In 1883 a congressional act was passed, on the basis of indignation caused by Hunt's first book, to aid non-reservation California Indians by purchasing more tiny rancherias for them. Money was not initially forthcoming, however. Finally, in the 1890s, 17 small "postage stamp" reservations (14 in the southern California mission area and three in east-central and northern California outside of Ohlone/Costanoan lands) were purchased under the 1883 Act.

In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, directing the breakup of community-owned Indian reservation tracts across the United States into small individual and family owned plots. It also allowed non-reservation Indians to claim 160 acre parcels of unoccupied government land and gain title after 25 years. This act did not affect most Ohlone/Costanoans because they had no reservations. One exception was the case of Sebastian Garcia, ancestor of Ohlone/Costanoan Ann Marie Sayers, who received a parcel of land near Hollister around the beginning of the twentieth century (see Sayers 1994:337-356).

The desire to assimilate Indians led, in the 1880s, to the development of boarding schools that attempted to overcome traditional Native American lifeways by imposing Eurocentric values on Indian children, as well as teach them European skills. School attendance, usually at distant boarding

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<sup>41</sup> Many of the famous 1851 treaties were signed by native Miwokan and Yokuts speaking men with Spanish names (Heizer 1972). Those men were new Christians, people who had been baptized at one or another of the Coast Range missions during the 1830s and 1840s, then returned to their tribal lands in the Central Valley and Sierra Nevada foothills after secularization. Some of the men who signed Treaty A and Treaty N are tentatively recognizable in the Mission Soledad records. Some who signed M may have been at Mission San Juan Bautista. Some Treaty E signators had definitely been baptized at Mission Santa Clara. One Treaty J signator had been baptized at Mission San Jose (unpublished analysis by Randall Milliken).

schools, became compulsory for reservation Indian children in 1891. Not many California Mission Indian children attended these boarding schools, at least partly because they were Catholics and the boarding schools were run by Protestant denominations.

In the early 1890s Congress took another turn in its Indian policy for California. Concerned about the continued deplorable condition of so many native people, it passed an Act for the Relief of the Mission Indians of California in 1891. This law directed federal government officials to secure title to Indian lands by creating trust patent reservations out of lands still occupied by former mission Indians, and to initiate a management structure for those reservations. The goal was to develop a self-supporting population that could be assimilated into the American mainstream (Bean and Shipek 1978:558-559). No lands were purchased for Ohlone/Costanoan people under that act either.

### Continuing Indian Population Decline

Costanoan speakers and other groups that went to the missions saw catastrophic population declines during the Spanish and Mexican eras of California history. These declines continued during the first decades of the American era for the ex-mission Indians and the tribal Indians of the state as well. Table 9 reviews population statistics from official U.S. census data for the counties around San Francisco Bay. While undoubtedly some inaccuracies exist in this data, with Indians being undercounted by the census takers, these statistics accurately show the continuing population decline of Indian people in the San Francisco Bay Area through 1890, and in some counties, through later decades. By and large, Indian populations did not begin to grow again until after 1910, and did not reach 1870s level until 1930 (Table 9).

Table 9. Indians from all Locations Living in West-Central California Counties, as Reported in the U.S. Census, 1860-1930.

COUNTY	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Alameda	131	111	103	25	71	41	56	182
Contra Costa	114	9	47	3	8	3	137	30
Marin	210	126	162	31	25	26	34	119
Monterey	411	201	222	58	26	29	7	32
Napa	1	66	64	15	18	6	2	16
San Benito	-	-	81	41	36	-	-	3
Santa Clara	157	12	73	19	9	16	4	45
Santa Cruz	218	2	131	10	67	15	45	12
San Francisco	41	54	45	31	15	46	45	151
San Mateo	52	8	8	6	1	1	3	42
Solano	21	3	21	11	2	1	7	18
TOTAL	1,356	592	957	250	278	184	340	650

Notes: Data compiled from U.S. Census Office 1883:382; 1902:531; U.S. Census Bureau 1913:166; 1922:130; 1943:567.

The decline in west-central California Indian populations continued through the late nineteenth century despite the fact that some Indians were moving into the San Francisco Bay Area from distant parts of northern California. The inability of many Indians to have stable families, and thus to raise children, was a major cause of the continued decline in population. Some of the reported decline, however, was the result of Indians “passing as white” (see the next subsection below).

Ex-mission Indians and their descendents survived and maintained their cultural and family connections better in sparsely populated rural areas of west-central California than they did in the heavily populated San Francisco Bay Area. Rural Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Monterey counties

had fewer Anglo-American and greater numbers of Hispano-American people, including Hispanic landowners. Sherburne Cook, who published a study entitled "Migration and Urbanization of the Indians in California" in 1943, noted "... a tendency exists for the Indians to be most numerous in those regions where the whites are fewest" (Cook 1943c:36). Conversely, Indian survival in densely populated regions where whites dominated tended to be problematic. During this era individual Indians lived in and survived in urban areas as servants and laborers but, due to their work situations, very low wages and lack of adequate housing, they tended not to marry and have children.

Landowners, builders, and shopkeepers did not need Indian labor in the San Francisco and San Mateo counties of the 1850s and 1860s, where large numbers of unemployed Caucasians gathered when mining proved less successful than initially imagined. As Sherburne Cook put it: "... the natives have tended to diminish most rapidly when and where the white men have been most numerous" (Cook 1943c:36). At the other extreme were portions of California, in the far north, where few whites settled during the nineteenth century and Indian people maintained fairly large populations and some continuing traditional culture. In between the two extremes were the rural areas of eastern Alameda, southern Santa Clara, and Monterey counties, where ex-mission Indians continued to find some work as ranch hands and crop-harvesters.

California Governor John B. Weller stated in 1859 that the Indians "... are fast fading away, particularly those who are located in the vicinity of our towns and settlements. The vices of the white men, which they readily adopt, will soon remove them from amongst us" (in Rawls 1984:175). Most newspaper articles of the late nineteenth century that mention Indians in west-central California at all report alcohol-related robberies, homicides, and suicides. Furthermore, the ex-mission Indians, like the poorest people in any society, died in the highest numbers from the diseases prevalent in the society at large. Alcoholism greatly intensified the problem by weakening physical resistance. Cook estimated that 60% of the Indian population decline during the years 1848-1870 was due to disease (15% due to effects of syphilis, and the remaining 45% due to various other epidemic diseases, Rawls 1984:175).

### **Crossing the Ethnic Boundary from Indian to White**

In the parts of central California that remained largely Hispanic in the late nineteenth century, ex-mission Indian people and their descendants found real employment opportunities in agricultural and other seasonal labor. Such work allowed them to live in dignity and have families and homes of their own. It also gave them access to western ways, including education and cultural knowledge that made it possible to "pass" as white, thereby gaining the privileges of citizenship and the economic, educational, and cultural advancement that white Californians enjoyed.

It has been suggested that part of the drop in the Indian populations of many counties was due to Indians taking the opportunity to re-characterize themselves as non-Indians. An examination of censuses was undertaken for this report, to see if there were individuals listed as Indians in 1880 who were listed as white in 1900. The Santa Clara county census was of great interest, but the populations were just too large to carry out the exercise. The 1880 and 1900 manuscript census records for Monterey City and Monterey Township were of a manageable size to be studied in detail.

Examples of passing as white were discovered in the Monterey county censuses. One Indian who definitely passed was named Alfred Davis. Davis was a 15 year old laborer in 1880. He was part of a five member Monterey City family, all California born and all listed as Indians in that year's census. The family was headed by Alfred's widowed mother, 45 year old Ilodosia Davis. Two sisters, one older, one younger and one older brother rounded out the family. All family members could read and write, and the younger sister was still attending school in 1880. In 1900 Alfred Davis still lived in Monterey, but was listed as white in the census records (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880b, 1900c).

There are also cases of individuals who were listed as half Indian in 1880 and white in 1900. Joseph Post, the son of white man William B. Post of Connecticut and his California Indian wife Mary, was listed as "1/2" in 1880. In 1900 however, he was listed as white. Mary Post herself was another case of passing; she was listed as an Indian in 1880, but as white in 1900 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1880b, 1900c). The Indian descendants in question had the requisite language, culture, social skills and physical appearance to pass as anglicized Hispanics, and therefore as "white."

The intermingling of class with race is illustrated in how children were racially classified where the father is listed as white and the mother as Indian (no cases in Monterey City or Monterey Township were found where the father was Indian and the mother was white). Class was and is, among other things, a relationship of power, and Indians and other people of color were at the bottom of the power hierarchy. But it seems clear from these data that the higher in this hierarchy the men who married Indian women were, the more likely that their children were listed as white in the federal census. Three different racial classification outcomes were possible in cases where the father was white and the mother Indian. One is illustrated by the case of the Englishman James Meadows, his Mission Carmel Indian descendent wife Mary Meadows and three children, including Isabel, who was 23 years old in 1880. While Mary was listed as an Indian in the federal census, her three children were all categorized as white. Another example is the Massachusetts born laborer George Austin, who had four children with his Indian wife Maria Austin. George Austin is listed as white in the census, but all of his children were listed as "1/2" in the 1880 federal census.

Another example is a Californio hunter, Marcos Espinosa, listed as white in the census. His common law wife was a Native American woman named Josefa Garcia. The census taker took the time and effort to note on the form that while she was Espinosa's "wife" the couple was "not married" and classified their two children and one step child as Indians (U.S. Census Office 1880b). The class system of the time evidently ranked Meadows as the most prestigious of these three white men, Austin in between the other two, and Espinosa at the bottom, resulting in different racial classifications for their children.

In the late nineteenth century many Caucasian Americans applied the "one drop rule," meaning that any person with any amount of Indian or African ancestry would be subject to all the oppression that membership in the race implied. This made passing from one racial category to another a matter of secrecy, fraught with fear of discovery. Given that environment, it is probable that many more cases of passing occurred than can be readily documented. We note that Monterey county's Indian population dropped from 222 in 1880 to only 58 in 1900, a 75% decline. How much of this was real population decline, how much undercounting, and how much the result of passing can probably never be known.

## INDIANS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1846-1900

At the outset of the American Period, in 1846, the remaining Mission Dolores Indians were scattered on the ranchos of the San Francisco Peninsula. Two centers of Indian life and culture remained on the San Francisco Peninsula, Mission Dolores itself and the Indian community on Rancho San Mateo, about 20 miles to the south of the mission. The six subsections of this section document what little is known about the ex-Mission Dolores people and other Indians on the San Francisco Peninsula from the time of U.S. military occupation until the end of the nineteenth century. The two final subsections reach only up to the 1860s and 1870s in San Mateo and San Francisco counties, respectively, because little is known about local San Francisco Peninsula Indians in the subsequent 1880s and 1890s. (Some details about two specific families, the Alcantaras and Evencios, in the last years of the nineteenth century, are presented in the following section.)

## Glimpses of Indians in San Francisco, 1847-1850

A June 1847 census tallied only 34 Indians of all ages (26 male and only 8 female) at the northern end of the San Francisco Peninsula. It recorded more people (40) from the distant Sandwich Islands (the Hawaii of today) than Indians (Soule et al. 1855:178). By late 1849 or early 1850 Indian agent Adam Johnson recorded a statement from an old Indian at the Presidio that has led many to infer that San Francisco was almost devoid of ex-Mission Dolores Indians. The statement by Pedro Alcantara, published in the California volume of the Handbook of North American Indians, reads:

I am very old... my people were once around me like the sands of the shore... many... many. They have all passed away. They have died like the grass... they have gone to the mountains. I do not complain, the antelope falls with the arrow. I had a son. I loved him. When the palefaces came he went away. I do not know where he is. I am a Christian Indian, I am all that is left of my people. I am alone (Johnson 1850 as quoted in Castillo 1978a:105).

While Pedro Alcantara (SFR-B 553) was indeed the last survivor of his parents' local tribes, the Yelamus of San Francisco and the Cotegens of Purisima Creek, south of Half Moon Bay, he did have living children and grandchildren, and a few other descendants of old San Francisco Peninsula groups were also still alive in the area. (We present details on the life history of Pedro Alcantara and his family in the next section of this chapter.)

In December of 1849 German traveler Friedrich Gerstaecker visited Mission Dolores, mentioning that "the old church and twenty or twenty-five low stone huts... seemed to be chiefly inhabited by Spaniards and Indians," adding that when gold was first discovered the mission was almost uninhabited "... except by some Indians, who lived, or rather camped, in the old dark and damp rooms, using them, at the same time, for parlor and stable" (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:45-46).

Ernest De Massey, a Frenchman who visited Mission Dolores about two months after Gerstaecker in 1849, had a similar word picture of those living at the place:

About one hundred and twenty persons live around the Mission. Most of them are Mexicans, Indians or half-breeds; Europeans and Americans are in the minority. There is no business activity here beyond the raising of garden produce which brings quick returns. Everything else is at a standstill (De Massey 1927:37).

The sudden appearance of the city of San Francisco, with a population of 100,000 by the end of 1849 where there had been 600 in 1848, must have been unbelievable to the Doloreños. Gerstaecker commented upon their amazement:

Rarely, you may notice a California Indian gliding quickly through the streets to gain open ground again, looking around him ... in ... mute astonishment (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:7).

The population of San Francisco by 1849 was not only large, but extremely diverse. One report described the presence of Spanish speakers from all countries of the Americas, Americans, Englishmen and other Europeans, Chinese, Blacks, Malays, Kanakas, Fijians, Japanese, Abyssinians, "hideously tattooed New Zealanders" and "... occasionally a half naked shivering Indian..." (Soule et al. 1855:257-258).

Gerstaecker contrasted two classes of Indians in the San Francisco area, those who had found a place as servants to the landed classes, and those who were alienated from land and patronage:

The few Indians who still lingered about the Mission, professed to be Christians, and the women, at least, conducted themselves very properly, washing and sewing for the Spaniards, into whose families they were sometimes received as domestics. There are still small bands of these Indians roving about, camping in the open air, and



living on what they secure in some way, or beg from the settlers. The better class, however, live in well-kept houses, wear suitable clothing and speak the Spanish language (Gerstaecker quoted in Engelhardt 1924:318).

The constant struggle for survival, combined with the loss of culture, created a sense of hopelessness that sometimes led to alcoholism:

Drunkenness is a vice for which the Indians have to thank the (so-called) Christians. One's heart aches at the sight of the strong figures who, degraded to the state of brutes by vile liquor, roll on the wayside and end in destruction (Gerstaecker in Engelhardt 1924:18).

During Easter week, 1850, Gerstaecker again visited Mission Dolores, where he documented the best and worst of life for the Doloreños. He observed the fandango at the church and the spectacle of Judas Iscariot tied to a newly caught wild mare and chased through the settlement, creating a wild scene. He described how Valentin, a Doloreño vaquero, played a key role in the ritual, and then ended the day in an alcoholic stupor:

The principal person in this festivity was a California Indian, Valentin, the best horseman and lasso-thrower even among the Spaniards, and as fine a specimen of an Indian I ever saw. He was tall and rather slender, but notwithstanding, stoutly built, with the long black and smooth hair of his tribe, and with dark glowing eyes. I never saw him on foot but when he was drunk...but he was the best hand in the neighborhood in tracking up a runaway horse or stray cattle, and bringing them in dead or alive... This Valentin had to fasten the clumsily-stuffed figure upon the back of the wild mare, and it was really a beautiful spectacle to see the cunning Indian overcome the kicking and rearing animal... When I passed the hotel that evening, the fine and nobly-formed Indian... was lying dead drunk upon his back and under an old cart... (Gerstaecker [1854] 1946:49-50).

The specific tribal background and mission history of Valentin is not definitely known. Five Valentins are documented in Bay Area mission registers who were alive in 1850. Of them, the most likely to be the described individual is a Cosomne Plains Miwok who had been baptized at Mission San Jose at age six back in 1835 (SJO-B 7333). The others would have been very old or very young in 1850.

### **Indians in the Mission Dolores Records, 1846-1855**

Local censuses and passing accounts suggest that there were fewer than 40 Indians in San Francisco during the late 1840s. Yet an 1852 census (which will be described in detail below) indicated that there were 140 Indians in the combined San Francisco/San Mateo county area. The latter figure makes sense when compared against the 1834 Mission Dolores year-end report of 136 Indians, together with our evidence for a possible 202 Indians on the Peninsula in 1834, inclusive of emancipated individuals.

To the end of bringing forward some of the individual Indian people living on the San Francisco Peninsula, we return to Appendix F:Table 14 and find the following Indian families that continued to bring children for baptism at Mission Dolores in the late 1840s and the 1850s:

- Francisco Borja (Tomoi Mutsun/Uypi Awawas) and Maria Concepcion (Tejey Yokuts) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1853, and 1855, as well as at Mission Santa Clara in 1851 (Family 29).
- Bernardino Alcantara (Cotegen San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Suisun Patwin—son of Pedro Alcantara of Family 19) and Mariana (“Tulares,” probably Yokuts) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1851, 1854, 1858, and 1862 (Family 34).

- Francisco Antonio (Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Pt. Reyes vicinity Coast Miwok parents) and Marina (Ollatoy Patwin or Nisenan) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1849 and 1852 (Family 36).
- Juan Agustin (Saclan Bay Miwok/Chupcan Bay Miwok parents) and Maria Raymunda (Satiyomi Pomo) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847, 1851, 1854, and 1857 (Family 37).
- Pedro Evencio (Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Saclan Bay Miwok parents of Family 25) and Pastora (Churuptoy Patwin) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1852, 1856, 1858, and 1862 (Family 38).
- Jose Isidro (no baptismal identification) and Maria del Refugio (no baptismal identification) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847 and 1851 (Family 39)
- Juan Diego (Saclan Bay Miwok—brother of Geronima in Family 25) and Maria del Rosario (Suisun Patwin/Chupcan Bay Miwok parents in Family 27) had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1848, 1850, 1852, and 1854 (Family 40).
- Jose Juvenal (Partacsi San Francisco Bay Costanoan from Mission Santa Cruz) and Maria Bernarda (no baptismal identification) had a child baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1849 and a child baptized at Mission Dolores in 1851 (Family 41).

This list documents only the married couples who were bringing children to the mission for baptism in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Needless to say, orphaned Indian children, unmarried Indian adults, and older couples were also present on the San Francisco Peninsula at the time.

### **Indians Forced off Rancho San Mateo, 1851 or 1852**

The rural agricultural setting of present San Mateo county seems to have offered the Doloreños a greater chance for survival than the urbanized and racialized social landscape of San Francisco during the initial Gold Rush phase. A small Indian community continued to reside on Rancho San Mateo after the United States takeover of California. Their leader was a Puichon or Ssalson San Francisco Bay Costanoan man named Evencio Yaculo, whose family will be described in detail in the final section of this chapter.

There is no evidence that the man who received title to Rancho San Mateo in 1846, Governor Pio Pico's secretary Cayetano Arenas (of Los Angeles), occupied Rancho San Mateo during his brief tenure of ownership through 1848. An 1847 visitor to San Mateo recounted that "the building is in ruins and untenanted" (Stanger 1944:255). Pedro Evencio, son of Evencio Yaculo, testified in an 1869 court case that the Doloreños continued to cultivate the land at San Mateo under the direction of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, proprietor of neighboring Rancho Buri Buri, after the American takeover of California. The Indians planted wheat, beans and corn, but having no cattle of their own, they requested beef from Sanchez when they wanted it, and he would give them a steer to slaughter. Sanchez lent the Indians tools like plows along with draft animals, but in Evencio's words: "... the fence was all in common, they had all in common under the fence. Within the fence they worked separately in the same farm." (Land Case 178 ND:125).

William D. Howard and Henry Mellus purchased the San Mateo Rancho from Cayetano Arenas in 1848. They had made a fortune, beginning in 1845, purchasing the stores of the Hudson Bay Company with Howard family money, trading those stores, and then moving on to act as agents for several New England trading firms (Hynding 1982:35). They seem to have been diverted from taking immediate control of Rancho San Mateo, probably due to their business activities during the first years of the Gold Rush. In 1849, one Nicolas de Peyster illegally took possession of the old Rancho San Mateo adobe, cleaned it up and started a roadhouse (Stanger 1944:255; Hoover et al. 1990:379). Such squatter activity was taking place all over central California that year. De Peyster

testified before the federal land case commission in March of 1855 that lands near San Mateo Creek were enclosed and cultivated by Indians when he lived there:

There was an Indian Rancheria on the place about a mile and a half back south west from the adobe building among the hills. The Rancheria has been there from my first knowledge of the place till lately and the Indians have lived about and worked there in the same fields where they formally did till I left the place in 1850 or early in 1851 and some two or three of them are still there... I never knew anybody to occupy it under Howard. The Indians told me they owned the land themselves and warned me off from it as their land. I suppose they cultivated it as their own (de Peyster in Land Case 409 ND:40).

At some point in the early 1850s, Howard took possession of Rancho San Mateo and forced the Mission Dolores Indians to leave, according to later court testimony. It is likely that the eviction occurred in 1851 at the same time that de Peyster was forced to leave. Pedro Evencio, in his 1869 testimony, stated that Howard "drove us off" (Land Case 178 ND:200). The Evencios and some other Indians moved a short distance north to Rancho Buri Buri to live under the patronage of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez (Land Case 178 ND:200).

Howard was one of the wealthiest men on the San Francisco Peninsula at the time he evicted the Indians from Rancho San Mateo. According to one historian:

Howard soon made a fortune in trade and real estate, became a leading civic figure, and retired from his partnership with Mellus around 1850... During the early 1850s, after buying Mellus's interest in the ranch and driving off the remaining Indians who had been living around the old adobe, Howard built a small villa in the hills not far from San Mateo Creek and El Camino and began raising a few imported cattle. The first Peninsula resident to convert a rancho into a country estate, he lived in semi-retirement and traveled occasionally on business up to San Francisco (Hynding 1982:35).

Howard's eviction of the San Mateo Indians was a clear example of the new North American residents' disregard for native people. At the same time it marked the imposition of a new economic and class system. Although the ex-mission Indians retreated to a few safe havens on lands of Mexican patrons, those same patrons were losing their lands, further limiting the options for the ex-Mission Dolores Indians and other ex-mission Indians in California.

### **Peninsula Indians in the 1852 Census**

Indian people are recorded in the 1852 special California census in varying degrees of detail, depending upon the approach of the local census taker. In the combined San Mateo and San Francisco county areas (a single county at the time) a total of 140 Indians are listed. Only a portion of them, 24 individuals, were listed by name. There were three distinct categories of Indians recorded: individual Indians working for whites (14, of whom 4 were named); Indians living together as a single family group (two families with a total of 20 individuals); and summary counts of Indians working for five different landowners (106 individuals).

The first group of 14 were apparently living in either San Francisco or San Mateo. Only four had their names listed:

- Sandy (from "Bodega"), male, age 12
- Manuela Casumu, female, age 20
- Ricardo Biceta, male, age 4
- Ignacio Camino, male age 26

The ten other persons in this category, aged 3 to “over 21” were identified only as an “Indian,” and they were frequently employed as a “servant.”

The second group consists of two families, the Juan Diego family (15 members), and the Jose Fernando family (5 members). These two families lived either together or next to each other, since they appear right after one another on page 464 of the census, as follows:

- Juan Diego, male, age 49, laborer
- Rosalia Diego, female, age 38
- 13 children (7 male, 6 female—names and ages omitted, listed as laborers)
- Jose Fernando, male, age 36 laborer
- Miguel Fernando, male, age 34 laborer
- Maria Fernando, female, age 35
- Maria Fernando, female, age 12
- Josifa Fernando, female, age 6

The two families appear on the same census page as Francisco Sanchez, owner of the San Pedro Rancho along the coast at the present town of Pacifica. They were probably Sanchez’s unpaid employees. Juan Diego and Rosalia are recognizable as Family 40 of Appendix F:Table 14; Juan Diego was an uncle of Pedro Evencio, an important individual who will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.<sup>42</sup> The Fernando family of the 1852 census cannot be matched to any family documented in the mission registers of the era.

The largest group of San Francisco/San Mateo county Indians in the 1852 census (106 total) are not listed by name. Instead, they are listed by aggregate count in relation to the families of large landowners to whom they seem to have been attached. The series of landowners and Indians is listed between pages 464 and 483 of the census, certainly somewhere in present San Mateo county. Among the landowners were four sons of Jose Antonio Sanchez (California 1852):

- Jose de la Cruz Sanchez and Manuel Sanchez, 35 Indians (19 male, 16 female, 19 over 21 years of age).
- Chico Sanchez, 21 Indians (17 male, 4 female, 8 over 21 years of age).
- Francisco Sanchez, 7 Indians (4 male, 3 female, 2 over 21 years of age).
- In addition to the Sanchez brothers, two other landowners with attached Indians were reported:
- Jos. Porter, 17 Indians (10 male, 7 female, 9 over 21 years of age)
- Senor Montes (probably Miramontes), 26 Indians (14 male, 12 female, 16 over 21 years of age)

This 1852 census indicates that 56 Indians were living on Rancho Buri Buri property, seven more on Rancho San Pedro with Francisco Sanchez (in addition to the two families of Juan Diego and Jose Fernando listed above), and 26 were living on the San Benito rancho of the Miramontes family, along the coast south of Pilarcitos Creek (California 1852).

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<sup>42</sup> Testimony in Land Case 178 n.d. states that Juan Diego is the uncle of Pedro Evencio. Mission register evidence indicates that he was the brother of Pedro Evencio’s mother Geronima, and that Juan Diego and Geronima were Saclan Bay Miwoks from the east side of San Francisco Bay.

Especially noteworthy is the role of landowning Sanchez family members in offering native people a place to live and work, even if as servants and laborers. Fully 89 of the 140 Indians (63.6%) listed in the 1852 San Francisco/San Mateo census lived with a Californio landowner, most with Sanchez family members. Evidence points to the conclusion that in the early Gold Rush years, after Howard and other Anglo landowners evicted Indians from the San Mateo Rancho and other locations, the Indians mainly went to live with and work for nearby Californio landowners. This allowed them to maintain their family and community structures somewhat intact, at least for a time.

The age structure of the 140 San Francisco/San Mateo County Indians in the 1852 census (63 over age 21 and 77 under age 21) mimics a healthy population group, neither rapidly expanding nor rapidly declining. Males substantially outnumbered females, however, 86 (61.4%) to 54 (38.6%), reflecting the likelihood of future population declines due to a shortage of females of child bearing age. Furthermore, some of the young Indian people listed were probably abducted orphans from tribal areas, rather than children of the older people.

Finally, since 114 out of the 140 (81.4%) Indians listed for the combined San Francisco/San Mateo county areas, including all the family/community groups, were listed in conjunction with well known San Mateo County landowners, we can conclude the “patron-client” rancho labor system was still in place in San Mateo County in 1852.

### **San Mateo County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s**

The Doloreños of the 1860s and 1870s spoke the Spanish language, practiced the Catholic religion and had brown skins. To many members of the immigrant white society that was flooding into California, any landless brown people who spoke Spanish were Mexicans. Whether thought of as Indians or landless Mexicans, the Doloreños were marginalized within white-controlled society in the central California of the 1860s and 1870s. By 1860 most Bay Area lands were in the hands of Anglo-Americans. Livestock raising, a key source of employment for Indians, went into decline in the Bay Area after 1862. Business owners and land owners found plenty of workers among failed North American, English, and French gold miners. Also, Chinese men were available where large work gangs were needed. Indian men found only occasional day labor jobs, not the steady work needed to hold a family together. During this era, we presume, some of the ex-mission Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula chose to fade into the greater Mexican population of central California.

For San Mateo county, the 1860 U.S. census lists only 52 Indians, where in 1852 there had been at least 114. The census lists another 11 mulattos native to California who were living with Indians, indicating that they were likely mixed-race Indians. Counting mulatto families, there were nine Indian families listed in the county (defined as at least one Indian child living with at least one Indian adult), with a total of 15 adults (seven male and eight female), and 19 children. Thus in 1860, about one-half of San Mateo County Indians lived in a family unit. The other half consisted of children living with white families and adults working as farm laborers, herdsman, cooks, general laborers, washerwomen or woodchoppers (U.S. Census Office 1860b).

By 1860 North Americans were purchasing properties throughout San Mateo county. The Gold Rush had created vast wealth in San Francisco. Many of the richest citizens desired country estates. Other, less wealthy white newcomers wanted farms as the easy-to-mine gold disappeared. The Peninsula was ideal for both purposes. The Sanchez family’s Rancho Buri Buri, home of some of the Peninsula Indians after 1855, was a key target for acquisition by the newly rich. Between 1853 and 1860 banker D. O. Mills, Mills’ brother-in-law Ansel Easton, and cattle baron, butcher and large landowner Charles Lux, each purchased or otherwise acquired large sections of Rancho Buri Buri. Other, smaller landowners also acquired parts of this rancho. By 1863 there were at least 50 different owners of Buri Buri land, and most had Anglo or Irish names (Stanger 1938:254-257).

The top 15 landowners in San Mateo County in 1860 held a combined \$836,600 in real estate (Table 10). Five of the top 15 estates were still held by old rancho families. Land ownership was only slightly less concentrated than it had been at the end of the Mexican Rancho Era. But the Rancho Era habit of incorporating the ex-mission Indian workers into the estate family was disappearing. The new land owners had no interest in giving fair employment to ex-mission Indians. The drop in reported Indian population in the county from 114 in 1852 to 52 in 1860 probably reflects the loss of habitable spaces after eviction from ranches.

Table 10. List of the Top 15 San Mateo County Landowners in 1860  
(U.S. Census Office 1860B).

RANK	NAME	WORTH IN REAL ESTATE
1	Jas. D. Denniston	\$200,000
2	George H. Howard	100,000
3	Francisco Sanchez	100,000
4	Jas. Johnson	80,000
5	Y. G. Phelps	61,000
6	S. M. Meyess ("agent")	50,000
7	Gobocion Vasques	50,000
8	W. P. Morrison	40,000
9	John W. Kishing	40,000
10-12	Sanchez (3 families)	36,000
13	Charles Lux	30,000
14	H. Haws	30,000
15	A. Easton	25,000

The 1870 census for San Mateo County lists only eight California Indian people, most of them members of only one family, the Evencios. The decline in numbers had been sharp between 1852 and 1860, but between 1860 and 1870 the drop was catastrophic. A new factor putting stress on the San Mateo County Indians in the 1860s, beyond the factors discussed in the first section of this chapter, was the arrival of Chinese workers as a cheap labor force for the large landowners. The first page of the 1870 census for San Mateo County's Township 2, immediately proceeding the page on which the Evencio family is listed, shows three Sanchez family groups, each farming and each owning \$10,200 worth of real estate (for a total of \$30,600). In sharp contrast to 1852, they employed no Indians, but did employ four Chinese, Ah Jim, Ah Sam, Ah Kee and Ah John, as farm laborers (U.S. Census Office 1870a).

The farm labor niche was the one that most male San Mateo Indians had filled in 1860. Losing this employment meant not only a loss of the minimal income it would provide, but with the loss of reciprocal relationships with ranch owning families in the context of racialization and the advent of market-based class society, it also meant the loss of a place to live and access to regular food. The mainly immigrant North American population of San Mateo county, which doubled from 3,088 in 1860 to 6,098 in 1870, may have supported the removal of the laws that oppressed Indians in the 1850s, but they still had no desire to have Indians as neighbors or employees.

### San Francisco County Indians in the 1860s and 1870s

In the City and County of San Francisco, the 1860 and 1870 censuses document the disappearance of acknowledged Mission Dolores Indians from the public record and the emergence of an urban pan-California Indian community. Only 37 Indians were reported in 1860 and 45 in 1870, remarkably low figures in a total San Francisco population of over 57,000 (1860) and 149,000 (1870).

The Indian people in the two censuses were by and large individual boarders or house servants. Only one Indian family group and one other Indian individual appear in either census. In neither case, it seems, were they ex-Mission Dolores Indians.

The names and age structure of the 37 Indians listed in the 1860 San Francisco census suggest, but do not prove, that many of them were there as a result of the practice of the informal slave raids on tribal villages that had been occurring since the 1830s. The age structure of the evenly divided male and female population was quite young. Not one of the 37 censused Indians was over 30 years of age. Only eight (21.6%), were over the age of 17. Fully 23 of the 37 (62.2%) were aged 10-17. The remaining six (16.2%) were aged nine or younger. Of 16 people listed with an occupation in 1860, 14 were servants, (including eight aged 12-14) and 2 were listed as 'laborers' (aged 11 and 16). Of those 16 servants and laborers, 9 were age 12-14. The only family was that of a single mother, 25 year old Mary Waskiss, and her six year old daughter Emily; they lived with James and Anna Hefner.

The personal names of the 37 San Francisco Indians censused in 1860 were North American, not Hispanic. Some had surnames derived from the white families with which they lived (for example, Rose Mark, aged 12, a servant, lived with Simon and Carolina Mark). Some were named for famous people (for example Abe Lincoln, aged 12, a servant, lived with the David and Sarah Smith family). Some had only first names (Charley, "Indian" aged 10, lived with the Nathan and Adelle Meyer family, while "Eureka," aged 14, lived with Benjamin and Georgianna Washington). Some of the Indians were recorded without any name at all, an example being "Buck Indian Boy" aged 12, a servant of Dan and Harriett Morgan (U.S. Census Office 1860a).

In 1870 a different group of Indian people were recorded in the U.S. census for San Francisco. Over one third (17 of 45) were from other states or outside the country, in contrast to 1860, when all 37 Indians in San Francisco had been born in California. As in 1860, personal names were North American; only two of the 45 people had Hispanic names. Single mother Mary Waskiss and her daughter Emily do not appear in the 1870 census. The only Indian family was that of Joseph Waterford, a 69 year old sail maker, and his 12 year old relative Mary Waterford. Both Joseph and Mary were born outside California, Joseph in the Rocky Mountains and Mary in Pennsylvania.

In 1870, 80% of all Indians in San Francisco (36 of 45) were female. Of those females old enough to list an occupation, 25 of 27 (92.6%) were domestic servants. One 35 year old woman named Louisa Remer from British Columbia, did bead work. A 21 year-old woman, Eureka Washington, was listed as a prostitute; she was the only Indian person who was listed in both the 1860 and 1870 San Francisco censuses. Of the remaining nine young female Indians in the 1870 census, only two were shown as attending school. Both were at the Mt. Joseph Infant Asylum. The one Indian female with a Hispanic name, Juanita, was a 23 year old California native working as a domestic servant at St. Mary's Hospital.

The nine Indian males listed in the 1870 San Francisco census had a greater occupational diversity than the females. Joseph Waterford, as mentioned above, was a sail maker, while one was listed as a seaman, three attended the city's Industrial School, and four were domestic servants. The only Indian male with a Hispanic name, Pedro Wade, was a 17 year old California-born domestic servant. Including both male and female, only two Indians were over 30 years of age. The age structure of Indians in San Francisco continued to be young in 1870. All but three of the 45 censused Indians were under age 31. Twenty-six (57.8%) were 17 years of age or younger. Another 17 (37.8%) were aged 18 to 30 years (U.S. Census Office 1870c).

The near absence of complete families among the Indians in San Francisco in 1860 and 1870 reflects the disrupted condition of Indian families through much of California during that period of tremendous Anglo-American population growth. Their youth, and their labor profile as domestic

servants, hints that many of the Indians in those censuses may have been brought to the city through the illicit trade in Indian children that had been ongoing since the late 1830s.

## LAST KNOWN NATIVE FAMILIES ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA

Only two native Indian families retain visibility on the San Francisco Peninsula in the historic record after the Rancho Era. One of them, the Alcantaras, lived at Mission Dolores; their patriarch Pedro Alcantara told Indian agent Adam Johnson in 1850 that he was the last of his people. The other, the Evencios, lived at Rancho San Mateo until evicted by William D. Howard in 1851 or 1852. (Descendants of a third family, that of Francisca Xaviera of Aramai and her husband Jose Ramos from Mexico, continued to live in west-central California, but are not followed here because their son Pablo Antonio Ramos had grown up as a part of the *gente de razón*.) We focus in this section on the life histories of those two Indian families, from their initial appearance at Mission Dolores through their disappearance from the historic record in the twentieth century.

### The Evencio Family of San Mateo

A four year old boy named Yaculo, who was to found the only San Mateo county Indian extended family documented into the twentieth century, was baptized at Mission Dolores on October 31, 1790. He was brought to the mission by his father Gesmon ("The Sun" [also spelled Exmon]) and his mother Ssapiem, San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from either the Lamchin or Puichon local tribe, and he was christened Evencio. Four years later, Evencio's future parents-in-law were baptized. They were Sacalinchi and his wife Uimusmaen, who led the first group of adult Saclan Bay Miwoks through the baptismal ceremony at the mission in December of 1794; after fleeing in 1795 they returned with a son who was christened Juan Diego in 1798. Their mission-born daughter Geronima, Evencio's future wife, was baptized in June of 1800. Geronima and Evencio were married in about 1826 and had at least eight children between that year and 1844 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 25). Their oldest son, Pedro Evencio, was the man whose testimony in federal court in 1869 about the eviction of the Indians from Rancho San Mateo, was mentioned in the previous section of this chapter.

Facts in the life of Pedro Evencio, with special reference to his status as a client and friend of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez during the American Period, were first brought to the attention of historians by Alan K. Brown (1973b). Below, we provide more background about Pedro Evencio and his extended family. Pedro Evencio's paternal grandparents, Rosendo Exmon and Osana Ssapiem, were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1793 (SFR-B 1231, 1248), three years later than their son Evencio Yaculo. Evencio Yaculo grew up in the Mission Dolores community and married Salaverba, a Huchiuñ San Francisco Bay Costanoan, in 1804 (SFR-M 953, SFR-B 2747). Evencio and Salaverba had five children before she died in 1820 (SFR-B 3610, 4416, 4895, 5672, 5869—not on Appendix F:Table 14). Evencio Yaculo then married Geronima some time during the mid-1820s, although no record of the wedding has been found. Geronima had also been married previously, to Marino Jose of the Olemalogue Coast Miwoks (SFR-M , SFR-B 3906); her last child with him, Maria Antonia, was born in 1824. The seven children of Evencio and Geronima who appear in the Mission Dolores baptismal record were baptized between 1828 and 1844. Since none of them was named Pedro, we presume that he was born in 1826 and that Evencio Yaculo and Geronima were also married that year (Appendix F:Table 14, family 25).

Evencio Yaculo and Geronima raised their children during the Rancho Era at the mission outstation of Rancho San Mateo. Pedro Evencio stated in 1869 court testimony that his father had been the leader of the San Mateo Indian community when Pedro was young. Pedro considered Jose de la Cruz Sanchez to have been his father's patron and the rightful owner of Rancho San Mateo during the 1840s. During the testimony he was asked, "Did José de la Cruz Sanchez come on that



rancho [San Mateo] with cattle and lend your father animals to plow with, and give your father beef as far back as you can remember?” Pedro answered affirmatively (Land Case 178 ND, Pedro Evencio testimony, Question 56). Pedro’s testimony makes clear that he had no idea that his family had some claim, as ex-Mission Dolores Indians, to the lands of Rancho San Mateo. (We note here that the United States Counsel objected to Pedro Evencio’s 1869 testimony “... on the ground that it is incompetent because of his race and color” [Land Case 178 ND]).

Pedro Evencio married Pastora at Mission Dolores in December of 1846. She was a Churuptoy Patwin from the present Woodland, Yolo county area by way of Mission San Francisco Solano (SFS-B 1166). The marriage entry lists Pedro as 20 years old and the bride as 18 (SFR-M 2162). Pedro Evencio and Pastora had four children who were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1852 and 1862 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 38). Those children were typical mixed-ancestry Doloreños, having as they did a Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Saclan Bay Miwok father and a Churuptoy Patwin mother.

The Evencio family did not appear as individuals in the 1860 census. In the 1870 census of San Mateo County, however, the “Abensio” family was listed as follows:

- Abensio, Pedro, 45, male, Farm laborer
- “ Pastora, 38, female, Keeping home
- “ Maria, 17, female
- “ Casusa, 8, male
- “ (no name listed) 4, female
- Diago, John, 68, male (U.S. Census Bureau 1870a)

Later evidence indicates that the Evencio family also had a son Joseph, about 10 years old in 1870, whom the census taker apparently missed. The family was living in the same household as both Francisca Sanchez (45, female), who owned real estate worth \$5,000, and Eustancio Valencia (44, male), who also owned \$5,000 worth of real estate. Indians were never listed as owning any real or personal estate in the 1860 or 1870 censuses of San Mateo county.

John Diego, the 68-year-old man living with Pedro Evencio and Pastora in 1870, has an interesting story of his own. In the 1869 Rancho San Mateo court case Pedro Evencio had stated that “John Diego” was his uncle and that the two of them were the only original San Mateo county Indians still alive (Land Case 178 ND). Mission register evidence shows that Juan Diego was the brother of Pedro Evencio’s mother Geronima; he was the child that Sacalinci and Uimusmaen had brought for baptism when they returned to Mission Dolores in 1798 after the Saclan flight of 1795. Juan Diego does not seem to have married until middle age; his children with Maria Rosario, a mixed Suisun Patwin/Chupcan Bay Miwok, appear in the Mission Dolores baptismal register between 1848 and 1854 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 40). Juan Diego, his wife, and 13 children were listed in the 1852 census for San Francisco/San Mateo counties.

Although the 1880 census for San Mateo county listed only eight Indians, five of them were members of the Evencio family. They were living with and working for the white farm family of Louis Doff. They are listed as follows:

- Abencio, Pedro, 58, male, Farm laborer
- “ Mary, 58, female, Keeping home
- “ Mary, 25, female
- “ Refuga, 16, female
- “ Thomas, 5, male

Pastora apparently was using the name Mary that year. Another of their offspring, Joseph Evencio, 22, was living nearby and working as a stableman at a hotel in the San Mateo area (U.S. Census Office 1880a).

Pedro Evencio and Pastora were visited in 1894 by Mary S. Barnes, who wrote the following short piece for *The Sequoia*, the official student magazine of Stanford University:

There lives in San Mateo, an old Indian, Pedro Evancio by name, the last of all the... Indians born and bred at the Mission Dolores. Don Pablo Vasquez of Spanish town put us on his track one day when we were asking if there were still any living descendants of the old inhabitants of the valley. "His father was my father's man," he said. "When my father was vaquero of the Mission Dolores, just before the Americans came in."

When we went to see Pedro, we found him in a little white-washed house, neat within and without, the garden full of pinks and stocks, and all sweet, bright flowers, with a dog haunting about it. His wife, a dark Spanish woman, showed us into a neat living room; in one corner of it stood the bed; various ornaments adorned the walls, and on the table stood a great bunch of flowers.

"Could we see Mr. Pedro Evancio?" "Si, si," and there appeared in the kitchen-door Pedro Evancio; a well-built, well-proportioned man, dignified though shy, with a dark beard, an observant eye, dressed in workman's clothes.

We advanced with ardor; but he met our advance with a grave and questioning reserve... Spanish was his native tongue, and our first interview consisted mostly of surprise, friendliness, and a little embarrassment. But in a later interview through his son, an intelligent young workman, we were able to carry on a second-hand conversation, and to obtain photographs of Pedro Evancio. He could not say to what tribe he belonged,—he knew himself only as a Mission Indian; but the old Indian trails, especially that trail by which the Mission Indians used to drag redwood to the Mission Dolores, were all fresh in his mind, and his son Joseph could make us a clear map of the whole Santa Clara Valley with all its old trails.

Pedro's general appearance, and especially his rather full beard, made us doubt the purity of his Indian descent. But in Palou's diary of 1774, full descriptions of our Santa Clara valley Indians are given; "well-formed and tall, many of them bearded like a Spaniard..." (Barnes 1894:277).

A photo of Pedro Evencio was obtained by Barnes during her 1894 visit (Figure 15).

Cemetery records at St. John's Cemetery in San Mateo list the burial of "Edwin Domingo Evencio" in January of 1896. Yet all accompanying information fits the description of Pedro Evencio. His age is given as 69 (born about 1826); birthplace San Francisco; date of death January 19 or 20, 1896; a married male of the "copper" race; and struck and killed by a railroad train at the Burlingame Station (San Mateo County 1896). That the man killed by a train in 1896 was indeed Pedro Evencio is confirmed by a November of 1907 newspaper article about his son Joseph, which stated that Pedro was killed "about ten years earlier" (*San Mateo Leader* November 6, 1907:4). He had reportedly been warned about walking home on the train tracks but liked to do it anyway (Brown n.d.:4; Stanger 1963:32).

Only one member of the Evencio family was listed in the 1900 federal census of San Mateo county. He was Joseph Evencio, son of Pedro and Maria Pastora. He was listed as a 40 year old (born in March of 1860) single man. Joseph's occupation was a laborer; he could read and write as well as speak English. We do not know what became of Pedro Evencio's wife Pastora/Mary or of their

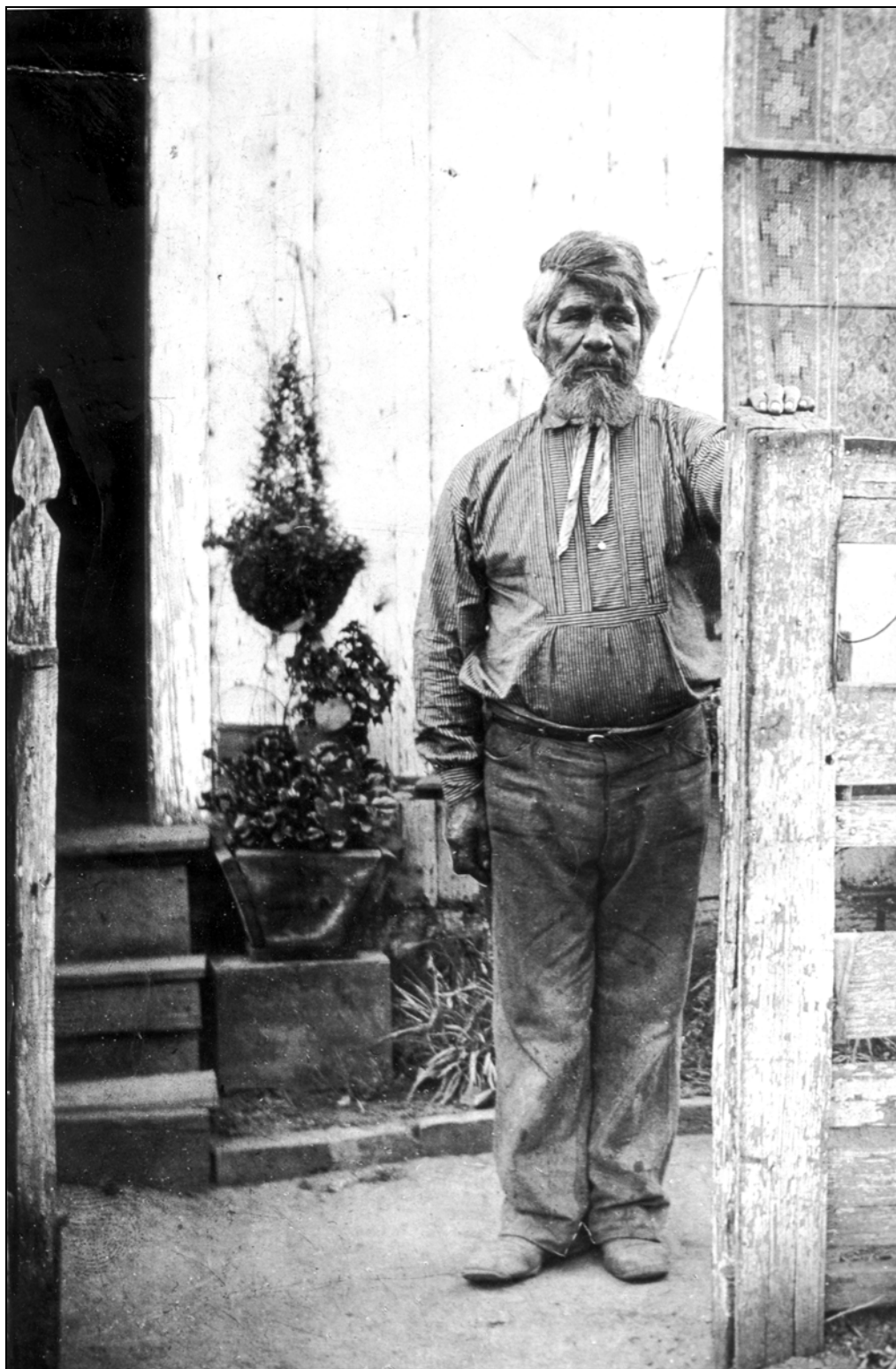


Figure 15. San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/Costanoan Pedro Evencio in 1894 (Age Unknown).  
Courtesy of San Mateo County History Museum.

children listed in the 1880 census, Mary, Refugia and Thomas. No other Indians could be found for San Mateo county in that 1900 census (U.S. Census Bureau 1900b), although C. E. Kelsey of the BIA reported groups of Indians living in Redwood City and San Mateo in 1906.

Joseph Evencio, son of Pedro Evencio, was himself killed by an electric railroad car near Millbrae in early November, 1907. The newspaper report called him "Indian Joe," said that he was full blooded, and stated that he had earned his living doing odd jobs. This was the article that noted that his father had also been killed by a railroad train about ten years earlier (*San Mateo Leader* November 6, 1907:4). Soon upon Joseph Evencio's death, members of the local Woman's Club found out that his body was being neglected by a county deputy coroner who also had an undertaking establishment. The full story of their protest and successful effort to provide him a decent burial was recorded by the San Francisco Call:

#### CRITICIZE UNDERTAKER'S TREATMENT OF CORPSE

Accused of Neglecting Body of "Indian Joe," Scion of Ancient Family

*San Mateo*, Nov. 9 – J. G. McCarthy, proprietor of the Floral City undertaking parlors, is being criticized by the members of the San Mateo woman's club and many citizens as the result of his alleged inhuman treatment of the body of Joseph Evincio, "Indian Joe," who was killed by an electric car near Easton on the night of November 6. McCarthy, being a deputy coroner, removed the body to his undertaking establishment in San Mateo, and his subsequent treatment of the corpse is said to have been neglectful in the extreme.

Old residents began to take up a subscription when they heard of "Indian Joe's" death, being desirous of giving the man, whose family in early days had owned half of this peninsula, a decent burial. Daniel Sullivan collected \$30 within a few minutes, and, going to McCarthy's place with the money, said that he wished the body to be given a befitting burial and that there would be more money forthcoming. McCarthy took the money, but did not seem overanxious to do anything special for the body, it is said.

Sullivan made mention of McCarthy's demeanor to two prominent members of the Women's Club and the ladies went to McCarthy's establishment to investigate. They said that they found that the body had been left in an outhouse in the same position as it had been found; that the face had not been washed and that the corpse had not even been straightened out. McCarthy's actions and talk were considered insulting by these women, according to their statements, so much so in fact that they made arrangements with Undertaker James Crowe of Redwood City to come for the body.

When Crowe learned of the identity of the body, he donated the services of two men, a hearse, a carriage and a fine coffin. Joe's body was removed from McCarthy's establishment and given an imposing funeral from the Catholic church, being laid away in St. John's cemetery in the same plot as his father and mother. Criticism of the women who had taken the matter up induced McCarthy to return \$15 of the \$30 he had received, the undertaker claiming that at least that amount was due him for the services he had rendered the corpse of the man who could trace his ancestry back to the time of the Montesumas (*San Francisco Call* November 10, 1907:39).

The burial of Joseph Evencio, who was 47 or 49 years old when he died in 1907, is not the end of the Evencio family story. In 1963 historian Frank M. Stanger stated in his book *South From San Francisco* that one "Indian Joe" was living in a "crude shelter" at Coyote Point during the late 1930s, adding that "... his real name, it seems, was Joseph (Jose) Evencio" (Stanger 1963:32). Alan Brown (1973b:16) reproduced a photograph of him, supposedly taken in the early 1920s at Coyote Point. The man seemed to be about 40 years old in the photograph. Perhaps he was a son or nephew

of the Joseph Evencio who died in 1907. With the disappearance of the younger Joe Evencio, “the San Mateo County Indians have vanished from among us as completely as any people could,” wrote Brown (1973b:23).

### **The Alcantara Family of San Francisco**

The Indian man who told Indian Sub-agent Adam Johnson in 1850, “I am all that is left of my people. I am alone,” was named Pedro Alcantara (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853:506, quoted by Castillo 1978a:105). At the time Johnson ascribed those words to him, Pedro Alcantara was approximately 64 years old. He was indeed the last tribally-born person of his home group, the Cotegen (alias Ssalaime) group of the San Mateo county coast. He was also a Yelamu through his mother, and was the last living tribally-born person with direct ancestry to that group as well. But he was not the last ex-Mission Dolores Indian. Nor was he the last member of his family. In the Johnson interview he stated, “I had a son. I loved him. When the palefaces came he went away. I do not know where he is.” In fact, however, his son Bernardino was away only temporarily. Pedro Alcantara’s children and grandchildren appear in various records long after 1850.

Pedro Alcantara’s mother, Restituta Juium, was pregnant with him when she and Pedro’s father, Gonzalo Simmón, were baptized at Mission Dolores in April of 1786 (SFR-B 534, 535). Pedro was born in August at a village of his father’s people, the Cotegens of the San Mateo coast, and baptized back at Mission Dolores in September (SFR-B 553). Pedro’s mother was one of four baptized sisters originally from Sitlintac village of the Yelamus (SFR-B 535). Pedro was the only one of four baptized children of Gonzalo and Restituta to reach adulthood.

Pedro Alcantara married his first wife, the twice widowed Celsa Ochacantel, at Mission Dolores in May of 1818. Celsa was a Tamal Coast Miwok who had already outlived two Coast Miwok husbands. Celsa died a year later, having had no children with Pedro. Pedro married again in November of 1820, this time to a Suisun Patwin woman named Crisanta Geyumtole who had come down to San Francisco from the tribal Patwin lands with her mother in 1815. At the time of their wedding, Crisanta was 16 and Pedro was 34. Pedro and Crisanta had four documented children in the 1820s and 1830s (Appendix F:Table 14, family 19). They may have had other children who never appeared in any mission register. The missionary at the time, Tomas Estenega, did not take great care with the records.

Bernardino, baptized as Fernandino, was the only one of Pedro Alcantara and Crisanta’s four children to marry and have children of his own. Bernardino married a girl named Mariana at Mission Santa Clara in 1843 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 34). Mariana had been brought to the Santa Clara Mission from the “tulares” at age 10 by Manuel Alviso in 1833 (SCL-B 8599). Her marriage record with Bernardino states that she had been adopted by Evencio and Geronima, the Rancho San Mateo couple highlighted in the subsection above. Six months after Bernardino’s wedding, his mother, the Suisun woman Crisanta, died and was buried at Mission Santa Clara (SCL-D 7731 on April 26, 1843).

Bernardino Alcantara and Mariana were one of the couples who moved back and forth between the San Francisco and Santa Clara vicinities during the 1840s. Their first child was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1843 and their second child was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847. No children were born to them over the years 1848-1850, when Indian Sub-agent Adam Johnson met Bernardino’s father Pedro and learned from him that his son had gone away (Johnson in Schoolcraft 1860, quoted by Castillo 1978a:105). Possibly Bernardino had gone to the gold mines. Bernardino and Mariana had another child baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1851 (Maria Crisanta). They then had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1854 (Maria Refugio Aniceta), 1858 (Espiridion), and 1862 (Maria). One of these children, Maria, lived until 1922. We reviewed the 1852, 1860 and 1870 censuses for evidence of either the Pedro Alcantara or Bernardino Alcantara family in San Mateo or San Francisco Counties, but could not locate them. They may have passed and been listed as white. Alternatively they may have lived elsewhere during these years, or were missed by the census takers.

As mentioned above, Bernardino Alcantara's daughter Maria, born in 1862, lived into the 1920s. By the time of her death she had married and taken her husband's surname, becoming known as Marie Bernal Buffet. A brief account of her life was published in the *San Francisco Examiner*, as follows:

#### LAST OF INDIANS IN S.F. IS DYING AMID POVERTY

Amid scenes of poverty and woe a member of a fast-vanishing race is passing to the happy hunting grounds of her ancestors.

She is Marie Bernal Buffet, last of San Francisco's Indians whose history and reminiscences are part of the romance of California.

Of that varied existence which began back in the sunny days of San Francisco sixty-five years ago, there is nothing left to the paralyzed old woman but the coin of dreams. Her little home is mortgaged for \$500, which has long since been expended for medicine and doctor's bills. Antoine Buffet, the Frenchman who married the Indian girl forty years ago, is in constant attendance at her bedside in the little room at Millbrae seeking with scanty store to bring a measure of comfort to her remaining days.

Marie Buffet's grandfather, Pedro Acanta, was a devoted friend of Father Junipero Serra and helped plan the first adobe Mission Dolores in 1776, superintending the Indian youths who bore the timber from the San Pedro valley and working with the monks during the eight years of its construction.

The present William D. Howard estate on the peninsula was once owned, through a grant of the padres, by Pedro Evensio, a cousin of Marie Bernal Buffet. Her middle name is taken from the Bernal family from whom the Bernal Heights district was named. A student of Notre Dame convent in her youth, the rosary she figures [sic] was the gift of Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, whose interest in the fate of the surviving Indians of old San Francisco was paramount.

"I could tell him of only eleven living Indians at the time he gave me the rosary," says the old woman (*San Francisco Examiner*, July 18, 1922, p. 9).

The 1922 article is not correct about Pedro Alcantara's role at Mission Dolores in 1776, since he was not born until over a decade later. Nor was Pedro Evencio her cousin, at least biologically. However, her mother Mariana had been adopted by Evencio Yaculo and Geronima, making Pedro Evencio her adopted brother. Marie Buffet's logic in describing Pedro Evencio as her cousin makes sense in that light.

The life history of the Pedro Alcantara-Crisanta family, down to the dying days of their granddaughter Marie Buffet, illustrates a number of patterns in the story of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan people of the San Francisco Peninsula.

- The high death rate among the children of tribal San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers is illustrated by the fact that Pedro Alcantara was one of the few children born at Mission Dolores in the eighteenth century to grow up and have children of his own.
- Pedro Alcantara's marriages, first to a Coast Miwok woman and then to Crisanta, a Suisun Patwin woman, as well as Bernardino's marriage to Mariana, a woman from the San Joaquin Valley, illustrate the common pattern of Costanoan men marrying young women from other tribal peoples who were migrating to San Francisco from much greater distances than would have been the case in pre-mission times.
- The survival of Marie Buffet, a Sitlintac descendant (her father's father's mother was Restituta Juim of Sitlintac) up to 1922, without any indication of her as an Indian in federal censuses, reminds us that other surviving San Francisco Peninsula descendants may have blended into twentieth-century society without notice.

## COSTANOANS BEYOND THE SAN FRANCISCO PENINSULA, 1847-1928

In this section we review what little is known about the descendents of Costanoan language family speakers beyond the San Francisco Peninsula during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Separate sub-sections examine the Indian people of the Mission San Jose, Mission Santa Clara, combined Missions San Juan Bautista/Santa Cruz, and Mission Carmel areas. The Mission Soledad area is not addressed because it was abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century. The people of Missions San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz are discussed together because little is known about the late nineteenth-century Mission San Juan Bautista people, but there is some indication that they interacted heavily with the Santa Cruz people.

### East Bay Indians and the Alisal/Verona Band

Mission San Jose was the most populous of the missions to Costanoan speaking peoples in the mid-1830s, but the majority of its 1,795 people in 1834 were Plains Miwok speakers. Still, there were approximately 140 San Francisco Bay Costanoans and their descendents in the population that year. Many ex-Mission San Jose family groups continued to live in the East Bay throughout the period from 1847 to 1927. Traditional native language and culture continued to be woven into the existence of at least some of the ex-Mission San Jose Indians, perhaps due to constant contact with relatives who returned to the Central Valley and Sierra foothills. J. P. Harrington's informant Angela Colos remembered a dance house somewhere in the San Leandro area during the 1850s and 1860s:

Martin was good to stand on top of the sweathouse above San Leandro. Both [Maria] and Jose have heard him. He was "sermonero" so they called them. Call it "echando sermon." Might say also "espichero." [They spoke good things] How could I tell you all he says. He was counseling the people. To all the people, to instruct. [Men] and women heard all he said from temascal top there (Colos paraphrased in Harrington 1921-29).

Both old Christian (mainly San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and new Christian (mainly Plains Miwok) people secured places as workers on ranchos in the East Bay during the 1840s. By 1860, the census shows that many Indian families were still in place on a number of ranches of Mexican families. Two Indian families (Majin and Michaela; Felipe Gonzales and Catarina) continued to live next door to landowner Augustin Alviso at "Cerritos" on the Fremont Plain southwest of Mission San Jose. (The ranch house, and presumably the Indian homes, were in the south part of the rancho, near Newark). Another cluster lived at Vallejo's Mill (Niles), including the Santos family (Hipolito and Refugia). Other Indian families lived in the Centerville, San Lorenzo, and San Leandro areas. A few individuals and families were listed in the Livermore Valley area during the 1860 census (U.S. Census Office 1860c).

The 1870 census indicates that most of the East Bay Indian people were living in the Pleasanton area, on the ranch of Juan Bernal and/or John Kottinger (U.S. Census Office 1870b). It lists the 68 members of this community, all immediately following 35 year old "A. Burnell" (probably Andres Bernal, son of original Valle de San Jose rancho owner Agustin Bernal), his wife and eight other white family members. We have no direct testimony that explains the consolidation of Indian people at the Bernal ranch and a few other spots during the 1860s. We infer that it was the result of eviction from many other ranches as they came under control of North Americans and retreat to the few places where they were still accepted.

The 68 Indians at the Bernal ranch were organized into 13 small families (ranging from two to eight members), living in an equal number of dwellings. Almost all are listed with only their first names, which may have been the only names they had at this point in time. Table 11 shows the age and sex ratios for this group. While the age structure of the group appears to be within the normal

range, the sex structure is not, with males over 21 outnumbering females over 21 by two to one. On the other hand, in the 10 to 20 age group, there are five times as many females as males. Only the 0-9 year old age group, born in the 1860s, has a near normal sex ratio. In frontier California, with so many more men than women, adult females were lured, stolen and forced to interact with white society. Perhaps male Indian children were also preferred as servants or workers by the larger white society and so they were also taken during the 1850s, explaining the small number of male Indian children aged 10 to 20. In any case, the result was an abnormal sex ratio in this community, likely to lead to population decline in the long term.

Table 11. Age and Sex Structure of 68 California Indians at the Bernal Rancho near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1870 Census (U.S. Census Office 1870B).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
1 M (100%)	12 M (70.6%)	12 M (63.2%)	2 M (15.4%)	8 M (44.4%)
0 F	5 F (20.4%)	7 F (36.8%)	11 F (84.6%)	10 F (55.6%)
1 (1.5%)	17 (25%)	19 (27.9%)	13 (19.1%)	18 (26.5%)

In the early 1870s, the people at Pleasanton participated in the short-lived Ghost Dance that began in Nevada in 1870. A Paiute man had dreamed that dancing would cause the white people to disappear and the traditional Indian life to be re-established. In 1872 Ghost Dance leaders from Pleasanton journeyed to at least three places in the Sierran foothills to spread the religion (Du Bois 1939, Gifford 1926c). Yet, on May 30, 1873, ten Pleasanton Indian couples had church weddings at Mission San Jose (San Jose Mission Second Book of Marriages [SJO-M2], records 205-214). Some were couples who had had children in the 1860s and had long ignored the formality of a church wedding. This event may reflect their disillusionment when the Ghost Dance failed to produce tangible results.

By 1890 the Hearst family had purchased much of the Bernal Rancho. The Indian rancheria at the ranch had been called Alisal up to that time. Its name was changed to Verona when some unnamed railroad employee gave that name to a rail stop on the new line pushed through the village area soon thereafter. Mrs. Hearst allowed the Indians to stay in their homes, but the community was declining in numbers.

When anthropologists C. Hart Merriam and Alfred L. Kroeber visited Alisal/Verona in the first decade of the twentieth century, they found that Plains Miwok was the predominate native language of the group. But they also found people who still knew San Francisco Bay Costanoan. We have a good picture of the language background of the individual Indian people in the Alisal/Verona band during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, from the notes of Merriam and Kroeber, the more extensive notes of J. P. Harrington in the 1920s, census and mission record materials, and the accounts of living Alisal/Verona descendents. Among the many patterns that emerge from study of the families is one of increasing intermarriage among descendents of San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Bay Miwoks, Delta Yokuts, Plains Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, and Patwins over time. Examples of mixed families are the following:

- Jose Antonio (SJO-B 8089), who was recognized as chief of the little group at Verona until his death in approximately 1900, was the son of a mixed Napa Patwin/Chocoime Coast Miwok father (SJO-B 2886, 2996, 3573) and an Ochejamne Plains Miwok mother (SJO-B 6286).
- Jose Guzman (mission baptism not found), one of Harrington's two main consultants among Mission San Jose descendents in the 1920s, was pure Delta Yokuts (parents SJO-B 3629, 4224), but his wife Francisca (SJO-B 8389) had the Napa Patwin/Chocoime Coast Miwok/Ochejamne Plains Miwok mix of her uncle Jose Antonio on her mother's



side (see above), and a bilingual Jalquin San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok and Napa Patwin mix on her father's side (SJO-B 4084 of SFR-B 2322 and SJO-B 2842). Guzman and Francisca had numerous children who were descended from every language group of west-central California.

- Maria Angela Colos (SJO-B 7774), Harrington's other key consultant, was Geluasibe Coast Miwok (a sub-group of Omiomi) on her father's side (SRA-B 558, 588, 589) and Ochejamne Plains Miwok on her mother's side (SJO-B 6247). Colos learned the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language from her step-father, Santiago Piña (SJO-B 4075), son of a Souyen father (SJO-B 201) and Luecha mother (SJO-B 1520).
- Three daughters of Panfilo Yaquilamne (probably SJO-B 7344, a Gualacomne Plains Miwok) and Efrena (SJO-B 6658, part bilingual Jalquin San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok and part Napa Patwin [SFR-B 2322, SJO-B 2842]). Those daughters are the ancestors of the Marine/Alvarez/Galvan/Sanchez group of families, many of whom belong to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe.

The 1900 census lists 34 individuals in ten different family groups and separate fixed dwellings at the village (U.S. Census Office 1900a). All are identified as "Mission San Jose" Indians. Only one, Tania Santos, a 20-year-old female, had secured enough education to be able to read and write, although one other person could read and most could speak English. The occupations of ten of the men and two of the women were listed as "Day Laborer," but all but two were listed as unemployed from seven to 11 months of the year. Of those two, one was employed for eight months and the other was employed all year. Although numbers are small, the age and sex structure indicates a stable group with a diverse age structure and nearly even numbers of males and females. Only in the 21-30 age group was there a serious imbalance between males and females (Table 12).

Table 12. Age and Sex Structure of 34 California Indians at the Hearst Property near Pleasanton, California, as Listed in the 1900 Census (U.S. Census Office 1900A).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
2 M (66.7%)	2 M (33.3%)	8 M (72.7%)	2 M (40%)	4 M (44.4%)
1 F (33.3%)	4 F (66.7%)	3 F (27.3%)	3 F (60%)	5 F (55.6%)
3 (8.8%)	6 (17.6%)	11 (32.4%)	5 (14.7%)	9 (26.5%)

The Verona band was visited in 1906 by BIA Special Agent C. E. Kelsey, who was documenting groups of landless Indians in response to a late nineteenth-century law directing the formation of new small reservations (see discussion in the first section of this chapter). Kelsey found 14 families with a total of 28 people, with another 6 families and 14 people at Niles (Kelsey 1971). No action was ever taken, however, to secure land for them.

The Verona band gradually broke up during the years prior to 1914 and its people moved to nearby towns like Pleasanton, Sunol, Niles, Fremont, Milpitas, Newark and Livermore. Family tradition of descendants of some of those people says that the last tribal dance at Pleasanton was held in 1897, and that the last recognized chief of the rancheria, Jose Antonio, died in 1900. The dance house for which he had been responsible was torn down at that time (Galvan 1968:12). When Kroeber returned in 1914, he found that most of the older people had moved away or died (Milliken 2002c:72). Descendants of the Alisal/Verona Band still live in the San Francisco Bay Area today; they form the core membership of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe (Field et al. 1992:19).

## The Problem of the Mission Santa Clara Descendents

At the beginning of secularization in 1834, Mission Santa Clara was the home of 1,108 Indians. It was second in size only to Mission San Jose among missions that had taken in Costanoan speakers. By the year 1860, only 167 Indians were reported for the entire Santa Clara county area. Indians are almost absent from the standard histories of Santa Clara county, the one exception being Inigo, an Indian land-owner of the 1850s who will be discussed further below.

The 1,108 Indians at Mission Santa Clara in 1834 included the largest contingent of living San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and descendents at any mission, 343 people. (The other large Costanoan mission at that time, San Juan Bautista, housed 340 speakers of the distinct Mutsun Costanoan language.) Delta Yokuts, however, was the predominate native language at the mission at the time of secularization; it was spoken by about 730 people. Some 33 children were of mixed Costanoan-Yokutsan descent.

San Joaquin Valley and Sierra foothill Indians continued to come to Mission Santa Clara for baptism in small numbers after secularization. A visitor at the 1837 celebration to commemorate the founding of Mission Santa Clara reported that feather-bedecked and painted Indians put on an impressive dance (Atherton [1837] 1964:64). But most of the Yokuts speakers seem to have returned to the San Joaquin Valley in the late 1830s. Jackson (2002:91) perused primary sources to report that the Mission Santa Clara population was down to 400 in 1839, to 300 in 1842, and 130 in 1845. Some of the drop was doubtless due to the typical high mission death rate, but much can be attributed to emancipation, which took Indians off of the rolls of church responsibility.

Of the scores of ex-Mission Santa Clara Indians who must have been living in the Santa Clara Valley soon after 1850, only one individual, a man named Inigo, is commonly mentioned in the early histories of Santa Clara county. Inigo had been baptized at Mission Santa Clara at the age of eight in 1789 (SCL-B 1501). His parents, baptized during the mass conversions of 1794, came from the vaguely defined district of San Bernardino, so their village may have been anywhere from the Alviso-Mountain View area west to the Pacific Coast (SCL-B 3106, 3111). Inigo was one of four Mission Santa Clara natives to receive a land grant at secularization. He still owned a portion of the grant, Rancho Posolmi (north of San Jose near San Francisco Bay), in the 1850s. Also, although he was an old man, he was identified as the father of baptized infants with his much younger wife, Eustoquia (probably SFR-B 6421, an Ululato Patwin from the Vacaville area) as late as 1857 (SCL-B 12,270). In the land case battles of the 1850s, Inigo was able to hold on to about 450 acres of the parcel, which was originally at least four times as large. Inigo died at the end of February of 1864. He was 83 years old at death, although a newspaper obituary stated that he was said to be 104 years old at death (Shoup and Milliken 1999).

A rich body of primary information about Indians of Santa Clara county has been published by Jakki Kehl and Linda Yamane (1995). They collected and published the names of Indian people in the county listed in the 1852 census (447 names), 1860 census (164 names), 1870 census (5 names), 1880 census (58 names), 1900 census (5 names), 1920 census (1 name), and 1928 Jurisdictional Act Enrollment census (58 individuals or family groups). Kehl and Yamane conducted family reconstitution case studies for some people listed as Indian in one or another of the censuses. Among their studies of people living in the general San Jose area, they found the following with links to mission registers.

- Guadalupe Berreyessa, a man listed as an Indian in Alviso township in the 1860 census, had only one definite California Indian ancestor, a woman named Maria Viridiana from Achasta, a Monterey area village (Rumsen Costanoan speakers); Maria Viridiana had married Marcos Villela at Mission Carmel in the eighteenth century.

- Ignacio Cantua, the only person listed as Indian in Santa Clara county in the 1920 census, may be the same person as Jose Ignacio, baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in 1852 (SJB-B 5016). That man was born to an Indian woman, Celedonia Cervantes, whose own baptism and home group has not been identified.
- Frank B. McCormick, who enrolled with the BIA in King City in 1930 at age 67, stated that his mother, Catherine McCormick, was an Indian mother raised in the Santa Clara area. The researchers identified the marriage record of the mother, Catherine Forbes, with Ludavicey McCormack at Mission Santa Clara in 1856; that record stated that she was an Indian from Sacramento. Since Kehl and Yamane's (1995) study, Milliken has identified the baptism at Mission San Jose (SJO-B 7637) in 1838 of seven-year-old Catarina Forbes; pertinent sections of the entry translate as, "brought from among the heathens [*gentiles*] and it is not known if she has parents ... her godparents were Don Diego Forbes and Dueña Ana Maria Galindo, who have adopted her as their daughter."
- Simon Semichy of San Jose and his sister Manuela Gallardo, both enrolled under the 1928 Jurisdictional Act as descendents of a Santa Clara county Indian. Both traced their Indian ancestry back to Maria Bernarda Rosales Buelna, who was listed as white in the 1852 census for Santa Clara county. Manuela Gallardo's application included the information that Maria Buelna's grandmother was named Maria Monica. From that information the researchers were able to determine that ancestor Bernardo Rosales had married the Indian woman Monica at Mission San Luis Obispo. Since the publication of Kehl and Yamane's study, in 1995, Milliken has determined that Monica was from the village of Setjala in the present Cayucos coastal area, that she had been baptized at Mission San Luis Obispo at the age of 16 in 1774, and that she had married Bernardo Rosales shortly thereafter (SLO-B 77, SLO-M 4).

Kehl and Yamane (1995) indicate that Indians from many parts of California have moved to the San Jose vicinity over a long period of time, and that initial impressions about original homelands may be misleading.

No Mission Santa Clara descendents are known to us to be active in present-day Ohlone/Costanoan cultural or political activities. The mystery of the disappearance of the large post-mission population of Mission Santa Clara Indians, using the mission register database and the rich information in the 1852 census, begs future investigation.

### **Indians of the San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz Areas**

Mission San Juan Bautista contained one of the two largest groups of Costanoan speakers at the time of secularization (about 340 people). Mission Santa Cruz, on the other hand, contained a very small Costanoan language family population in 1834 (about 58 people). Next to nothing has been published about the lives of the ex-mission Indians of either San Juan Bautista or Santa Cruz during the late nineteenth century.

Mission San Juan Bautista is now located in San Benito county. Because that county was not carved out of Monterey county until 1874, Table 9 shows no Indian people in San Benito County in the 1860 and 1870 censuses. One could document numerous Indian families in the San Juan Bautista area during the late nineteenth century by working with the mission records, since the Catholic ex-Mission San Juan Bautista Indian people continued to bring their children to the mission for baptism. But such a study is beyond the scope of this report. A quick look at the baptismal register database does show that a few Indian people moved to the area from missions Santa Clara, Carmel, Soledad, San Antonio, San Miguel, Santa Barbara, and San Buenaventura in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s.

Two of the large Mission San Juan Bautista Indian families of the late nineteenth century were the Solorsano family and the Sierras family. The Solorsanos were sons and daughters of Modesto of Ausaima Mutsun Costanoan descent and Maria of Pagsin Mutsun/Ensen Rumsen descent (SJB-B 268, 396). The Sierras family descended from Junipero of the Orestacs (Mutsun Costanoan) and two successive wives, Restituta of the Ausaimas (Mutsun Costanoan) and Sopatra of the Quithrathre Yokuts (SJB-B 1823, 602, 2766). Maria Ascencion Solorsano, a daughter of Barbara Sierras with her second husband, Miguel Solorsano, became the key Mutsun Costanoan consultant to J. P. Harrington just before her death as a very old woman in early 1930. Harrington temporarily moved in to the basement of the Solorsano home so he could be with Ascencion constantly (Agren 2002:7). Many descendents of the Solorsano family are active today as Mission San Juan Bautista descendents, most in the Amah Mutsun Band of Ohlone Costanoan Indians (Ketchum 2002).

Another family line with descendents alive today was that of Eladio (SJB-B 584) of the Uñijaima group and Anselma of the Guachirrones de la Sierra (SJB-B 1796), both Mutsun Costanoan speakers. One of their daughters, Maria Guadalupe, born in 1835, later took the surname Ortega, probably after her godfather Quintin Ortega (SJB-B 4137). Guadalupe Ortega's daughter Soledad (SJB-B 4885) married Caterino Gilroy (SJB-B 4428), son of Englishman John Gilroy and local Hispanic Clara Ortega, in the late 1850s. Their son Alfredo Gilroy was the grandfather of some Amah-Mutsun people alive today. Details about the family, including a wide range of census data, are found in Kehl and Yamane's (1995) study of historic Santa Clara county Indians.

Sebastian Garcia was another noteworthy Indian in the Mission San Juan Bautista vicinity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Garcia's own baptism, and therefore his home group, has not been located in mission records. Nor has his wife, Maria Escolastica, been identified to general satisfaction in mission records. Garcia and Maria Escolastica had at least 11 children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They received a parcel of land near Hollister in 1904 which is in the possession of their great-granddaughter Ann Marie Sayers today (Imrie 2002, Sayers 1994, 2002).

The ex-Mission Santa Cruz Indians after 1834 were Awaswas Costanoans, Northern Valley Yokuts, and people that had parents from both language groups. The 1860 census shows a remarkably high Indian population, 218 people, more than the 152 Indians affiliated with Mission Santa Cruz in 1834. Mission Santa Cruz baptismal register entries for the 1846-1860 period document baptisms of children of a Mission Carmel couple, a Mission San Juan Bautista couple, and two Mission Santa Clara couples, as well as children of ex-Mission Santa Cruz Indians. At least up to 1860, the Santa Cruz vicinity seems to have been providing employment for Indian people, including some from other areas.

The 1870 census shows a drop to two Indian people in Santa Cruz county (see Table 9). Since the number climbs again to 131 in the 1880 census, the 1870 figure is probably not an accurate count, but instead reflects a census taker's disinterest in recording Indians.

Linguistic and historic information was gathered from Indian people in the Santa Cruz region during the 1870s through the 1890s. The linguistic material included key Awaswas Costanoan vocabularies collected from people who could still speak the language (Pinart in Heizer 1952; Henshaw in Heizer 1955). Awaswas Costanoan descendant Lorenzo Asisara provided a rich body of information in the 1880s and 1890s about Mission Santa Cruz life in his father's time (1810s-1840s), but interviews with him do not discuss his own time period (Castillo 2002). Specific stories that document the sad condition and poor treatment of local Indian people by the citizenry of Santa Cruz county during the 1870s-1890s have been published by Dunn (2002).

## Carmeleños of the Monterey Area

When Mission Carmel was secularized in the 1830s, approximately 140 Rumsen Costanoan speakers or descendents were still alive and another 40 or so Esselen speakers or descendents were still alive. They were among the most latinized of the Indian people of all the missions that brought in Costanoan family speakers, because of two factors:

- The Carmeleños (Rumsen, Excelen, Ensen, Sargentaruc, Guachirron and Calendaruc local tribes) lived under direction of Hispanic Franciscan priests for a longer period than any of the other speakers of Costanoan languages, from 1770 until 1834.
- From 1806 forward they did not absorb new tribal groups from greater distances, so that new reminders of traditional lifeways were not constantly being presented, as they were at the other central California missions.

The Monterey-Carmel area was also the home of a large number of *gente de razon* who were descended from Rumsen Indian women who married Spanish soldiers in the 1770s.

Monterey county was noted in the 1860 U.S. census to have 411 resident Indians, almost twice as many as any other county (see Table 9). That year, however, the ex-Mission San Juan Bautista Indians were included in the Monterey County count. By 1880, with San Benito county excluded, 222 native Indian people were listed in Monterey County, still the highest Indian population of the counties listed on Table 9.

The bulk of the Monterey county Indians in 1880 (180 out of 222 or 81.1%) lived in two census districts, Monterey City and Monterey Township. They were censused in 36 separate family groupings. Unlike the situation for San Francisco, San Mateo and Alameda County Indians, they had an age and sex structure that suggested full families and a renewing population (Table 13). The most common employment for the men was laborer (30 men had that occupation) and for the women it was “keeping home” (33 women listed that occupation). Four Indian men were vaqueros taking care of livestock, two were butchers, two were wood choppers, one was a shoemaker and one was a musician. One of the Indian women was a laundress.

Table 13. Age and Sex Structure of 180 California Indians in Monterey City and Monterey Township, as Listed in the 1880 Census (U.S. Census Office 1880B).

OVER 50	31-50	21-30	10-20	0-9
9 M (47.4%)	19 M (50%)	12 M (42.9%)	22M (55%)	24 M (43.6%)
10 F (52.6%)	19 F (50%)	16 F (57.1%)	18 F (45%)	31 F (56.4%)
19 (10.6%)	38 (21.1%)	28 (15.6%)	40 (22.2%)	55 (30.6%)

While only a minority of the children (age 5-18) in the combined city and township attended school (13 out of 53 or 24.5%), a majority of those who were attending school lived in Monterey City and were members of complete family units. There were only five Indian servants (three of them children) in the Monterey area, a much different situation than San Francisco, where large numbers of Indian children were servants in white households. Indian people in Monterey were part of the economy and overall community of that time and place. As we have discussed in an earlier section, some Monterey County Indians were passing into the white racial classification during the late 1890s, thereby joining the dominant racial group of the state and nation.

The ability of Monterey county Indians to find jobs and maintain family life stood in stark contrast to the experiences of San Francisco and San Mateo County Indians. When a census of California Indians was taken during 1928-1931 for a land case action (to be discussed in detail in the following chapter) 148 Mission Carmel families applied, far more than any other central California

mission descendents. Three facts can explain the survival of relatively large numbers of Mission Indian descendents in the Monterey Bay Area:

- In the post-Gold Rush part of the nineteenth century, North American immigrants were not attracted to the Monterey Bay Area in large numbers. The area was not part of the commercial corridor to the gold country. It contained no important trade, commercial or industrial center and it did not have valuable mineral deposits. Its small population survived mainly by agriculture. This minimized both the inflow of white immigrants and the competition for economic position, land and wealth.
- Monterey county had a huge land area, especially compared to its population, which was growing only slowly. If the entire county had been equally divided among all its people in 1880, there would have been over 188 acres for each person. Only nearby San Benito county, at 160 acres per person, had a comparable figure. In contrast, the figure for San Francisco county, with only 0.123 acre per person, was a city of merchants and craft specialists foreign to the skills of the Mexican rancho world.
- Monterey retained an Hispanic culture, including the traditional acceptance of Indians by the Catholic church, for decades longer than did the San Francisco Bay Area. This culture and society had a place for Indian families, including jobs for the men as laborers, and a general acceptance of Native Americans as part of the community. Indian children could attend public schools without a problem, something not true in many parts of California.

The result was a more favorable environment for Indian survival in the Monterey Bay Area than in the San Francisco Bay Area. The ongoing interaction of Indian people with Mission Carmel into the twentieth century is documented by a 1921 newspaper article regarding a celebration at Mission Carmel in which “a dozen or more” descendents of the Carmel Mission Indians participated (*San Francisco Examiner* October 9, 1921: N 11).

Numerous Monterey Bay Area native families also interacted with anthropologists and cultural historians. Most of those individuals came from families who have descendents still involved in Indian activities today. Among them were the following:

- Salvador Mucjai (SCA-B 2631) of the Sargentaruc group of Rumsen Costanoan speakers and his wife Inez (SCA-B 2335) from the Carmel Valley villages of Echilat and Tucutnut (Rumsen local tribe of Rumsen Costanoan speakers) were married in 1816 (SCA-M 835). In the 1850s, Salvador supplied a vocabulary to antiquarian Alexander Taylor that is now recognized by linguists as an example of Rumsen Costanoan. Salvador and Inez were the grandparents of Maria Tomasa Dolores Manjares; Maria Tomasa married a Mr. Piazzoni and they raised their children on their ranch in the back country behind the Carmel Valley. Descendents of the Piazzoni-Manjares marriage are alive and active with groups of Mission Carmel Indian descendents today (Nason family).
- Antonio Onesimo (SCA-B 2105) and his wife Ygnacia Patcauxs (SC-B 2323), both born at Mission Carmel, have many descendents alive today. Onesimo’s parents were Amadeo Yeuscharon from Echilat village of the Rumsen local tribe (SCA-B 249) and Maria de las Nieves from Sargentaruc on the Big Sur coast (SCA-B 713), while Ygnacia’s parents, Codrato (SCA-B 1737) and Lupicina (SCA-B 1725), were Ensens from the Salinas area. All were Rumsen Costanoan speakers. One of their grandchildren was Isabel Meadows, who worked for many years with J. P. Harrington to document the language that is now called Rumsen Costanoan. Many Onesimo descendents are alive today.

Many other individuals among the early Mission Carmel Indians have descendents who were alive at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the descendents that were interviewed by A.

L. Kroeber and C. Hart Merriam were Viviana Soto and Jacinta Gonzales (see photos in Heron 2002:17,19). Some of their descendents continue to be active within native Monterey Bay Area Indian communities today.

## **LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE 1900-1927 PERIOD**

The identified California Indian people who lived on the San Francisco Peninsula from the 1920s forward were immigrants from other parts of the state, with the exception of Marie Buffet (of the Alcantara family) and perhaps one of the Evencios. The few other Mission Dolores Indian descendants known to be alive in the 1920s were people whose parents had moved away from the San Francisco Peninsula long before (see Appendix F: Tables 15, 16). (Even among the dispersed descendants of Indians baptized at Mission Dolores, the only known native San Francisco Peninsula Ohlone/Costanoans were the long-Hispanized descendants of Francisca Xaviera of Aramai, wife of Pablo Antonio Ramos.)

In the first part of the twentieth century the themes of land rights and citizenship were becoming more and more important to Indian people of west-central California and throughout California. Those themes are discussed below in this chapter insofar as they developed up through 1927.

### **Migrant Indian Community of the San Francisco Peninsula**

A review of the Indian people living on the San Francisco Peninsula who identified themselves in the special jurisdictional census of 1928-1930 shows that all of them were from areas outside of the Peninsula. None claimed to be descendants of the Doloreños, the Mission Dolores Indians. The census was conducted in response to a May 18, 1928 Act of Congress (45 Stat. 602) directing the Department of the Interior to conduct a census of Indian people that might be eligible for land reparation benefits not received under the unratified California treaties of 1852. Applications listing 23,000 California Indians were filed to prove ancestry.

We conducted an intensive review of the entire census, searching for Indian people in any county who traced their ancestry back to Mission Dolores, and for all who responded to the census from San Francisco and San Mateo counties. We found no Mission Dolores descendants. We did, however, find 165 respondents living in San Francisco county and 36 respondents who were living in San Mateo county that came from other parts of California.

The 165 San Francisco county respondents hailed from thirty-three different tribal groups (Table 14). Mission Carmel was the most highly represented, with 27 descendants living in San Francisco; other mission people were from Santa Barbara county and Los Angeles (Mission San Gabriel). The other people were from all over California, with northwest California the most highly represented (Karok, Yurok, Hupa, Rewood, Wailaki, Eel River, Klamath River).

The 36 individuals censused in San Mateo County included an interesting group that called themselves "Redwood City" people and just "Mission" people (Table 14). They represented two families, both with the surname "Feliz." The elder of one family of nine was Joseph Feliz, one-quarter Indian, stated to have been born in 1770. The elder of the other family, of four, was Augustina Feliz-Leahy, also one-quarter Indian, born in 1789. We tried to tie them to the mission records, but could find no Indian families in our databases for the mid-nineteenth century that had taken the surname Feliz. These people may have been Mission Santa Clara or Mission Dolores descendants who took the surname Feliz in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Additionally, the San Mateo county census listed six Mission Carmel people. Of non-Mission people, 12 came from northwest California (Karok, Klamath, Yurok, Karok, Weott) and 3 from the Sierra Nevada (Mariposa).

Table 14. Count by Tribe of California Indians Enrolled under the 1928 Jurisdictional Act  
Census While Living in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties (United States 1928).

TRIBE (AS WRITTEN)	SF COUNTY	SAN MATEO COUNTY
<b>NORTHWEST CALIFORNIA</b>		
Karok	19	5
Yurok	11	2
Hupa	8	0
Weott	4	1
Hupa/Karok	2	0
Klamath River	1	3
Redwood	1	0
Smith River	1	0
SUBTOTAL	47	11
<b>NORTH COAST RANGES</b>		
Bodega	14	0
Mendocino County	9	0
We-nuck (Guenoc)	3	0
Eel River	2	0
Wailaki	2	0
Pomo	2	0
SUBTOTAL	32	0
<b>NORTH AND NORTHEAST</b>		
Wintun	9	0
Chimariko	6	0
Maidu	5	0
Pit River	2	0
Shasta	2	0
SUBTOTAL	24	0
<b>EAST AND SOUTHEAST</b>		
Yosemite	7	0
Miwok	5	0
Mariposa	0	4
Walker River	1	0
SUBTOTAL	13	4
<b>MISSION AREAS</b>		
Mission Carmel	27	6
Santa Barbara County	5	0
Mission (unspecific)	5	2
Mission San Gabriel	3	0
Mission Santa Ynez	1	0
SUBTOTAL	41	8
<b>MISCELLANEOUS</b>		
Redwood City	0	12
Wemick	2	0
TOTAL	159	35



## Doloreños in 1928

As of 1928, there may have been many surviving descendants of the San Francisco Peninsula native Doloreños of the 1830s and 1840s. After all, 39 Peninsula Indians were alive at the time of initial Mission Dolores secularization in 1834, after which the careful record-keeping of the Franciscan padres deteriorated rapidly. It is also known that Francisca Xaviera of Aramai had many descendants into the twentieth century through her granddaughter Leandra Ventura Ramos, a member of the *gente de rason* who married Eugenio Soto at Santa Cruz in 1839 (SCR-M 835). However, we know of only one individual alive in 1928 from a San Francisco Peninsula Costanoan family that had considered itself to be Indian back in the 1840s. That individual, Joe Evencio, was said to be living in the San Mateo area in the 1930s (Brown 1973b). He is not known to have had children. (Marie Buffet of the Alcantara family died in 1922.)

Some twentieth-century families are descended from Indians who had been baptized at Mission Dolores, but were not originally from the San Francisco Peninsula. Among them are many descendents of Coast Miwoks who returned to the Marin Peninsula; they are beyond the scope of this study. Two surviving families descend from native Indian people of the east side of San Francisco Bay who went to Mission Dolores to be baptized, but later moved to other missions. One of the two families descends from Liberato, a bilingual San Francisco Bay Costanoan-Bay Miwok from the Jalquin local tribe of Hayward (Cambra-Galvan-Marine-Sanchez families). The other family descends from a Chupcan Bay Miwok man from the Concord area who was baptized at Mission Dolores and later moved to Monterey and married a Mission Carmel woman (Cerde family).

It is possible that descendents of San Francisco Costanoan speakers from San Francisco or San Mateo counties are alive today, other than those who descend from Francisca Xaviera of Aramai. But none have publically identified themselves. Today's Ohlone/Costanoan communities emerge from the mixed-language families at missions San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Carmel. Those areas provided the rural ranch landscape, or in the case of Carmel-Monterey, the Hispanic society, that allowed quite a few ex-mission Indians to survive the Gold Rush and the racism of the early American era.

## New California Reservations Exclude West-Central California

In 1905-1906 the BIA sent C. E. Kelsey, a lawyer from San Jose, on a tour through California to check on the condition of landless Indians and make recommendations for additional purchases of small land tracts for them. Kelsey noted small groups of landless California Indians at the following sites in the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas (Kelsey 1971):

- Monterey County: 50 people living at Monterey (City), 45 people at Bird Haven, 19 people at Mansfield, 15 people at Pacific, 5 people at Arroyo Seco, and 4 people at Sur.
- San Benito County: San Juan Bautista band (no data).
- Santa Cruz County: 40 people at Santa Cruz (City) and 30 at Watsonville.
- San Francisco Bay counties and communities: 28 people at Verona (near Pleasanton), 14 people at Niles (Alameda), 20 at Byron and 5 at Danville (Contra Costa), 35 at Redwood City and 30 at San Mateo (San Mateo County).

As a result of Kelsey's report Congress authorized \$100,000 to the Secretary of the Interior for land purchase and water development for landless California Indians in acts of June 21, 1906 and April 30, 1908. Dozens of tiny rancherias were purchased throughout California over the next few years under this act, but none in west-central California (Leupp 1909).

The Verona Band of Pleasanton was one of the groups that Kelsey visited and listed in 1906. It is the position of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, descendants of the Verona Band, that Kelsey's act

of listing the band made them a federally acknowledged tribe; that interpretation has yet to be substantiated by judicial or executive review. Whatever the case, the Verona band did remain on the BIA-Sacramento Agency's list of landless Indian groups through the year 1929.

In May of 1927, the Washington, D.C. office of the BIA directed Sacramento Superintendent Colonel Lafayette A. Dorrington to list all tribes and bands in his agency area that had not yet obtained a land base. The Verona band was among 135 groups that Dorrington listed as having no land, yet not needing land.

Estimated Indian population of Alameda County is 125, but all of this number, with the exception mentioned below, reside in the cities of Alameda County, where they have gone to procure employment. There is one band in Alameda County commonly known as the Verona Band, ... located near the town of Verona; these Indians were formerly those that resided in close proximity of the Mission San Jose. It does not appear at the present time that there is need for the purchase of land for the establishment of homes (Dorrington 1927).

Most other small landless groups of west-central California that had been listed by Kelsey in 1905 and 1906 were not even mentioned by Dorrington in his 1927 letter report. The landless San Juan Bautista Indians, however, were mentioned by Dorrington.

In San Benito County we find the San Juan Baptista band, which reside in the vicinity of the Mission San Juan Baptista, which is located near the town of Hollister. These Indians have been well cared for by the Catholic priests and no land is required (see Dorrington letter June 23, 1927).

Thus an early twentieth-century opportunity to provide small reservations for native Indian people of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas was denied by a BIA official in 1927.

### Legal Moves for Citizenship and Land Reparations

Early in the new century Indians began to organize, with assistance from progressive whites, to regain their land or receive compensation for its loss. By the mid-1910s an organization called the Indian Board of Cooperation, Northern California Indian leaders aided by a Methodist minister named Frederick G. Collett, was active in fighting for civil and economic rights for native people, including land rights. By 1915 Indian delegations were appearing at public events in San Francisco to demand compensation for lands taken from the Indians after the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the 18 "lost treaties" of 1851-1852 (*San Francisco Chronicle* August 4, 1915:9). In 1916-1917 a Pomo Indian man worked with the Indian Board of Cooperation to bring the citizenship rights case of Anderson vs Mathews before the courts; its success resulted in the recognition of citizenship rights for non-reservation California Indians.<sup>43</sup>

By 1922 the Indian Board of Cooperation reportedly was a registered California corporation and, although white led, had a membership of thousands of California Indians (*San Francisco Chronicle* January 15, 1922:13; November 14, 1922:10). Another strong group that included both whites and Indians, the Mission Indian Federation, arose in southern California to improve the condition of Indians. Their activity so disturbed the federal government that 57 of its members were indicted by the Department of Justice for conspiring against the government (Rawls 1984:209).

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<sup>43</sup> The U.S. Congress did not pass a law recognizing all non-citizen American Indians as U.S. citizens until 1924 (Tyler 1973:110).

By late 1926 compensation and welfare bills to aid Indians had support from a number of powerful mainstream organizations such as the Commonwealth Club, California League of Women Voters and the General Federation of Women's Clubs (*San Francisco Chronicle* December 12, 1926: F3). Newspapers, such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* also repeatedly editorialized for an end to "robbery," "plunder" and "public cheat" of the natives, and instead for a "just, honest and decent treatment" of the Indians and their claims (*San Francisco Chronicle* January 18, 1922:28; October 20, 1922:20; December 16, 1939:14; April 13, 1923:22). They had, through active campaigning and alliance building, succeeded in putting the intertwined questions of Indian land claims and reparations on the national agenda.

Federal authorities wanted an overall settlement for the past taking of Indian land at minimal cost to the U.S. government. They negotiated with California authorities to develop a process that would allow a court case for reparations, but would not allow California Indians to be the direct plaintiffs. The California State Legislature began the process by passing a law in 1927 which allowed the California Attorney General to argue the case for the Indians. This kept private attorneys, who might ask for too much for the Indians, out of the case. This arrangement also put the case under the control of an official who was elected by the general electorate of California, mostly white voters. The actual court cases and eventual settlements will be discussed in the following chapter.