

Supplemental Resources



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Ohlone Curriculum

with Bay Miwok Content and Introduction to Delta Yokuts

Supplemental Resources

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Native American Versus American Indian¹

Throughout this curriculum, when speaking in generalities about the first peoples of the place now known as the United States, the grouping term American Indian is used, rather than Native American.² This does not negate the importance of the term Native American, which was popularized during the Civil Rights era of the 1960s and '70s to emphasize the fact that North American Indians were and are the first peoples of this land. Native American also developed as a replacement for the word “Indian,” a word imposed upon more than 1,500 independent social and political groups by Euro-American colonizers. As such, the term Native American has served an important and useful purpose. Despite its importance, this term presents certain difficulties, since anyone born in the United States is, on some level, a Native American. The term American, when used solely to refer to citizens of the United States, has its own difficulties, since, from the perspective of Central and South Americans, and other North Americans, there are many Americas, and thus, many different groups of Americans.

While “Native American” continues to be preferred and used by many “First Peoples,”³ “American Indian” is also preferred and used in many regions and contexts. Among California Indians, for instance, American Indian is used much more often than is the term Native American. Writing in the August 16, 2002, Opinion section of *The Olympian*, Kyle Taylor Lucas (Tulalip), a tribal liaison in Washington State government, had this to say about the continuing importance of the term “Indian” to many Native peoples throughout the United States:

Some tribes have elected to drop “Indian” from their names. But I like the word “Indian” and I want to protect its legitimacy. The word has strong roots in the United States Constitution and in critically important case law. Those roots provide some of the most important protections for my people.

...Indian tribes and nations have no shortage of issues and controversies to solve. In the big scheme of things, although how we're addressed is important to our ongoing identity as First Peoples—particularly for future generations, we must continue to attend to the basic cultural, spiritual, and political and economic needs of our people.

As Taylor Lucas alludes, the issue of which term to use isn't one of semantics or “political correctness,” as many non-Indians assume. Rather, the term or terms used in particular contexts results from subtleties and nuances that most accurately reflect how particular Native peoples

¹ All non-quoted material regarding preferred, contemporary grouping term terminology is based on field data, 1983-present.

² Note that Canadians use the grouping term “First Nations,” while Australians use “Aborigines.”

³ Not to be confused with the use of “First People” when referring in English to supernatural creator beings.

and communities think and feel. It reflects how Native peoples view themselves, which is sometimes quite different than anthropologists or the larger society views them.

Because of the shared history of colonization by all First Peoples in the place now known as the United States, the need for a shared term, such as American Indian or Native American, will always exist. Whatever term is used when referring collectively to the First Peoples of this land, knowing and using the specific tribal name or names of the specific tribal group or groups in each area or region is always preferable.

For more about specific tribal names, versus grouping terms, see Student Resources, Ohlone subsection, pp. 15-16, “A Land of Many Tribes,” p. 17, “Ohlone: A Grouping Term,” and pp. 18-19, “Other North American and California Indian Groups.” For additional details about this topic in general, see Supplemental Resources, pp. 11-12, “Other North American Indian Groups,” p. 15, “A Land of Many Villages and Tribes,” and pp. 15-17, “A Land of Many Languages.”

American Indian Stereotypes⁴

Educator Guidelines for Interpreting American Indian History, Cultures, and Place

The biggest challenge when teaching about Native cultures centers on finding reliable information that not only humanizes American Indians, but is culturally specific, and makes it clear that they not only have a past, but a present and a future. A first step, when you aren't able to consult with American Indians of the specific tribal heritage being taught, is to examine and consider some of the most common misperceptions and stereotypes about American Indians, since what we teach about American Indians, and how we teach it, can humanize or dehumanize them, and can dispel or enhance stereotypes about them.

A good starting place would be to read a localized, but unique and important, qualitative study about Indian and non-Indian perceptions of each other, Public Agenda's 2006 *Walking a Mile, A First Step Toward Mutual Understanding: A Qualitative Study Exploring How Indians and Non-Indians Think About Each Other* by John Doble and Andrew Yarrow with Amber Ott and Jonathan Rockkind, <http://www.publicagenda.org/reports/walking-mile-first-step-toward-mutual-understanding>. The website, "Blue Corn Comics, The Basic Indian Stereotypes," has extensive information about some of the most common misperceptions and stereotypes, <http://www.bluecorncomics.com/stbasics.htm>.

Bridging Common Humanity

Before teaching about American Indian cultures, think about the content and themes you would emphasize if you were teaching about your own culture to the same grade level in the same context, with the same time constraints. What topics would you present and how would you contextualize and discuss those topics? What topics would you avoid?

Other questions to consider before teaching about American Indians cultures:

- Are you using an emic (insider) or etic (outsider) point of view, or using both? In other words, are you being culturally relativistic or ethnocentric? Said another way, are you bridging common humanity?
- Do you interpret the (on-going) interrelationships and connections between American Indians and place, creation, other people (family, community, and the broader world), other animal species, plants and/or everything else in this world and creation?

⁴ Excerpted, with modifications, from an article published by the author with Gregg Castro (*t'rowt'raahl* Salinan/*rumsien* Ohlone), "America's Byways and North American Indians: Recommended Sources, Consultation Best Practices, and Interpretation Considerations," in *Journal for America's Byways* 1(2):4-19, a publication of America's Byways Resource Center. That article was in turn based, in part, upon an article written by the author for the proceedings of the National Association for Interpretation 2010 Annual Meeting. The former may be downloaded in pdf at http://www.byways101.org/images/publications/Journal/journal_2.pdf.

Representing Continued Presence

The phrase “we are still here” encapsulates one of the most common themes that contemporary American Indian individuals and communities seek to convey to non-Indians. Yet all too often, American Indian peoples and cultures are taught about by non-Indians as if they solely existed in the past.

It’s imperative that your students understand that today’s American Indians are bringing their cultures forward into the future while living as modern Americans.

Representing Change Without Creating That Change

Although the pace of cultural change accelerated after non-Indians intruded, intra- and inter-cultural interactions and change have been occurring for millennia among American Indian societies. The challenge when representing change is to do so accurately without creating that change.

All too often, educators create change by borrowing details from other American Indian cultures on the assumption that all American Indian cultures were the same, or nearly identical. While societies don’t exist in isolation, and the members of nearby societies interact with and influence the members of others, American Indian cultures varied, sometimes dramatically, even among nearby groups. Since cultural identity flows through an understanding of how one’s own culture differs from that of others, the details are crucial. For instance, even when the same plant was used by two distinct American Indian societies, that plant was not necessarily managed, gathered, processed nor used in the same way.

What we don’t know about particular American Indian cultures, and why we don’t know it, is as much a part of the story as what we do know. Given the history of colonization that American Indians have lived through, the “survivance” of cultural knowledge, and the level of that survivance in each group, is also a remarkable part of the story. Yet, when culture is misrepresented, and even created, from without the society, that misinformation and misrepresentation can be assumed to be true, and assimilated, not just by non-Indians, but by American Indians who didn’t grow up in their culture.

Interpreting More Than Objects

The sharing of cultural objects, old and new, especially those that are intricately and skillfully made, is one of the most straightforward ways to represent cultures and cultural change. To fully bridge common humanity, however, we need to go beyond objects by representing not just tangible, but also intangible aspects of culture. We can accomplish the latter in many ways, including by:

- Sharing images and voice of specific individuals, families, and groups of specific tribal heritage through photographs, quotes, visual media, blogs, web sites, and

social media sites;

- Referring to actual American Indians by name;
- Presenting and modeling culturally-specific values from an insider’s point of view;
- Focusing on how American Indian lives did, and still do, revolve around family and community, with ample time for visiting and celebrating, rather than just survival and work;
- Sharing culturally-specific stories from an insider’s point of view;
- Representing games and toys when teaching children about American Indian cultures; and
- Referring to issues of concern to contemporary American Indians, including cultural and sacred sites preservation, sovereignty, federal recognition, tribal restoration, identity, stereotypes, education, economic development, child welfare, housing, human health, and land, water, and environmental health.

Moving Beyond Generic Content

When teaching about American Indian cultures, it’s essential to recognize American Indian cultural diversity by using culturally-specific, rather than generic content. Other imperatives include the need to represent real, rather than theoretical human beings. Some stereotypes to move beyond:

- The notion of “perfect harmony” and “first environmentalists” toward representation of balance and respect;
- The concept of “hunting and gathering” toward that of foraging, horticulture, intensive cultivation and/or active management of the landscape;
- The idea of “living on the land” toward that of “living with it”;
- The conception of constant work to survive toward one of having more free time than we do today, and participation in enjoyable activities in a beautiful, animated world, commonly in social contexts. This includes toys for children and games for children and adults;
- The notions of “simple” and “primitive” toward one of cultural complexity and nuance;
- The idea of “cute” or “charming” stories for children toward one of sophisticated sacred narratives that serve as the underpinning of complex spiritual understandings of the interrelationships between people, other animals, and everything else in the world;

- The conception of creating “crafts” towards one of skills that require training and practice to master;
- Emphasis on the “odd” or “unusual” taken out of cultural context towards emphasis on bridging common humanity;
- Use of objectifying and possessive language (e.g. “us and them,” “those people,” “our Native Americans,” toward the use of non-objectifying language and an ethos of humbleness and cultural relativity; and
- Disconnected cultural categories toward an understanding of the (on-going) interrelationships and interconnections between American Indians and place, creation, other people (family, community, and the broader world), other animal species, plants, and/or everything else in this world and creation.

By focusing on accurate, culturally-specific representations of American Indian cultures, and acknowledging the dynamic ways that American Indians are bringing their cultures forward into the future, educators can dispel stereotypes while more fully engaging today’s multi-ethnic classrooms with place and history. By moving beyond the usual and expected, and the past, toward representation of the stories of real human beings with deep and abiding connections to place and ancestral homeland, we create human connections that inform, enhance, and deepen our common humanity.

Miner's Lettuce and Red Ants: The Evolution of a Story⁵

(Or, the Perils of Assumption When Interpreting Someone Else's Culture: A Case Study)

Like a children's game of telephone, obscure, unconfirmed, or culturally-specific American Indian traditions can morph into an unquestioned practice of American Indians throughout a much broader geographic area or region, as one person after another embellishes on the writings of others without checking the original source. The advent of the internet commonly leads to even greater embellishments, some reiterated, adopted, and reinterpreted by American Indians themselves.

In this case study, a close reading of the original version makes clear that an assumed to be widespread practice may never have actually existed at all, or, if it did exist, only occurred among a very specific group of Native people in a very particular context, the Nisenan in the vicinity of present-day Auburn, California. First published in 1877, here's the original version:

Of the wild lettuce [*Claytonia perfoliata*], a curious fact is to be noted. The Indians living in the mountains, about the elevation of Auburn, gather it and lay it in quantities near the nests of certain large red ants, which have the habit of building conical heaps over their holes. After the ants have circulated all through it, they take it up, shake them off, and eat it with relish. They say that the ants, in running over it, impart a sour taste to it, and make it as good as if it had vinegar on it. I never witnessed this done, but have been told of it, at different times, by different Indians whom I have never known to deceive me.⁶

The referenced ant (*Formica integroides*) occurs in "chaparral and sparsely forested areas of the Coast Ranges and Sierra Nevada." All species in the genus exhibit similar behavior, including the construction of "nests in rotting wood or in soil, which they cover with conspicuous mounds of sticks and other vegetable detritus." The ants "actively guard and tend aphids for honeydew." When disturbed, the workers in the colony "swarm out in huge numbers, creating a rustling noise as they scramble over the mound, and biting any intruder foolish enough to loiter there."⁷

An August 9, 2010 Google search for the key words "ant" and "miner's lettuce" resulted in 21,700 hits. While not all relevant, those that were serve as a cautionary tale about the "invention of cultural tradition" that can occur when the veracity and cultural context of an unusual story is neither questioned nor checked. Although this obscure cultural practice may or may not have ever occurred among the Nisenan in the vicinity of present-day Auburn, it has now been attributed to American Indian societies from southern California desert lands to British Columbia

⁵ Marianne Schonfisch shared her research about the spread and embellishment of this story with the author, and gave permission for its publication here.

⁶ Powers 1976 [1877]:425.

⁷ Powell and Hogue 1979:335, Laws 2007:202.

forest lands, including Ohlone societies.

Excerpts from books that have variously repeated, generalized, embellished, or altered the original account follow, presented in chronological order, making it clear how a non-Indian adult game of telephone travelled so far afield from reality (*italicized emphasis added by author*).

1907:

Mr. Powers, of Sheridan, writes that the *Placer County Indians* have a novel way of preparing their salad. Gathering the stems and leaves, they lay them about the entrances of the nests of *certain large red ants*. These, swarming out, run all over it. After a time the Indians shake them off, satisfied that the lettuce has a pleasant sour taste equaling that imparted by vinegar.⁸

1963:

California Indians used the plant for food. They placed the herbage at the entrance of *red ant* nests where the insect in crawling over stems and leaves imparted a natural vinegar taste to the salad greens.⁹

1974:

Indians and pioneers used the leaves like salad. When the leaves were laid out *ants* would pass back and forth across them leaving a trail of formic acid, as each ant periodically touched the walking surface with its abdomen. This signal path for other ants gave the “salad” a *vinegar flavor-natural salad dressing*.¹⁰

1981:

A common practice of *California Indians* was to place the plant near *red ant hills*. As the ants crawled over the leaves, they left behind a *vinegary flavor like a salad dressing*.¹¹

1986:

Indians in Placer County are reported to have put the leaves near the entrance of *red ant holes*. After the ants had swarmed on the leaves, they were shaken off leaving a vinegary taste which was much relished.¹²

1990:

Apparently, *some of the California Indian tribes* had an extraordinary way of *adding*

⁸ Parsons 1966 [1907]:18-19.

⁹ Smith and Janish 1963:10.

¹⁰ Stotter 1976:50.

¹¹ Cooney-Lazaneo and Lyons 1981:90; Cooney-Lazaneo, Lyons and King 1988:99.

¹² Dale 1986:160-161.

flavor to their salads made of this plant. *Ants* leave a trail of formic acid on the ground as they walk, so that they can follow the trail back to their anthill. The Indians spread miner's lettuce leaves around the entrances to anthills, and the ant's acid trails across the leaves gave them a tang much like the *vinegar or lemon juice* we add to our salads.¹³

1994:

Nisenan and Washo picked miner's lettuce and placed it near a *red ant's nest*. *Ants* were allowed to crawl over the leaves and were then shaken off. The residue left on the leaves by the ants had an *acerbic flavor*.¹⁴

2003:

Maidu, Southern (Nisenan): [Miner's lettuce] gathered in great quantities and laid near the nests of *certain large red ants*, which circulate through it; afterwards it is taken up, shaken out, and eaten; the ants, running over it impart a sour taste to it and make it as good as if vinegar had been put on it.¹⁵

2004:

Natives are reported to have put the leaves near the entrance of *red ant holes*. After the ants had swarmed on the leaves, they were shaken off, leaving a vinegary taste.¹⁶

¹³ Roos-Collins 1990:98.

¹⁴ Strike 1994:94.

¹⁵ Mead 2003:267-268.

¹⁶ Corelli 2004:230.

A Land of Many Villages and Tribes

Tribes, Tribelets, Village Communities, or “Local Tribes”?

Because the tribes in the greater San Francisco Bay Area were geographically and demographically small, they were referred to as tribelets by early anthropologists. As explained by Robert Heizer:

The word was coined by [Alfred] Kroeber to indicate the basic autonomous, self-governing, and independent sociopolitical group found all over the state. The term *village community* has also been used in the same sense. The tribelet consisted of the aggregation of people living in two or more (often up to a dozen) separate villages, acknowledging the leadership of a chief¹⁷ who usually resided in the largest and most important of the several settlements.¹⁸

The word tribelet is now considered outmoded and, from a Native perspective, derogatory, because it carries the connotation that the Central California Indian system of sociopolitical organization was somehow lesser than that of a fully-functioning tribe. Like Heizer, Bay Area ethnohistorian Randall Milliken¹⁹ has suggested the alternative term “village community,” to make it clear that a single local tribe was comprised of several villages; usually three to five; and “local tribe,” to make clear the relatively geographically small area that each tribe called home. This curriculum uses tribe for the reason explained on the next page—the relatively equal access to the resources needed to live by all members of these independent sociopolitical groups.

A Land of Many Villages

For those teachers who would like to personalize information for your students about population sizes in various parts of “Ohlone country,” and how they varied seasonally, please see *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*, Chapter 3, “West-Central California Cultural and Genetic Groups,” pp. 63-66, “Population Density and Distribution,” in Milliken et al. 2009. For information about intertribal interaction and intermarriage, see pp. 66-68, “Social Interaction Spheres.” To download a PDF of this material, go to <http://www.nps.gov/goga/historyculture/publications.htm>, then scroll to item #6 under the “Park-wide Documents” header, and click on Chapter Three.

¹⁷ Chief is a term more appropriately reserved for leaders in chiefdoms. When speaking about leaders of a tribe or village, the words headman or headwoman are commonly used. Leadership in tribes was determined by inheritance. Leadership in modern, federally-recognized tribes is by election. Federally-recognized tribes usually have a tribal council, headed by a tribal chair, and a general council comprised of tribal citizens.

¹⁸ Heizer 1978:5.

¹⁹ Personal communication 2008; Milliken, Shoup and Ortiz 2009:63.

Other North American Indian Groups

Bands, Tribes, and Chiefdoms

The ways in which humans have organized themselves socially and politically have varied across time in different parts of the world. Cultural anthropologists often compare and contrast worldwide systems of sociopolitical organization according to how equally the members of a given society access the resources needed to live, such as for food and shelter.

Early-day American Indian societies had three overall systems of sociopolitical organization before non-Indians intruded: bands, tribes, and chiefdoms, with bands being the most egalitarian of the three, in terms of access to resources, and chiefdoms the least.

Bands were generally made up of a small group of closely related individuals numbering less than 100 people. Group members traced their heritage through both their mother's and father's lineages. Leadership was relatively informal and temporary in bands. The older, more knowledgeable members of each band were looked to for guidance and advice. For much of the year, group members traveled across large distances in small, nuclear family groups to hunt or trap.

Tribes have larger populations than bands, with several permanent villages, each with several households. The members of tribes trace their heritage through either the father's, or sometimes the mother's line, not both. Tribes are made up of several families, clans, or other kin groups who share a common ancestry and culture. Tribes have more social institutions than bands. Leadership is inherited through family lines. Tribes have headmen (in English), and, in some cases, headwomen, who oversee the activities of individual villages and the tribe as a whole.²⁰

Chiefdoms have a more centralized form of government, led by an individual known as a chief (in English). A chiefdom generally includes a central community surrounded by, or near, a number of smaller subsidiary communities. All of these communities recognize the authority of a single kin group or individual with hereditary centralized power, who lived in the primary community.²¹

Please Note: The preceding discussion uses terminology and definitions developed by cultural anthropologists as a starting point for gaining insights about how particular systems of social and political organization correlate with how relatively egalitarian a particular society is in terms of

²⁰ Please note that this curriculum uses an anthropological definition of tribe, one very different from how this term is commonly used in popular media, including news reports and television shows like *Survivor*. While, in the former context, the term refers to a system of sociopolitical organization that is based on relatively equal access to resources by all members of the society, in the latter the term is generally used as a pejorative, to indicate groups of people evidencing discord or competition.

²¹ Kottak 1997: 216-222, 238-243, 258-261.

access to the resources needed to live by all members of the society. The point of this discussion is to: (1) emphasize that there was no one way that North American Indian societies of the past organized themselves socially and politically; and (2) emphasize that some American Indian systems of social and political organization were more egalitarian than others. The factors that affected how equally the members of a given society accessed resources include: (1) the type of subsistence system the society had, such as foraging,²² horticulture (or land management), intensive cultivation, or agriculture; (2) how closely related the members of the society were to their leaders and each other; (3) the number of social and political roles in a given society; (4) how stratified those roles were; and (5) the relative size of the population and region governed by the society's leader. That said, it needs to be emphasized that today's North American Indians, as individuals, groups, and governments, use such terms as band, tribe, and nation in ways that vary from the context presented here, including contemporary Ohlone tribal groups and organizations.

Culture Areas

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, when non-Indian anthropologists first began to try to understand the cultural diversity of Native North America, they noticed that North American Indian sociopolitical groups in specific geographic regions tended to have more in common with each other than with sociopolitical groups in other geographic regions. Based on this observation, anthropologists identified ten "culture areas" in North America: California, Northwest Coast, Plateau, Subarctic, Arctic, Northeast, Southeast, Plains, Great Basin, and Southwest, geographical terminology still in use today.

California Culture Area

While the California culture area is the only culture area named for a state, its boundaries are not the same as those of the state. A small portion of the California culture area extends into southern Oregon to include all of Tolowa, Karuk and Shasta territory; and into northern Mexico to include all of Kumeyaay (Ipai) territory. While the state itself contains most of the California culture area, it also includes North American Indian groups located in four other culture areas: (1) the Rogue River Athabascan peoples, located between the Tolowa and Karuk, who are included in the Pacific Northwest culture area; (2) the Modoc peoples of northeastern California, who are included in the Plateau culture area; (3) the Washo, Paiute, Panamint Shoshone, and Chemehuevi, who are included in the Great Basin culture area; and (4) the Mojave, Halchidhoma, Quechan, and Cocopa of the Colorado River area, who are included in the Southwest culture area.²³

²² "Foraging" is used here, rather than "hunting and gathering," because the latter implies equal reliance on plants and animals by a given society, when, in actuality, most societies relied (and rely) more on plants or animals.

²³ D'Azevedo 1986, Heizer 1978, Ortiz 1983, Suttles 1990, Walker 1988.

Cultural Nationalities (Language Areas): Origin of the Words Costanoan and Ohlone

In 1831 Captain Frederick William Beechey, an English naval officer, published the word “Alchones” in his *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Berings Strait to Co-operate with the Polar Expeditions, 1825–1828*.²⁴ In 1853 Henry Schoolcraft became the first person to publish the words Ohlone (in the form of Ol-hones) and Costanoan (in the form of “Costanos”), based on information written down by Adam Johnson in 1850 when he interviewed mission resident Pedro Alcantra about the language and tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula. Wrote Johnson in a letter to Schoolcraft, “The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco [included] Ol-hones, (called, in Spanish, Costanos, or Indians of the Coast). . . .”²⁵

Johnson was certainly referring to the local tribe from the San Mateo County coast whose name had been spelled “Oljon” by the Spanish missionaries. . . .

The switch in spelling from “Olh-“ to “Ohl-“ first appeared in the *California Farmer* newspaper of May 31, 1861, in an article about San Francisco Bay Area Indians by Alexander Taylor. . . .

. . . Taylor was attempting to reproduce Adam Johnson’s information as published by Schoolcraft. Either he or the newspaper typesetter reversed two of the letters to come up with “Ohlone.” A few years later, [historian] Hubert Howe Bancroft (1883:453) reproduced Taylor’s version of the Adam Johnson note, repeating the spelling “Ohlone. . . .”²⁶

In 1891 John Wesley Powell became the first person to publish Costanoan as the name of a Bay Area language group (cultural nationality), instead of Costano. In 1903 Alfred Kroeber republished Costanoan as a language group name, with Powell, and in 1907, 1910, and 1925 on his own.

In 1915 the spelling “Ohlone” appeared on a bronze plaque placed at the Indian cemetery at Mission San Jose in honor of the Indian people buried there. This plaque, which read “Here sleep four thousand of the Ohlone Tribe,” was placed at the behest of a Mrs. C. L. Stevens (Barmby in Cummings 1937). The source of the spelling must have been either Taylor. . . or Bancroft. . . . By the early 1930s, Mission San Jose Indian people were listing themselves as “Ohlone” and “Olonian” Indians in their documentary responses to questionnaires sent out by the federal Office of Indian Affairs under the Jurisdictional Act of 1928. . . .

In 1964, when the previously named Ohlone Cemetery at Mission San Jose was in

²⁴ Milliken, Shoup and Ortiz 2005:43.

²⁵ Ibid.:23-24.

²⁶ Ibid.:24-26, 42.

danger from highway construction, the American Indian Historical Society joined a group of local Mission San Jose Indian descendants to protect it (Galvan 1968). The highway was moved and the local Indians were granted an easement to the cemetery land. Soon thereafter, the local Mission San Jose Indian descendants [sic] formed a short-lived chapter of the American Indian Historical Society called the Ohlone Indian Historians (Costo 1965d).

Several eastern Miwok people from the Sierra foothills went to Mission San Jose to join the local group in re-dedicating the Ohlone cemetery. Ione Miwok elder John Porter was quoted as suggesting at the event that [the] word Ohlone was a variant of the Sierra Miwok word indicating the direction west—“O’lo’no wit” (Galvan 1968). While it is clear to us that the term Ohlone derives from the name of the Oljon local tribe of the San Mateo Coast, we now know that San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Sierra Miwok form a single Utian proto-language. It is possible that “Oljon” and “O’lo’no wit” did indeed arise from a single root term that signified [sic] a western area or a westerly direction.

[Randall] Milliken (1981), following [C. Hart] Merriam [1967], used the term Olhonian as a substitute for Costanoan in his monograph on the Rumsen [Rumsien] local tribe of Monterey and the Carmel Valley.... An alternative spelling form, “Ohlonean” was placed in the literature in 1969 by anthropologist and Yuma Indian Jack Forbes, who used “Ohlonean (Costanoan)” in lieu of Costanoan in *Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Like Merriam, Forbes found native terms preferable to non-native ones for native language group labels. But Forbes did not follow Merriam’s “Olhonian” precisely. Instead he reversed the ‘l’ and ‘h’ to synchronize “Ohlonean” with “Ohlone,” the name the descendants of the Mission San Jose people called themselves.... [H]is work is important to us for its introduction of the precise terms “Ohlonean” and “Ohlone/Costanoan” into the ethnographic literature.

The term “Ohlone” was first applied to the Costanoan language family as a whole in Malcolm Margolin’s (1978) popular book *The Ohlone Way*.... He was aware that Mission San Jose Indian descendants called themselves Ohlones.... [Randall] Milliken, who was researching his own study of the Rumsen Costanoan of the Monterey Peninsula at the time, and who was using Merriam’s label Olhonian in place of Costanoan, made a map used in *The Ohlone Way* that identified the entire Costanoan language area, from San Francisco Bay south to Big Sur, as the land of “Known Ohlone Tribelets.” Thus Milliken influenced Margolin to reframe the term Ohlone into an equivalent term to Costanoan.²⁷

²⁷ Ibid.:42-45.

A Land of Many Languages

In 1995 Randall Milliken, who spent nearly four decades researching and analyzing mission records and other Spanish documents, explained the diversity of languages spoken in the Bay Area this way:

Of the five languages spoken in the vicinity of San Francisco Bay—Costanoan (Ohlone), Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, Patwin, and Wappo—the Costanoan (Ohlone) language was the most widespread.... Although mutually unintelligible, Costanoan (Ohlone), Bay Miwok, and Coast Miwok are members of a single language family, Utian.... The people on the north shore of Suisun Bay spoke the Patwin language, which was distantly related to the Utian languages. Those of the upper Napa and Sonoma valleys spoke the Wappo language, a language isolate that was unrelated to the others.

Ramaytush (San Francisco Peninsula), Tamyen (Santa Clara Valley), Chochenyo (most of the East Bay), and Karkin (Carquinez Strait) have all been suggested as distinctive linguistic Costanoan sub-groups within the Bay Area.... Such distinct groups did not exist in the past, and certainly reflect the amalgamation of later Costanoan speakers at the various missions.... Neighboring Costanoan dialects were probably no more distinct than colloquial American English and colloquial Australian English. Only by comparing widely separated dialects might one find differences as profound, for example, as those between the English and Dutch languages.²⁸

Today linguists recognize six Ohlone (Costanoan) languages: Karkin, which forms its own branch of these languages; San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Chalon, which form a “Northern Branch”; and Awaswas, Mutsun, and Rumsen, which form a “Southern Branch.” In terms of their relative similarity to each other, these languages have been compared to the French (Karkin), Italian (San Francisco Bay), Scandinavian (Chalon), Catalan (Awaswas), Spanish (Mutsun) and Portuguese (Rumsen) languages in the Romance sub-family of the Indo-European language family. Within the San Francisco Bay language linguists recognize three dialects.

In 2005 ethnohistorian Randall Milliken compiled the most current work by himself and linguists Juliet Blevins, Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, Mark Okrand, and Norval Smith on the relationship between the Costanoan (Ohlone) languages and other nearby languages, which is summarized on the next page.

San Francisco Bay Costanoan [Ohlone] is a language represented by three dialects—Ramaytush, Chochenyo, and Tamyen—that were considered to have been separate languages until recently. The precise pre-mission distribution of the

²⁸ Milliken 1995:24, 26.

dialects can only be guessed, because existing language samples were gathered after native people moved to the missions. The Ramaytush dialect may have reached down the Peninsula from the Golden Gate to Point Año Nuevo. The Chochenyo dialect was spoken along the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay, on the east shore of San Francisco Bay, and in the interior Livermore Valley of the East Bay. The Tamyen dialect was spoken in the Santa Clara Valley and in the surrounding hills....²⁹

[While] no comparison between Costanoan [Ohlone] languages and any group of European languages will be a perfect one...all linguists currently working on the problem agree that the San Francisco Bay dialects of the Costanoan language family (Chochenyo, Ramaytush, and Tamyen) were similar to one another and that they were distinct from the Costanoan languages of the Monterey Bay Area. Be that as it may, all six Costanoan languages share a common history deep in time that is distinct from the history of the other west Central California languages, such as Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, Esselen, Southern Pomo, or Wappo....³⁰

Today linguists recognize seven Miwok languages: Bay, Plains, Northern Sierra, Central Sierra and Southern Sierra, which form an “Eastern Branch,” and have been compared to the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Faroese, and Icelandic languages in the Romance sub-family of the Indo-European language family; and Coast and Lake, which have been compared to the German and Dutch languages in the Romance sub-family of the Indo-European language family.³¹

For a coloring book that features words in the Mutsun Ohlone language, see Kanyon Sayers-Roods (Costanoan Ohlone and Chumash), in collaboration with AmandaLee Julius (2014), *Indian Canyon Mutsun-Ohlone Coloring Book*. To order copies contact Kanyon at indiancanyon.kanyon@gmail.com, or through <http://about.me/kanyon.coyotewoman>.

²⁹ Ibid.:6.

³⁰ Ibid.:36.

³¹ Ibid.:35-36.

The following table compares the relationships between Utian languages and those of selected Indo-European languages.³²

Table 2. Heuristic Concordance between Utian Languages and Selected Indo-European Languages.

UTIAN FAMILY (COSTANOAN AND MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILIES)	INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (ROMANCE AND GERMANIC SUB-FAMILIES) *
<i>COSTANOAN SUB-FAMILY</i>	<i>ROMANCE SUB-FAMILY</i>
<i>Karkin Branch</i>	<i>French Branch</i>
Karkin Language	French Language
<i>Northern Branch</i>	<i>Italian Branch</i>
San Francisco Bay Language	Italian Language
Ramaytush Dialect	Venetian Dialect
Chochenyo Dialect	Tuscan Dialect
Tamyen Dialect	Lombard Dialect
Chalon Language	Sardinian Language
<i>Southern Branch</i>	<i>Iberian Branch</i>
Awaswas Language	Catalan Language
Mutsun Language	Spanish Language
Rumsen Language	Portuguese Language
<i>MIWOKAN SUB-FAMILY</i>	<i>GERMANIC SUB-FAMILY</i>
<i>Western Branch</i>	<i>Western Branch</i>
Coast Miwok Language	German Language
Lake Miwok Language	Dutch Language
<i>Eastern Branch</i>	<i>Northern Branch</i>
Bay Miwok (Saclan) Language	Swedish Language
Plains Miwok Language	Danish Language
Northern Sierra Miwok	Norwegian Language
Central Sierra Miwok	Faroese Language
Southern Sierra Miwok	Icelandic Language

Notes: This chart was finalized by Randall Milliken in 2006, following personal communication with linguists Catherine Callaghan, Victor Golla, and Norval Smith; * Romance and Germanic languages are not as closely related to one another within Indo-European as Costanoan and Miwokan are to one another within Utian.

³² Milliken et al. 2009:35. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Sacred Places and Narratives

Sacred Places

The Sacred Lands Film Project offers the following operational definition of a sacred place from an international perspective:³³

Sacred Site: An Operational Definition (2008)

A sacred site is a place in the landscape, occasionally over or under water, which is especially revered by a people, culture or cultural group as a focus for spiritual belief and practice and likely religious observance.

In addition, to satisfy this stem definition and reflect its wide and rich variety, a sacred site must also have one or more of the following nineteen characteristics found under the headings: Descriptive, Spiritual, Functional and Other. Having more or less of these characteristics does not imply that the site is more or less sacred but it may usefully reflect the complexity and rich variety of its sacred qualities.

1. Descriptive

- a. It is a specific focus within a wider and possibly dynamically interconnected sacred landscape.
- b. It is, or is founded upon, a natural topographical feature, e.g., a mountain, mound, rock, cave, tree, grove, forest, spring, well, river, lake, the sea, an island, etc.
- c. It is recognised [sic] as carrying special manifestation of wildlife, natural phenomena and ecological balance.
- d. It is embellished with man-made symbols or artifacts, e.g., rock-carvings, painting, holy or religious objects.
- e. It is partially or wholly man-made, e.g., menhir, temple, church, wayside shrine.
- f. It is a memorial or mnemonic to a key recent or past event in history, legend or myth, e.g., a battle site, creation or origin myth.

2. Spiritual

- a. It is recognised [sic] as having a palpable and special energy or power which is clearly discernible from that of a similar landscape or

³³ <http://www.sacredland.org/home/resources/tools-for-action/protection-strategies-for-sacred-sites/what-is-a-sacred-site/>, accessed July 2013.

surrounding.

- b. It is recognised [sic] as a special place which acts as a portal or cross-over to the spirit world.
- c. It is recognised [sic] as the dwelling place of guardian or 'owner' spirits which care for and oversee the site and possibly its wider environs.
- d. Its spiritual forces or 'owner' spirits are in a mutually respectful dialogue with local people with specialist knowledge acting as guardians or custodians, who play important roles as mediators, negotiators or healers between the human, natural and spiritual dimensions.
- e. It is identified as a place where the ancestors are present and especially respected, e.g., burial grounds.
- f. It is a place of spiritual transformation for individual persons or the community, e.g., healing, baptism, initiation, religious conversion, rite of passage, funeral, vision quest.

3. Functional

- a. It is a special place where relationships, both interpersonal and throughout the whole community, can be expressed and affirmed, often through a specific form of observance, e.g., prayer, songs, chants, dance, ritual or ceremony.
- b. It is a place especially associated with resource-gathering or other key cultural activities, e.g., gathering medicinal plants or material for sacred or ritual ceremony or objects, fishing, hunting, cultivation, burial of ritual objects, giving birth.
- c. It is a specific pathway or route between significant or sacred places, e.g., songline, sacred pathway, pilgrimage route. It is a focus of past or present special visits of religious observance or pilgrimage.
- d. It is a cultural sacred-secret, with its location and/or specific religious function only known to a limited number of people.
- e. It has a significant relationship with astronomical order and/or calendrical phenomena, e.g., astronomical alignment, celestial-Earth correspondence, seasonal ritual or festival.

4. Other

- a. It clearly satisfies the stem definition but has unique cultural features that are not represented in the previous eighteen characteristics.

Using the definition, a sacred site could then be described as satisfying the Thorley/Gunn definition (TGD) in one or more characteristics out of the four categories. These could be, if necessary, reduced to a briefer encoded form, e.g., TGD categories 1, 2, etc. To give two practical examples, Stonehenge in England could be represented as “TGD categories 1. a, d, e; 2. a, e; 3. e, f” and a sacred beach for fishing in New Zealand Maori culture might be represented as “TGD categories 1. b; 2. e; 3. b.”

Thorley and Gunn, “*Sacred Natural Sites: An Overview.*”

Sacred Narratives

The sacred narratives³⁴ of Ohlone and other California Indian peoples served as the foundation of day-to-day spiritual understandings and cultural practices. Contrary to the popular association of the words “myth” and “legend” with quaint, fanciful stories, the term “sacred narratives” emphasizes the relationship between these narratives and traditional Ohlone beliefs about the origin of the world and people. Thus, they are equivalent to the creation accounts of any religion.

Folklorists categorize sacred narratives as “myths” when they feature events of creation that occurred in the remote past in an earlier world. In contrast, legends, which can be sacred or secular, describe events that occurred in the more recent past. Mythological characters are non-human, while those of legends are human.³⁵

California Indian sacred narratives (myths), including those of Ohlone peoples, focus on the grand and heroic acts of supernatural beings with both human and animal attributes. Various referred to in English as First People, Early People, or Animal People, such supernatural beings existed prior to the creation of humans. Sometimes fallible, but generally sympathetic and awe-inspiring, the Early People could mirror the most elevated and degraded aspects of human nature. They existed in familial and social relationships with each other, creating “everything everywhere” so people could live. After preparing the world for people, they created people, setting the moral and ethical codes, and the cultural traditions, that people would follow.

Such was their love for the humans they created that the Early People gave up their physical existence to become the animals of today and the spirits in everything. The narratives that embody their actions serve to connect humans with the spiritual and natural world in deeply

³⁴ The word narrative serves as a reminder that American Indians told, rather than read, these accounts of creation.

³⁵ Bascom 1965:3-20.

meaningful and profound ways.³⁶

For Rumsien Ohlone sacred narratives see Yamane, Linda (1995), *When the World Ended, How Hummingbird got Fire, How People were Made*, and (1998), *The Snake that Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains and other Ohlone Stories*, both published by Oyate.

³⁶ Ortiz 1994.

Generations of Knowledge: Sources

For a summary of local Native land management practices, with an emphasis on Bay Area landscapes, see Ortiz, Beverly (2006), “Wild Gardens: How Native Americans Shaped Local Landscapes,” *Bay Nature*. This article is available on-line at <http://www.baynature.com/2006janmarch/wildgardens.html>.

For details about California Indian land management practices in general, see Blackburn, Thomas C., and Anderson, Kat, eds. (1993), *Before the Wilderness: Environmental Management for Native Californians*, Menlo Park, Ballena Press, and Anderson, Kat (2005), *Tending the Wild: Native American Knowledge and the Management of California’s Natural Resources*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: UC Press.

Euro-American Interactions with Plants and Animals (1800s)

In 1861, when William Henry Brewer described the coastline near the place now known as Monterey, he could just as easily have been describing coastlines that existed throughout Ohlone country a hundred or more years earlier.

I wish I could describe the coast there, the rocks jutting into the sea, teeming with life to an extent you, who have only seen other coasts, cannot appreciate. Shellfish of innumerable forms, from the great and brilliant abalone to the smallest limpet—every rock matted with them, stuck into crevices, clinging to stones—millions of them. Crustaceans (crabs, etc.) of strange forms and brilliant colors, scampered into every nook at our approach. Zoöphytes of brilliant hue, whole rocks covered closely with sea anemones so closely that the rock could not be seen—each with its hundred arms extended to catch the passing prey. Some forms of these “sea flowers,” as they are called because of their shape, were as large as a dinner plate, or from six to twelve inches in diameter! Every pool of water left in the rugged rocks by the receding tide was the most populous aquarium to be imagined. More species could be collected in one mile of that coast than in a hundred miles of the Atlantic coast.

Birds scream in the air—gulls, pelicans, birds large and birds small, in flocks like clouds. Seals and sea lions bask on the rocky islands close to the shore; their voices can be heard night and day. Buzzards strive for offal on the beach, crows and ravens “caw” from the trees, while hawks, eagles, owls, vultures, etc., abound. These last are enormous birds, like a condor, and nearly as large. We have seen some that would probably weigh fifty or sixty pounds, and I have frequently picked up their quills over two feet long—one thirty inches—and I have seen them thirty-two inches long. They are called condors by the Americans. A whale was stranded on the beach, and tracks of grizzlies were thick about it.³⁷



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Condor

Most of the non-Indian newcomers viewed plants, animals, and geological materials as commodities they could buy, sell, squander, or exploit, reliant, as they fundamentally were, on a moneyed economy. While some native plants had subsistence and commercial value for them, such as those used for fuel and building material, most were deemed fully expendable to make

³⁷ Brewer 1974:130.

way for towns, ranches, farms, and industry. Rarely were plants appreciated for their non-commercial value, such as the wild strawberries that became a focal point for annual Mexican-era campouts, albeit harvested in a non-sustainable way. As witnessed in 1844 during the Mexican government era by William H. Davis:

On the hills toward the ocean between the presidio and Fort Point, and south as far as Lake Lobos, there were large patches of wild strawberries, which grew very plentifully and ripened in the spring. At that time, families would resort to the place for the purpose of gathering and partaking of the fruit, camping out for several days at a time, many coming from the surrounding country north and south of the bay and as far as Sonoma and Santa Clara. This innocent and healthful recreation was a great enjoyment.... The little village of Yerba Buena was nearly depopulated for the time....

Before the camp broke up that year, Don Francisco Guerrero gave a grand merienda or picnic in a little valley north of our camp looking toward the ocean. He provided, among other things, several bullocks and calves, which were prepared as carne asada—meat roasted on spits over a bed of coals, this being much superior to other modes of cooking the meat. Guerrero invited to this festival all the people who were camped on the strawberry grounds, numbering several hundred men, women and children, and they enjoyed themselves heartily.³⁸

The newcomers traded and sold some native wildlife on the worldwide market. Animals lacking commercial value sometimes became objects of entertainment. Following is a summary of how the newcomers interacted with four types of animals: otters, ducks, elk, and grizzly bears.

Sea Otters

In the early 1800s, sea otters, once hunted by coastal Ohlone peoples in modest numbers to make capes and blankets for personal use, began to be hunted by the thousands for the commercial market. The Russians brought Aleuts to the coastline of the place now known as California to hunt for that market. On March 31, 1809, Father Juan Sainz de Lucio of Mission San Francisco wrote the following about the hunting of sea otters.

For this year we will not need to find merchants for sea otter pelts, since the Russians and English have relieved us of the trouble of catching them. They have made themselves masters of the bay. They have more than forty little “jayague” canoes, with which over the past three months they have gone freely wherever they wished....³⁹

³⁸ Davis 1957:142-143.

³⁹ Sainz de Lucio 1809 in Milliken 1991:303.

The hunt, which began in early February in the place now known as the San Francisco Bay, continued there through April, then relocated to the place now known as Bodega Bay. By the time it was over in August, some 2,000 otter had been killed. The following year:

American contract ships again brought Alaskan hunters and their Russian overseers to Bodega Bay in the fall of 1810. By mid-September Alaska natives were hunting in San Francisco Bay all the way south to the sloughs at the bottom of the Santa Clara Valley.⁴⁰

By 1833 otter furs were selling for forty to fifty dollars each, sometimes for as much as sixty dollars, although some of the California trade was still based on barter.

The currency was hides and tallow, with considerable sea-otter, land-otter and beaver skins, the latter being obtained on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers....⁴¹

As the hunting increased, the animals diminished and the exportations became less; but as late as 1840 and along to 1844 Henry Mellus made shipments of sea-otter, land-otter and beaver skins amounting to \$15,000 or \$20,000 each. Land otters and beavers were then not so scarce as sea otters.⁴²

Ducks

As observed in March 1840 during the Mexican government era by William Heath Davis:

[Ducks] were plentiful and fat and of many varieties: mallard, canvasback, widgeon and teal. My favorite spot for shooting was the top of the hill overlooking the village of Yerba Buena [San Francisco]. The ducks would appear in flocks, darkening the air, and so great was their number that it required no skill to kill them on the wing. As they fell to the ground they often burst open, being so fat and heavy.... After I had discharged the two barrels I would be surrounded with dead and wounded birds, and the flock would wheel about to share the fate of the first victims. I hastened to reload so as to take them on the wing again, and the stupid birds would fall to the ground as thick as hailstones... I killed so many of this savory game that we preserved them like the fish to swell the first export from the island.⁴³

⁴⁰ Milliken 1991:303-304

⁴¹ Davis 1967 [1833]:4.

⁴² Ibid.:159.

⁴³ Ibid.:57-58.

Elk

In the early 1840s, William Heath Davis described the Mexican government era approach to elk hunting as follows:

On Mare Island I often saw in the years from '40 to '43 as many as two or three thousand elk, it being their habit to cross and recross [sic] by swimming between the island and the mainland....

These elk were killed for their hides and tallow by the rancheros in considerable numbers, at the time they slaughtered their cattle. They would go out to the haunts of the elk and capture them by the lasso, which was used by them on all occasions, and after killing the animals, secure the hides and tallow on the spot, leaving the carcasses. The tallow of the elk was superior to that of the bullock, whiter and firmer, and made better candles.

This work was much more dangerous and exciting than the killing of cattle, and required the very best broken saddle horses and those most accustomed to the lasso, and also the best vaqueros, on account of the strength, agility, fleetness and fierceness of the elk. Great skill was also required in throwing the lasso (the loop of which was made larger than for cattle on account of the wide-spreading horns of the elk), and in holding them after the lasso was cast.⁴⁴

Grizzly Bears

As seen in February 1827 in the Spanish government era by August Duhaut-Cilly:

[B]ears are quite numerous in the vicinity. Without going farther than five or six leagues from San Francisco, one can often see troops of them in the forest and even on the plain. The Californians claim that they seldom attack passersby; only when a man happens to approach them closely or stirs up their ferocity by teasing them, do they make use of their terrible claws and their great strength.⁴⁵

...In California bear hunting is considered a game of pleasure for three or four horsemen armed with their ropes. Putting down a dead animal as bait, they wait quietly. If the bear defends himself and tries to rush on one of the men, the others choose that moment to lasso him from behind....

These animals are also killed in a more expeditious and less dangerous way. In the branches of a tree there is built a trapiste (scaffolding) ten or fifteen feet above

⁴⁴ Ibid.:22.

⁴⁵ Duhaut-Cilly 1999:159.

the ground, and several men wait there, armed with muskets, each of which is loaded with two balls. About twenty feet from the tree is placed a horse, dead for several days and beginning to putrefy. Bears, they say, have a keen sense of smell and are attracted from a distance; when they come they are easily shot by the hunters. Padre Viader, superior of the mission at Santa Clara, a wise and truthful man, assured me that he himself had killed a hundred in this manner.

Others dig a deep pit and cover it with a strong layer of branches on which they place meat of a kind that will attract bears. Standing below, they shoot them or kill them with thrusts of the lance.⁴⁶

In August 1827 in the Spanish government era Anguste Duhaut-Cilly described a bull and bear fight as follows:

That day we witnessed a spectacle quite new to us. The soldiers of the presidio [Monterey], having captured a bear alive, offered it to me, and I bought it for a few piasters in order to watch a fight to the finish between this animal and a bull, which I also purchased. Both were brought into the courtyard of the presidio, where they were tied together with a long leather cord, which kept them from getting away from each other but allowed them to move freely. They were then left to all their ferocity.

The spectacle took place right after mass, and the watchers were many....⁴⁷

Wildlife Depletion

Americans continued the large-scale slaughter of wildlife that began in the Spanish and Mexican government eras. In 1861 William H. Brewer described the increasing rarity of wildlife in the place now known as the San Ramon Valley. While camping on the valley property of a Major Russell in September of that year, Brewer wrote three sentences that, in retrospect, read like an obituary for area elk and other wildlife:

Game was once very abundant—bear in the hills, and deer, antelope, and elk like cattle, in herds. Russell said he had known a party of thirty or forty to lasso twenty-eight elk on one Sunday. All are now exterminated, but we find their horns by the hundreds.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid.:67.

⁴⁷ Ibid.:67-68.

⁴⁸ Ibid.:185.

Staple Foods: Acorns⁴⁹

While oak and tanbark oak acorns were likely second to grassland seeds as a source of carbohydrate-rich Native foods in the place now known as the Bay Area, acorns were nonetheless vital. Oak woodlands need fire to regenerate and can benefit from annual prescribed burning. Research has shown that most of the state's oak stands date from about 1850 to 1950, with few seedlings reaching maturity. Fire suppression, cattle grazing, land clearing, insects, deer, rodents, and moisture depletion by non-native annual grasses appear to be factors in this decline, although nobody understands how these factors interact to suppress or induce oak reproduction.

Despite the impacts of colonization, local Native peoples have restored the use of ancient foods, including acorns, in old and new ways that require the management of plant resources. New realities, such as the continued spread of *Phytophthora ramorum*, otherwise known as Sudden Oak Death, have added a potentially devastating dynamic in efforts to preserve cultural traditions, and the possibility of inadvertently spreading this new disease through acts that continue one's culture. Gathering plant materials in one's homeland not only necessitates the need to locate places where one can find and legally manage and gather these materials, but also the need to keep constantly informed of new research about *Phytophthora ramorum* and other new plant diseases, and how to prevent their spread.

Despite these hurdles, the impetus to honor one's ancestors by keeping cultural traditions alive remains strong, and local Native peoples will continue to find creative means and new contexts to do so, including cooking with acorns. They will also continue to advocate for the restoration and enhancement of the landscape through the application of ancient land management practices, reminding us that people are an integral part of nature, not apart from it.

Acorn Processing

Gathering, Drying and Storing: Acorns fall from oaks and tanbark oaks in the autumn. The first acorns that fall are immature, insect damaged, or otherwise unusable for food. Mature acorns have an even color, and have no holes, bumps, lumps, or cracks. These are the type of mature, undamaged acorns gathered for food. Once gathered, they are laid out to dry, so they will not mold when stored.

Cracking and Shelling: All acorns have a red skin that must be removed as part of their processing. Sometimes, as with tanbark oak and coast live oak acorns, the skin falls away easily during winnowing. Black oak acorns, a preferred acorn, require special processing to remove the skins. First, women split the kernels with a knife wherever they have creases. Then they lay the acorns out on a table and sprinkle them with water. As the water evaporates, the skin loosens and can be more easily winnowed away.

⁴⁹ Ortiz 1991/96, 2006; field data 1983 to present.

Winnowing: Winnowing is a process by which acorns are tossed into the air in a specialized basket so that the red skins float away.

Pounding: After drying, cracking, and winnowing, acorns are pounded so that they break apart into tiny bits and particles.

Two common, but incorrect assumptions about acorn pounding exist. The first centers around the notion that acorn flour is created with a “grinding” process. No such rubbing action is used. Rather, whole acorn kernels are crushed between a mortar and pestle using a pounding motion.

The second idea is related to the first—that stone grit wears off the mortar from pounding, thereby getting into the meal. Indeed, if a pestle hits a mortar, the mortar rock can wear away or crack. However, during the pounding process, women were fastidious about preventing rock-on-rock contact. They always maintained a layer of acorn meal between the mortar and pestle during the pounding process; and, with long-term use, acorn residue coats the inside of the mortar, further guarding against rock-on-rock contact.

When a thick layer of partially-crushed acorn kernels becomes thin, the thud of pounding sounds more ringing, and the maker knows it’s time to add additional acorn kernels before the rocks meet. Note the use of the word “pound” rather than “grind” here.

How then does the rock get its hole? Evidence exists that California Indians purposefully created mortar holes by chipping them out with blows from a harder rock.

The varied depths of mortar holes depended on what was pounded in them and local preference. The depth of some mortar holes is imperceptible, only about ¼ inch deep. In the case of acorn pounding, were the hole in the mortar rock too deep, the acorn would get over-pounded. If this happened, the natural oils in most species of acorns would be drawn out, causing the crushed acorn to become peanut butter-like in consistency, and the leaching water to flow away. To leach properly, a fluffy consistency is needed. (See below for leaching details.)

In addition to pounding acorn, Ohlone and other local tribal peoples used some mortar rocks for pounding small seeds to make pinole (seed cakes), for crushing manzanita berries, used to make a sweet cider, and for other purposes. Some California Indians made relatively tiny mortars and pestles, which they reserved for spiritual purposes. They also used mortars for making offerings along trails.

In some parts of the region now known as Central California, likely including local Native peoples, women placed bottomless baskets (hopper baskets) around mortar holes. At times they adhered the basket to the rocks with asphaltum, a type of natural tar. In other parts of Central California women did not use hoppers.

Sifting: Acorn is sifted by shaking the flour against the weave of a specially-shaped, finely woven basket. The fine flour adheres to the weave of the basket, while the more coarse flour is

shaken back into the mortar for further pounding. Once sifted, acorn flour has virtually the same consistency as wheat flour.

Leaching: Water is dripped through acorn flour to remove its bitterness. In the old days, the flour was spread atop a sand basin. Although the sand was sometimes first covered with particular types of native plant leaves, such as those of wild grape, California Indians also used methods for leaching the flour directly on the sand, without getting sand in the food.

The amount of water needed for leaching varied according to the species of acorns used, the fineness of the flour, how level the leaching basin was, and the thickness of the layer of acorn placed atop the basin. For instance, black oak acorn flour could, and can, be leached in less than 30 minutes, with no hint of bitterness, if the basin is level and the layer of flour atop the basin no more than ¼ inch thick,.

Cooking: In the old days, leached acorn flour, dissolved in water, was boiled with heated stones in a basket until it achieved a soup or thicker, mush-like consistency. Cooking baskets were pre-soaked, so that the stitches would swell, ensuring their water-tightness. Cooking stones needed to be rounded, and rolled slowly, to minimize wear of the basket, as well as non-explosive, and resistant to cracking. In Central California most cooking stones were comprised of river-rounded basalt or soapstone carved into rounded shapes.

The stones were heated in a hardwood fire until they became red-hot, then lifted out of the fire with two long, sharpened hardwood poles. They were dipped in a basket of water to remove the ash, before they were carefully lowered into the mixture of water and dissolved acorn flour. Alternatively, the ash was quickly swept from the stones with a soaproot brush, before the stones were lowered into the basket. Each species of acorn, once cooked, had its own distinct delicate, nutty flavor. Young babies could easily digest this soft, nutritious food.

Although the specific details of how Ohlone peoples cooked acorn in the old days has been lost to history, some Ohlone have revived this precious and enduring food by using old-time methods still remembered and used by other Central California Indians, as well as developing their own modern methods. Today, they gather and use tanbark oak, black oak, and coast live oak acorns, as their ancestors did in the past.

For detailed information about Yosemite Miwok/Paiute acorn processing techniques, see Ortiz, Beverly (1991/1996), as told by Julia F. Parker, *It Will Live Forever: Traditional Yosemite Indian Acorn Making*, Berkeley: Heyday Books. This book includes a recipe for processing acorns using modern techniques and equipment, including colanders, stainless steel pots, and cotton cloths.

Other Plant Foods: Cultural Context

Several Spanish expeditions passed through Ohlone “country.” While the expedition journals rarely mentioned plant foods, those that did focused on acorn soup and mush (atole), roasted soap plant bulbs (amole), strings of bulbs and corms (cacomites), and pinole (seed “cakes”).

The most extensive information available about Ohlone cultures, including plant foods, comes from specific elders through the field notes of early 1900s cultural anthropologists and linguists. See Supplemental Resources, pp. 51-53, “Ohlone Heroes,” for a list of Ohlone individuals who preserved Ohlone cultural knowledge this way.

In terms of plant knowledge specifically, María de los Angeles Colos, a speaker of Chochenyo, shared some plant information with C. Hart Merriam in 1904 and 1905, and with John Peabody Harrington, a linguist, in 1921, but most of what we know today about Ohlone plant use comes from Ascención Solorsano, Mutsun from the San Juan Bautista area, and Isabelle Meadows, Rumsien from the Monterey area, as shared with Harrington in 1929–1930, 1932, and 1934–1939. Barbara Bocek summarized Meadows’ and Solorsano’s comments about plants in a 1984 article in *Economic Botany*.

While most of what Meadows and Solorsano shared focused on native plant uses, they also discussed uses for several European plants that had become naturalized in their homelands, reflecting the history of change that they and their ancestors had lived through. In addition to plant uses, the two women shared Rumsen, Mutsun, and Old California Spanish names for the plants. They taught Harrington about 157 plants used for more than 60 foods, 100 medicines and innumerable other purposes, including clothing, houses, boats, containers, soap, and hunting and gathering implements. Nearly all of the information in this curriculum about cultural uses of specific plants comes from the Bocek article.

When assessing local plant use, it may be tempting to assume that the members of all Ohlone tribes used plants in exactly the same way. However, based on what we know about better-documented California Indian groups, this is not the case. Even when people used the same plant for the same purpose, there can be differences in the specifics of how they processed and used those plants. From an outsider’s perspective, some of those differences may seem inconsequential. From an insider’s perspective, however, they help define what distinguishes a member of a certain tribe or family from the members of other tribes or families. In other words, they serve as important markers of ethnic identity.

Objects of Daily Life: Baskets⁵⁰

Few examples of baskets made by Ohlones survived the rapid changes wrought by the Euro-American invasion of California. Those Ohlone baskets that did survive came from the Monterey Peninsula, north to San Jose. No Ohlone baskets are known to have survived north of San Jose.

In the 1990s, Ohlones of Rumsien and Mutsun heritage began to restore and revitalize the basketry of their ancestors. Ohlones used, and continue to use, willow as foundation material in their coiled baskets and as warp (vertical elements) in their twined baskets. They used, and continue to use, two particular species of willow, both with a pin-sized pith.

Ohlones used to prune willow with fire in late fall or early winter. While some are restoring ancestral burning practices in collaboration with public land-holding agencies, when unable to do so, they prune (coppice) willows back to their base in the wintertime, after the plant is dormant, and the sap (food energy) of the plants has “dropped” below ground.

After winter coppicing, the following spring, willow bushes re-grow long, straight, flexible shoots that lack side branches. Ohlones harvested, and continue to harvest, willow shoots in the spring, when the bark easily slips away from the stem, and in the winter, when the bark adheres tightly to the stem, and has a rich, reddish-brown color. They can also gather willow shoots during a two-week period in the summer called “second spring,” when the shoots are likewise flexible. The shoots will crack and break if gathered at other times of the year.

Ohlones used, and continue to use, sedge for white sewing strands. Sedge is the underground stem of a grass-like plant that must be harvested (dug) in the type of sandy-loam soil that only occurs on relatively high ground within a floodplain. Today, because so many streams have been channelized and put into pipes for flood control, contemporary Ohlone basketmakers have difficulty finding suitable places to harvest this plant.

Ohlones used, and continue to use, bracken fern and bulrush rhizomes for a black design in their coiled baskets, while they used, and use, scouring rush for a black design in their twined baskets. They cleaned, then blackened the inner fibers of bracken fern and bulrush rhizomes, by burying these in mud rich in decayed plant material, or today, by placing them in water blackened with rotting acorns, rusty nails, or other materials. Scouring rush rhizomes are naturally black. For decoration, Ohlones adorned, and continue to adorn, some baskets with clamshell disc beads, olivella shell beads, red woodpecker scalp feathers, and green mallard duck feathers.

Other less common Ohlone basketry materials include two strands of *Juncus* in one twined sifting basket, a row of white-alder-bark-dyed sedge in another, a design of mud-dyed sedge in a third, and an unidentified black material in a three-rod coiled basket from San Juan Bautista.

⁵⁰Craig Bates, personal communication 1983, Larry Dawson, personal communication 1983, Bocek 1984:247, 248, 249, 251, 252, 255, field data 1994-present.

Ohlone coiled baskets were much like those of other Native peoples in the greater Bay Area. However, their twined basketry was distinctive due to the decorative techniques used. Ohlones created a subtle patterning of diamonds by alternating plain-twined stitches against a twill-twined background. A subtle, horizontal banding was made by periodically reversing the side of the sewing strands that faced the weaver, in paired rows.

The few older Ohlone baskets that survived the changes of history are housed in collections throughout the world. Very few are on public display. Here's a list of all of the public institutions in California that have Ohlone baskets woven in the 1930s or earlier, in order of their proximity to the East Bay, including their display status as of 2012⁵¹:

1. The Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley has a *walaheen*, a type of close-twined winnowing and seed-roasting basket.
2. The Santa Cruz Museum of Natural History has a coiled basket on display.
3. History San José in Kelly Park has a *walaheen* on display.
4. The Pacific Grove Museum of Natural History has a coiled gift basket and a *walaheen*.
5. The Pacific House at the Custom House Plaza in Monterey has a coiled basket on display.
6. The Carmel Mission has two *walaheens* on display.
7. The San Juan Bautista Mission has a berry-picking basket of tule made by Ascención Solorsano.
8. The University of California at Davis has two coiled baskets.
9. The State Indian Museum in Sacramento has three Ohlone baskets, including the one currently on display at the Custom House.
10. The Autry Museum in Los Angeles has a coiled basket with feathers and olivella shell beads.
11. The Southwest Museum in Los Angeles has a *walaheen*.

For information about contemporary California Indian basketry, see the California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA) website, www.ciba.org.

⁵¹ Larry Dawson, personal communication 1983, Linda Yamane, personal communication 2012.

Europeans Arrive from Spain

In 1770 Spanish newcomers established the first of seven missions and two presidios in “Ohlone country”—Mission San Carlos Borromeo and the Monterey Presidio. These were followed by: Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores) and the San Francisco Presidio (1776), Mission Santa Clara de Asís (1777), Missions Exaltación de la Santa Cruz and Señora de la Soledad (1791), and Missions San José and San Juan Bautista (1797).

By 1836 the entire mission system had been secularized, i.e. converted from colonizing, religious institutions into parish churches. As a result, virtually all mission resources (land, buildings, livestock, and implements), went into non-Indian hands.

First-Person Accounts of the Impact of Spanish Livestock on Local Indian Plant Foods

In November 1782, at a time when fewer than 10% of Santa Clara Valley tribal peoples had joined the mission there, Santa Clara missionaries Antonio Murgía and Tomas de la Peña lodged a formal protest about the refusal of Governor Fages to remove the San Jose Pueblo, due to encroachment by the pueblo residents on the lands of Christian Indians.⁵²

They will have to rely for their food on the herbs and acorns they pick in the woods—just as they used to do before we came. This source of food supply, we might add, is now scarcer than it used to be, owing to the cattle: and many a time the pagans living in the direction of the pueblo have complained to us about it.

...Now the townspeople here under discussion have, as everyone knows, quantities of livestock, both large and small. And recent history has shown that, besides getting mixed up with the livestock belonging to the Indians from the mission, the animals, both large and small, belonging to the townsfolk have caused unceasing damage to the crops put in by the Indians.

...All owners of such estates must keep them under close guard under penalty of paying for any damage done. And Indians are at liberty to slaughter such livestock as trespass onto their lands, without being subject to any penalty whatever.⁵³

The situation had not changed six years later when, in 1788, Santa Clara missionaries Santa Diego Noboa and Tomas de la Peña reported on the continued destruction of native foods in the Santa Clara Valley due to the activities of local residents:

There is an abundance enough of grain for the Indians to be supported, but the lack of greens, as a result of the citizens of the pueblo of San Jose having cleared all the

⁵² Milliken 1995:72-73.

⁵³ Murguía and Peña 1782 in Milliken 1991:73.

fields for their houses, their plantings, and their irrigation ditches, deprives them of it for the *pozole*⁵⁴ and *atole* [acorn soup/mush] throughout the winter season.⁵⁵

...The shortage of their wild foods renders them distressed and needy.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ [W]heat, horse beans, peas and other vegetables either mixed or singly (Arroyo de la Cuesta 1814 in Milliken 1991:151).

⁵⁵ Noboa and Peña 1788 in Milliken 1995:99.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*:101.

Spanish Missions

In 1806, George H. von Langsdorff offered this description about life at Mission San Francisco:

The works to which the [Indians] are principally employed are husbandry, tending the cattle, and shearing the sheep or in mechanical trades, as building, preparing tallow and soap, or making household utensils; also in the transport of provisions, and other objects of necessity, from one mission or presidency to another. The most laborious employment, which is grinding the corn, is left almost entirely to the women; it is rubbed between two quadrangular oblong stones till ground to meal....

The cattle, horses, and sheep, do not require any particular care and attention. The herds are left out in the open field the whole year through, and only a sufficient number are kept in the neighborhood of the establishment to serve immediate wants....

All the husbandry work is performed by oxen: the horses are kept for military service and for the use of the ecclesiastics, or for the transport of provisions and other objects from one mission to another: in the latter service some mules are also employed.⁵⁷

Businessman William Heath Davis had this to say about Indian laborers at Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores), in 1833, soon before that mission was secularized (privatized) under the Mexican government of Alta California (now the state of California).

Among them were blacksmiths, shipwrights, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and masons, all of whom had learned these trades at the mission, under the superintendence of the padres. They had also learned the Spanish language, [and] as a general thing had acquired habits of industry.... Many of them could read and write.⁵⁸

...Padre Quijas was at the head of the Mission Dolores, and administrator of the establishment. He had about ten thousand head of cattle, many thousand head of horses and mares, and a vast number of sheep. The domain of the mission extended to what is now known as San Mateo, including the *rancho* of Buri-buri,⁵⁹ formerly owned by Don José Sánchez and his family.

...During our stay in the bay (about three or four weeks) we sold some fifteen or twenty thousand dollars' worth of goods to Padre Quijas. We received in payment

⁵⁷ Langsdorff 1806 in Milliken 1991:289-290.

⁵⁸ Davis 1957 [1833]:4.

⁵⁹ Named for the Urebure tribe.

hides and tallow, sea- and land-otter skins, and beaver skins, and also some Spanish and Mexican doubloons which had probably been laid away for many years. The goods were mostly sugar, tea, coffee, clothing and blankets for the Indians. There were blankets manufactured at the missions, of very coarse texture, from the wool of their sheep. They were known as mission blankets and used at the missions mostly.⁶⁰

According to William Heath Davis,

The padres not only taught the Indians to build vessels and boats, but instructed them also in their management, and made sailors of them. They were sometimes employed as such by myself and other merchants at Yerba Buena [San Francisco], upon boats that were attached to the vessels or that were owned on shore, in the delivery of goods and collecting hides and tallow. The padres also instructed the Indians how to shoot and capture otters in the best manner; hence their accumulation of so large a number of fur skins when the sea otters were plentiful about the bay and along the coast.

I remember that, in 1833, hides and tallow were brought to the vessel in schooners and launches manned and commanded by Indians, from the Mission Dolores [San Francisco] and the missions of San Jose, Santa Clara and San Rafael, the vessels from the padres, after designs and models prepared by them of a very ancient pattern. They reminded me of illustrations of old Spanish vessels.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Davis 1957 [1833]:15.

⁶¹ Ibid.:195.

An Ohlone-Esselen Perspective on Teaching About the Mission System By Deborah Miranda, an Enrolled Member of the Ohlone/Costanoan- Esselen Nation

All my life, I have heard only one story about California Indians: godless, dirty, stupid, primitive, ugly, passive, drunken, immoral, lazy, weak-willed people who *might* make good workers if properly trained and motivated. What kind of story is that to grow up with?

The story of the missionization of California.

In 1769, after missionizing much of Mexico, the Spaniards began to move up the west coast of North America in order to establish claims to rich resources and before other European nations could get a foothold. Together, the Franciscan priests and Spanish soldiers "built" a series of 21 missions along what is now coastal California. (California's Indigenous peoples, numbering more than 1 million at the time, did most of the actual labor.) These missions, some rehabilitated from melting adobe, others in near-original state, are now one of the state's biggest tourist attractions; in the little town of Carmel, Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo is *the* biggest attraction. Elsewhere, so-called Mission décor drenches Southern California, from restaurants to homes, apartment buildings, animal shelters, grocery stores, and post offices. In many neighborhoods, a bastardized Mission style is actually required by cities or neighborhood associations. Along with this visual mythology of adobe and red clay roof tiles comes the cultural storytelling that drains the missions of their brutal and bloody pasts for popular consumption.

In California schools, students come up against the "Mission Unit" in 4th grade, reinforcing the same lies those children have been breathing in most of their lives. Part of California's history curriculum, the unit is entrenched in the educational system and impossible to avoid, a powerfully authoritative indoctrination in Mission Mythology to which 4th graders have little if any resistance. Intense pressure is put upon students (and their parents) to create a "Mission Project" that glorifies the era and glosses over both Spanish and Mexican exploitation of Indians, as well as enslavement of those same Indians during U.S. rule. In other words, the Mission Unit is all too often a lesson in imperialism, racism, and Manifest Destiny rather than actually educational or a jumping-off point for critical thinking or accurate history.

In Harcourt School Publisher's *California: A Changing State*, the sacrifice for gold, riches, settlements, and violence by Spanish, English, and Russian explorers is well enunciated throughout Unit 2 and dressed in exciting language such as on page 113: "In one raid, Drake's crew took 80 pounds of gold!"

In four opening pages to Chapter 3 devoted to Father Junípero Serra, the textbook urges students to sympathize with the Spanish colonial mission:

Mile after mile, day after day, week after week, the group traveled across the rugged terrain. As their food ran low, many of the men grew tired and sick. Father Serra himself suffered from a

sore on one leg that grew worse each day. And yet he never gave up, calling on his faith in God to keep himself going.

The language jumps between an acknowledgement of the subjugation of Indigenous peoples and of mutually beneficial exchanges. In Lesson 3, "The Mission System" opens: "Indians were forced to build a chain of missions." Subsequent language emphasizes the alleged benefits to the Indians:

At the missions, the priests worked to create loyal Spanish subjects. . . . They would *move* the California Indians into the missions, *teach them* to be Christians, and *show them* European ways. [Emphasis added.]

Visiting the mission as an adult, proud, mixed-blood California Indian woman, I found myself unprepared for gift shops well stocked with CDs of pre-researched Mission Projects; photocopied pamphlets of mission terms, facts, and history (one for each mission); coloring books; packaged models of missions ("easy assembly in 10 minutes!"); and other project paraphernalia for the discerning 4th grader and his or her worried parents.

The Carmel Mission website maintains a "4th Grade Corner" where daily life for padres and their "Indian friends" who "shared what little food and supplies they had" is blissfully described. Other websites offer "easy," "quick," and "guaranteed A+!!!" Mission Projects, targeting those anxious parents, for a price.

Generations of Californians have grown up steeped in a culture and education system that trains them to think of Indians as passive, dumb, and disappeared. In other words, the project is so well established, in such a predictable and well-loved rut, that veering outside of the worn but comfortable mythology is all but impossible.

On my visit to Mission Dolores, I found that out in a particularly visceral way.

It was over winter break, 2008. I was in San Francisco for a conference, and my friend Kimberly and I had hopped on a streetcar to visit Mission Dolores. As we emerged from the mission church via a side door into a small courtyard (featuring one of those giant dioramas behind glass), we inadvertently walked into video range of a mother filming her daughter's 4th-grade project.

Excusing ourselves, we studiously examined the diorama while the little girl flubbed her lines a few times. She was reading directly from the flyer given tourists in the gift shop and could say "basilica" but not "archdiocese," but she maintained her poise through several takes until she nailed it.

Both mothers ourselves, Kimberly and I paused to exchange a few words of solidarity about school projects with the mother, which gave Mom the chance to brag about how she and Virginia were trying to "do something a little different" by using video instead of making a model.

"That's great!" I said, giving them both a polite smile. "I'll bet your teacher will be glad to have something out of the ordinary."

"Well, it *is* different actually being right here," Mom said excitedly. "To think about all those Indians and how they lived all that time ago, that's kind of impressive."

I could not resist: "And better yet," I beamed, "still live! Guess what? I'm a member of the Ohlone/Costanoan-Esselen Nation myself! Some of my ancestors *lived* in this mission. I've found their names in the Book of Baptism." (I didn't mention that they are also listed in the Book of Deaths soon afterward.)

The mother was beside herself with pleasure, posed me with her daughter for a still photo, and wrote down my name so she could Google my work. Little Virginia, however, was shocked into silence. Her face drained, her body went stiff, and she stared at me as if I had risen, an Indigenous skeleton clad in decrepit rags, from beneath the clay bricks of the courtyard. Even though her mother and I talked a few more minutes, Virginia the 4th grader—previously a calm, articulate news anchor in training—remained a shy shadow, shooting side glances at me out of the corner of her eyes.

As Kimberly and I walked away, I thought, "That poor kid has never seen a live Indian, much less a 'Mission Indian'—she thought we were all dead!" Having me suddenly appear in the middle of her video project must have been a lot like turning the corner to find the (dead) person you were talking about suddenly in your face, talking back.

Kimberly, echoing my thoughts, chortled quietly, "Yes, Virginia, there really are live Mission Indians."

The problem is, thanks to Mission Mythology, most 4th graders will never know that and the textbooks don't help to give visibility to modern California Indians.

Throughout the rest of *California: A Changing History*, mentions of California Indians are brief and as victims fading into history. On page 242, under the heading of "A Changing Population," Harcourt states simply, "California Indians were hurt by the gold rush. . . . Many were forced off their lands when the miners found gold there."

Many pages later, California Indians are mentioned again when the textbook devotes five paragraphs to Indian Governments. Although 109 tribes are recognized in California, in the text, they are faceless and noted only by red square dots on a map.

It's time for the Mission Fantasy Fairy Tale to end. This story has done more damage to California Indians than any conquistador, any priest, and *soldado de cuera* (leather-jacket soldier), any smallpox, measles, or influenza virus. This story has not just killed us, it has also taught us to kill ourselves and kill each other with alcohol, domestic violence, horizontal racism, internalized hatred. We have to put an end to it now.

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Mexican Ranchos

The following reminiscence of William Heath Davis provides a rancho perspective on the use of corporal punishment.

In my father-in-law's family at San Leandro there was an Indian boy by the name of Juan José, now (1887) [at] seventy years of age, well preserved and strong, who was taken when a child, reared and always retained by them. He was usually obedient and tractable, but occasionally would become lazy and insolent, when it was found necessary to give him a good whipping; which was done (not by his own request, however); whereupon he became civil and obedient and attended faithfully to his duties. The effect of his management has always been apparent, goodness, as it were, being whipped into him.⁶²

Following are other first-person reminiscences of the rancho era by Davis detailing some of the tasks overseen by Indian laborers:

The cattle were slaughtered in the summer season; the killing commenced about the 1st of July and continued until the 1st of October, for the hides and tallow; about two hundred pounds of the best part of the bullock was preserved, by drying, for future consumption, the balance of the animal being left to go to waste; it was consumed by the buzzards and wild beasts....

In securing the tallow, the *manteca*, or fat lying nearest the hide of the bullock, was taken off carefully and tried [sic] out apart from the interior fat or *sebo*. The latter constituted the tallow for shipment, about seventy-five to one hundred pounds being obtained from each creature. The former, of which forty to fifty pounds were obtained, was more carefully and nicely prepared and was saved for domestic use, in cooking being preferred to hog's lard. Sometimes the two were mixed, the latter not being used by itself. Whenever there was more of the manteca than was needed for the family, the Russians were eager purchasers for shipment and for their own use. It was sold for two dollars per arroba, and the sebo at a dollar and a half per arroba....⁶³

At the ranchos very little use was made of milch [sic] cows for milk, butter or cheese. I have frequently drunk my tea or coffee without milk on a ranch containing from thirty-six hundred to eight thousand head of cattle. But in the spring of the year, when the grass was green, the wives of the rancheros made from the milk *asaderas*, a fresh cheese, in small flat cakes, which had to be eaten

⁶² Ibid.:94.

⁶³ Ibid.:26.

the day it was made....

A large number of horses were needed on each rancho for herding stock, as they were used up very fast. They were numerous and cheap, and the owners placed no restraint upon the vaqueros [largely Indian], who rode without a particle of regard for the horses till they soon became unfit for further use in this way. The vaqueros were continually breaking in young colts three years old and upwards to replace those already beyond service....⁶⁴

At stated times, say two or three times a week at first, the cattle on a particular ranch were driven in by the vaqueros, from all parts thereof, to a spot known as the rodeo grounds, and kept there for a few hours, when they were allowed to disperse. Shortly they were collected again, once a week perhaps, and then less seldom, until after considerable training, being always driven to the same place, they came to know it. Then, whenever the herd was wanted, all that was necessary for the vaqueros to do was, say twenty-five or thirty of them, to ride out into the hills and valleys and call the cattle, shouting and screaming to them, when the animals would immediately run to the accustomed spot, presently the whole vast herd belonging to the ranch finding their way there.⁶⁵

... When the grain was cut at harvesting, the mares were employed in threshing it.... A circular piece of ground, known as a *hera*, containing, say, an acre and a half, was enclosed by a fence, smooth on the inside. The ground was prepared by putting water on it, leveling and pounding it until it became firm and hard. A large quantity of grain was then thrown into this circular space, and seventy-five to a hundred mares were turned into the place with two or three vaqueros mounted on powerful horses, with whips in their hands, who drove the mares round and round the circle....

The grain was winnowed in an equally primitive manner, the process requiring a day when a good breeze was blowing. The threshed grain was pushed well to one side of the inclosure [sic] by the harvesters, and a good space cleaned off. Then, with large wooden shovels, they took it up and threw it as high as possible against the wind, which blew the chaff and straw away while the heavier grain fell down on the clean ground which had been prepared for it. In this way they got it out quite clean, also nice and whole, not broken, as it is more or less in passing through a threshing machine.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Ibid.:27

⁶⁵ Ibid.:28.

⁶⁶ Ibid.:33-34.

...The ladies were domestic and exceedingly industrious although the wealthier class had plenty of Indian servants. They were skillful with their needles, making the garments for their families, which were generally numerous. The women were proficient in sewing. They also did a good deal of nicer needlework of fancy kinds—embroidery, etc.—in which they excelled, all for family use. Their domestic occupations took up most of their time.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Ibid.:49.

American Government

By 1859, American newcomers squatted on rancho lands and eventually gained control of most of those lands. Here is how William Heath Davis, who had been a rancho owner during the Mexican era, described that time.

After the discovery of gold, when people came in large numbers, this good fortune continued for a time, until the Californians had troubles in regard to their land titles, arising first from the inroads of squatters who trespassed upon their ranchos, took possession of considerable portions of the land, drove off cattle, interfered with the grazing, annoyed and despoiled the ranchos and invaded the rights of the possessors.⁶⁸

On September 8, 1861, near Mission San Jose, here is how Brewer described the remains of the mission there:

This is a little old mission town—a large dilapidated church, old *adobe* houses, with tile roofs, a few dilapidated walls and gardens, and new American buildings springing up around and among them. The very houses show the decay and decline of one race and the coming in of a superior one.

The old church is large, gaudily painted on the inside, but dilapidated; the congregation a mixture.... There are a few stores here—it is a little village, one that will never be a large one. As we work north the decay of the native and Spanish element becomes more and more marked.⁶⁹

Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978

In 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act was passed. As part of the act, an Indian Child and Family Services Department was established in California to “protect, preserve and promote American Indian families.”

⁶⁸ Ibid.:145.

⁶⁹ Brewer 1947:181

109 Federally Recognized Tribes in California

The following list of Federally Recognized Tribes in California was compiled from the January 14, 2015 Department of the Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs Notice of 566 “Indian Entities Recognized and Eligible to Receive Services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs,” *Federal Register* 80(9):1942-1948. Please note that the land bases of four of the listed California “Indian Entities” include land in one or more adjoining states, as indicated in black typeface. The register is updated annually.

1. Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation, California
2. Alturas Indian Rancheria, California
3. Augustine Band of Cahuilla Indians, California (previously listed as the Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Augustine Reservation)
4. Bear River Band of the Rohnerville Rancheria, California
5. Berry Creek Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
6. Big Lagoon Rancheria, California
7. Big Pine Paiute Tribe of the Owens Valley (previously listed as the Big Pine Band of Owens Valley Paiute Shoshone Indians of the Big Pine Reservation, California)
8. Big Sandy Rancheria of Western Mono Indians of California (previously listed as the Big Sandy Rancheria of Mono Indians of California)
9. Big Valley Band of Pomo Indians of the Big Valley Rancheria, California
10. Bishop Paiute Tribe (previously listed as the Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Bishop Community of the Bishop Colony, California)
11. Blue Lake Rancheria, California
12. Bridgeport Indian Colony (previously listed as the Bridgeport Paiute Indian Colony of California)
13. Buena Vista Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California
14. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians, California
15. Cachil DeHe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Indian Community of the Colusa Rancheria, California
16. Cahto Tribe of the Laytonville Rancheria (previously listed as the Cahto Tribe and the Cahto Indian Tribe of the Laytonville Rancheria)
17. Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians of the Cahuilla Reservation, California
18. California Valley Miwok Tribe, California (previously listed as the Sheep Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California)
19. Campo Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Campo Indian Reservation, California

20. Capitan Grande Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California: (Barona Group of Capitan Grande Band of Mission Indians of the Barona Reservation...)
21. Capitan Grande Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California: (...Viejas (Baron Long) Group of Capitan Grande Band of Mission Indians of the Viejas Reservation)
22. Cedarville Rancheria, California
23. Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Chemehuevi Reservation, California
24. Cher-Ae Heights Indian Community of the Trinidad Rancheria, California
25. Chicken Ranch Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California
26. Cloverdale Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California
27. Cold Springs Rancheria of Mono Indians of California
28. Colorado River Indian Tribes of the Colorado River Indian Reservation, **Arizona and California**
29. Cortina Indian Rancheria (previously listed as the Cortina Indian Rancheria of Wintun Indians of California)
30. Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians of California (previously listed as the Coyote Valley Reservation)
31. Death Valley Timbi-sha Shoshone Tribe (previously listed as the Death Valley Timbi-Sha Shoshone Band of California)
32. Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians, California (previously listed as the Dry Creek Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California)
33. Elem Indian Colony of Pomo Indians of the Sulphur Bank Rancheria, California
34. Elk Valley Rancheria, California
35. Enterprise Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
36. Ewiiapaayp Band of Kumeyaay Indians, California
37. Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, California
38. Fort Bidwell Indian Community of the Fort Bidwell Reservation of California
39. Fort Independence Indian Community of Paiute Indians of the Fort Independence Reservation, California
40. Fort Mojave Indian Tribe of **Arizona, California & Nevada**
41. Greenville Rancheria (previously listed as the Greenville Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California)
42. Grindstone Indian Rancheria of Wintun-Wailaki Indians of California
43. Guidiville Rancheria of California
44. Habematolel Pomo of Upper Lake, California (previously listed as the Upper Lake Band of Pomo Indians of Upper Lake Rancheria of California)

45. Hoopa Valley Tribe, California
46. Hopland Band of Pomo Indians, California (previously Hopland Band of Pomo Indians of the Hopland Rancheria, California)
47. Iipay Nation of Santa Ysabel, California (previously listed as the Santa Ysabel Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Santa Ysabel Reservation, California)
48. Inaja Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Inaja and Cosmit Reservation, California
49. Ione Band of Miwok Indians of California
50. Jackson Band of Miwok Indians (previously listed as the Jackson Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians of California)
51. Jamul Indian Village of California
52. Karuk Tribe (previously listed as the Karuk Tribe of California)
53. Kashia Band of Pomo Indians of the Stewart's Point Rancheria, California
54. Koi Nation of Northern California (previously listed as the Lower Lake Rancheria)
55. La Jolla Band of Luiseño Indians, California (previously listed as the La Jolla Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the La Jolla Reservation)
56. La Posta Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the La Posta Indian Reservation, California
57. Lone Pine Paiute-Shoshone Tribe (previously listed as the Paiute-Shoshone Indians of the Lone Pine Community of the Lone Pine Reservation, California)
58. Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla and Cupeno Indians, California (previously listed as the Los Coyote Band of Cahuilla & Cupeno Indians, California and the Los Coyotes Band of Cahuilla & Cupeno Indians of the Los Coyotes Reservation)
59. Lytton Rancheria of California
60. Manchester Band of Pomo Indians of the Manchester Rancheria, California (previously listed as the Manchester Band of Pomo Indians of the Manchester-Point Arena Rancheria, California)
61. Manzanita Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Manzanita Reservation, California
62. Mechoopda Indian Tribe of Chico Rancheria, California
63. Mesa Grande Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of the Mesa Grande Reservation, California
64. Middletown Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California
65. Mooretown Rancheria of Maidu Indians of California
66. Morongo Band of Mission Indians, California (previously listed as the Morongo Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Morongo Reservation)
67. Northfork Rancheria of Mono Indians of California

68. Pala Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pala Reservation, California
69. Paskenta Band of Nomlaki Indians of California
70. Pauma Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pauma & Yuima Reservation, California
71. Pechanga Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Pechanga Reservation, California
72. Picayune Rancheria of Chukchansi Indians of California
73. Pinoleville Pomo Nation, California (previously listed as the Pinoleville Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California)
74. Pit River Tribe, California (includes XL Ranch, Big Bend, Likely, Lookout, Montgomery Creek and Roaring Creek Rancherias)
75. Potter Valley Tribe, California (previously the Potter Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California)
76. Quartz Valley Indian Community of the Quartz Valley Reservation of California
77. Quechan Tribe of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation, **Arizona & California**
78. Ramona Band of Cahuilla, California (previously listed as Ramona Band or Village of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California)
79. Redding Rancheria, California
80. Redwood Valley or Little River Band of Pomo Indians of the Redwood Valley Rancheria California [sic] (previously listed as the Redwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California)
81. Resighini Rancheria, California
82. Rincon Band of Luiseño Mission Indians of the Rincon Reservation, California
83. Robinson Rancheria (previously listed as the Robinson Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians and the Robinson Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California)
84. Round Valley Indian Tribes, Round Valley Reservation, California (previously listed as the Round Valley Indian Tribes of the Round Valley Reservation, California)
85. San Manuel Band of Mission Indians, California (previously listed as the San Manuel Band of Serrano Mission Indians of the San Manuel Reservation)
86. San Pasqual Band of Diegueño Mission Indians of California
87. Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Indians, California (previously listed as the Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of the Santa Rosa Reservation)
88. Santa Rosa Indian Community of the Santa Rosa Rancheria, California
89. Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Mission Indians of the Santa Ynez Reservation, California
90. Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians of California
91. Sherwood Valley Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California

92. Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians, Shingle Springs Rancheria (Verona Tract), California
93. Smith River Rancheria, California
94. Soboba Band of Luiseño Indians, California
95. Susanville Indian Rancheria, California
96. Sycuan Band of the Kumeyaay Nation (previously the Sycuan Band of Diegueno Mission Indians of California)
97. Table Mountain Rancheria of California
98. Tejon Indian Tribe
99. Torres Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians, California (previously listed as the Torres-Martinez Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians of California)
100. Tule River Indian Tribe of the Tule River Reservation, California
101. Tuolumne Band of Me-Wuk Indians of the Tuolumne Rancheria of California
102. Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians of California
103. United Auburn Indian Community of the Auburn Rancheria of California
104. Utu Utu Gwaitu Paiute Tribe of the Benton Paiute Reservation, California
105. Washoe Tribe of **Nevada & California** (Carson Colony, Dresslerville Colony, Woodfords Community, Stewart Community, & Washoe Ranches)
106. Wilton Rancheria, California (previously the Me-Wuk Indian Community of the Wilton Rancheria and the Wilton Miwok Rancheria)
107. Wiyot Tribe, California (previously listed as the Table Bluff Reservation-Wiyot Tribe)
108. Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation (previously listed as the Rumsey Indian Rancheria of Wintun Indians of California)
109. Yurok Tribe of the Yurok Reservation, California

Ohlone Heroes⁷⁰

Ohlone heroes include elders whose courage, tenacity, and generosity have made it possible for us to know as much as we do about old-time lifeways and languages.⁷¹ Although most people may never know these elders' names, their descendants remember them and speak with pride about their contributions.

These heroes held on to cultural knowledge despite the discrimination they faced as California Indians in the first part of the last century. They honored the Ohlone individuals from whom they learned by sharing their cultural knowledge with anthropologists, including linguists, and with others who expressed an interest, so that this knowledge would be recorded and archived, instead of being lost forever. Today, the cultural knowledge they shared has become the basis of a cultural renaissance among contemporary Ohlone.

Today's Ohlone heroes include the members of several tribes who continue to restore and practice ancestral cultural traditions; learn and speak their ancestral languages; work to protect and preserve ancestral cultural sites; and lead contemporary Ohlone tribes and tribal organizations. For more about contemporary Ohlone heroes, see the book *A Gathering of Voices: The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast* by Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone), and the websites of the Ohlone tribal organizations listed in Addendum Five.

Following is a list of the names of these early-1900s heroes who preserved cultural knowledge, including three Ohlone languages. Please note that this list does not include the four heroes already named in Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, pp. 170-172, "Ohlone Heroes."

Pedro Alcantara, who shared "the first and only recorded native San Francisco Peninsula vocabulary" at Mission Dolores in San Francisco with Adam Johnson in 1850. An Aramai from the place now known as Pacifica, Alcantara was born in 1789 at Mission Dolores to a Cotegen father and Yelamu mother.

Anonymous Cholon speaker, who shared words in that language with philologist Horatio Hale during an 1842 visit to Mission Soledad.

Anonymous Santa Cruz speaker, who shared a Santa Cruz vocabulary with H.W. Henshaw in 1888. This speaker may have been Felipe Gonzales of Watsonville or Lorenzo of

⁷⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this section about the elders comes from Mills 1985, Kroeber [1902], and Merriam [1902, 1903, 1904, 1933]. Information in the introductory paragraphs comes from field research, 1986-present.

⁷¹ Unfortunately, because Bay Miwok tribes were fewer in number than Ohlone tribes, and because they experienced even greater historical impacts, no Bay Miwoks were interviewed in the early 1900s by cultural anthropologists and linguists. C. Hart Merriam interviewed at least one Delta Yokuts, as did John Peabody Harrington.

Santa Cruz.⁷²

José Binoco, who shared his cultural knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Buenaventura, an Indian man born at Carmel in 1809, who shared a Rumsen vocabulary with Alphonse Pinart and Leon de Cessac in 1878.

Flugencio [Fulgencio] Cantua, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Tomasa Cantua, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1922.

Clara, who shared a Soledad vocabulary with H.W. Henshaw in the 1880s. Clara was raised at Mission Soledad.

Coleta, an Indian woman born at Mission Soledad, who shared a Soledad vocabulary with Alphonse Pinart and Leon de Cessac in 1878.

Claudia Corona, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Julia Díaz, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Marcela Díaz, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Eulalia, who shared a Rumsen vocabulary with H.W. Henshaw in 1884. Eulalia was born and raised at Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo.

Eulogia, an Indian woman who shared a Santa Cruz vocabulary with Alphonse Pinart and Leon de Cessac in 1878, a vocabulary reviewed and added to by Rustico at Aptos.

Andrés Gómez, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Jacinta Gonzalez, who shared her knowledge with Alfred Kroeber in 1902 and C. Hart Merriam in 1906.

Merced Gonzales, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Joe Hitchcock, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Susana Nicolás, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Diego Onésimo, who shared Rumsen words with Alphonse Pinart in 1878.⁷³

María Onésimo, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Manuel Onésimo, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington ca. 1929–1930.

Alefonso (Alfonso) Ramirez, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Laura Escobar Ramírez, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930 and 1932.

Trinidad Ranjel, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1922.

⁷² Linda Yamane, personal communication 2013.

⁷³ Linda Yamane, personal communication 2013. According to Diego Onésimo's niece, Isabel Meadows, Onésimo spoke with Pinart.

Trinidad Reyes, who shared her knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Rustico, who reviewed and added to the Santa Cruz vocabulary shared by Eulogia with Alphonse Pinart and Leon de Cessac in 1878.

Ben Sánchez, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929.

José Sánchez, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Mariano Antonio Sagnege, who shared words in the Karkin language with Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta in 1821. Mariano was a Carquin Ohlone who was baptized as Mission Dolores in San Francisco in 1810, when he was 25.⁷⁴

Saturnino, brother of Julia Díaz, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1932.

Barbara Solorsano, who shared her knowledge with C. Hart Merriam in 1902, 1903, and 1904.

Bernabel “El Sordo,” who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Viviana Soto, who shared her knowledge with Alfred Kroeber in 1902.

Tom, uncle of Isabel Meadows, who shared his knowledge with J.P. Harrington in 1929–1930.

Tomás de la Torre (Tom Torres), who shared his knowledge with Alfred Kroeber in 1902 and J.P. Harrington in 1922.

Celso Tolecse, who shared words in his Huchiun language with Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta on January 14, 1821, at Mission Dolores in San Francisco. Celso Tolecse was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1794 at the age of seven.⁷⁵

Viviana Torres, who shared her knowledge with C. Hart Merriam in 1906.

⁷⁴ Milliken, Shoup and Ortiz 2005:20

⁷⁵ Ibid.:21.

Bay Miwok Sacred Narratives and Mount Diablo

The sacred narratives⁷⁶ of Bay Miwok and other California Indian peoples served as the foundation of day-to-day spiritual understandings and cultural practices. Contrary to the popular association of the words “myth” and “legend” with quaint, fanciful stories, the term “sacred narrative” emphasizes the relationship between these narratives and traditional Bay Miwok beliefs about the origin of the world and people. In this sense, they are akin to the creation stories of any religion.

Folklorists categorize sacred narratives as “myths” when they feature events of creation that occurred in the remote past in an earlier world. In contrast, legends, which can be sacred or secular, describe events that occurred in the more recent past. Mythological characters are non-human, while those of legends are human.⁷⁷

California Indian sacred narratives (myths) focus on the grand and heroic acts of supernatural beings with both human and animal attributes. Various referred to in English as First People, Early People, or Animal People, such supernatural beings existed prior to the creation of humans. Sometimes fallible, but generally sympathetic and awe-inspiring, the Early People could mirror the most elevated and degraded aspects of human nature. They existed in familial and social relationships with each other, creating “everything everywhere” so people could live. After preparing the world for people, they created people, setting the moral and ethical codes, and the cultural traditions, that people would follow.

Such was their love for the humans they created that the Early People gave up their physical existence to become the animals of today and the spirits in everything. The narratives that embody their actions serve to connect humans with the spiritual and natural world in deeply meaningful and profound ways.⁷⁸

The earliest recorded literary version of a creation narrative that features Mount Diablo was published in 1859 by someone solely identified by the initials H.B.D.:

At that time the entire face of the country was covered with water, except two islands, one of which was Mount Diablo, the other Reeds' Peak. There was a coyote on the peak, the only living thing there. One day the coyote saw a feather floating on the water, and, as it reached the island, suddenly turned into an eagle, and spreading its broad pinions, flew upon the mountain. Coyote was much pleased with his new companion, and they lived in great harmony together, making occasional excursions to the other island, coyote swimming while the

⁷⁶ The word narrative serves as a reminder that American Indians told, rather than read, these accounts of creation.

⁷⁷ Bascom 1965:3-20.

⁷⁸ Ortiz 1994.

eagle flew. After some length of time they counseled together and concluded to make Indians; they did so, and as the Indians increased the waters decreased, until where the lake had been become [sic] dry land.⁷⁹

While H.B.D.'s writing style obscures some of the narrative's original content, its major elements are consistent with sacred narratives told by other Central California tribal groups. This sacred narrative fragment features, for instance, the birth imagery of a world covered by a primeval ocean, described in many Central California sacred narratives as caused by a world flood. It features, as well, supernatural beings with co-existing attributes of humans and other animals, beings whose remarkable abilities allow them to accomplish incredible feats, sometimes solely based on the mere thought that something should or could be.

Unfortunately, we cannot say anything more specific about this narrative's origins. H.B.D. did not record the name or tribal background of its teller, nor the context in which the narrative was learned and told. Since Mount Diablo is located within the homelands of two Bay Miwok speaking tribes, the Volvon and Tatcan, it would be tempting to assign this narrative a Bay Miwok origin. To do so would be based on guesswork, however, just as Alfred Kroeber guessed when he assigned the narrative a Costanoan (Ohlone) origin in 1925.⁸⁰

The location of Reed's Peak also remains conjecture. Attempts to locate this peak through early geological surveys, land records, and maps have not resolved the question, at least so far. While it has been assumed by some that Reed's Peak and North Peak must be one in the same, two peaks need not stand in close proximity to be featured in the same narrative; they need only be striking, prominent, and mutually visible.⁸¹

Following is a more detailed version of the Julpun narrative shared in Student Resources, Bay Miwok subsection, pp. 12-14, "Mount Diablo and the Creation of the World," and Supplemental Resources, pp. 55-58, "Bay Miwok Content—Bay Miwok Sacred Narratives and Mount Diablo." While the narrative is Bay Miwok, the names in it are Plains Miwok:⁸²

In the beginning there was a huge bird of the vulture kind whose name was *Mólluk*, the California Condor. His home was on the mountain called *Ójjompille* (Mount Diablo)... Every morning *Mólluk* went off to hunt, and every evening he came back to roost on a large rock on the east side of the mountain. One morning

⁷⁹ H.B.D. 1859:326.

⁸⁰ Kroeber 1925:473-474.

⁸¹ Ortiz [1995].

⁸² Merriam 1910:66-90. Merriam used colloquial, English-based spellings for these names. His spellings have been corrected by Catherine Callaghan (personal communication 2013), a linguist who specialized in Miwok languages and who created the pronunciation guide that follows the narrative. The corrected spellings have been inserted into the original narrative text quoted here.

he noticed that something was the matter with the rock, but did not know what the trouble was, or what to do for it. So he went off to consult the doctors....

When they saw the rock they said, “The rock is your wife; she is going to give you a child;” and added, “we must make a big fire.” ...When the rock became hot, it burst open with a great noise, and from the inside out darted *Wékwek* the Falcon.... He flew over all the country...to see what it was like.

During his travels, *Wékwek* became enamored of the “sweet” music which emanated from the Star Women's elderberry trees. With the help of his grandfather, '*Olétti*' [Old Man Coyote], *Wékwek* purchased a piece of the tree.

Then they went out and traveled over all the country and planted the elderberry tree so that by and by it would furnish music and food and medicine for the Indian people they were going to make. '*Olétti*' told *Wékwek* that the berries would make food, the roots and blossoms medicine, and the hollow branches music.⁸³

Next, *Wékwek* risked his life during a stone throwing contest with “*Kélok*,” a fearsome and powerful giant. Following *Kélok*'s death, his fire, used to heat the stones...began to spread."

'*Olétti*' directed *Wékwek* to fly quickly to the ocean and dive under the water, where he had two sisters named *Husshussépi* (the Mermaids), and stay with them while the world was burning....

Eventually, the fire burned itself out.⁸⁴

After a while the world cooled off and *Wékwek* came back to *Ójjompille* (Mount Diablo) to see his father *Mólluk* and his grandfather '*Olétti*'.

From atop Mount Diablo, *Wékwek* made the decision to create people and expressed his willingness to provide “everything everywhere so they can live.” With his grandfather’s help, *Wékwek* created people and established the locations and names of the villages where people would live. Then he sent Hummingbird to steal fire from the Star-women. Afterwards, *Wékwek* and '*Olétti*' put the fire in '*Úunu*, the buckeye tree, where it remains available to this day for people to use as cooking fire.⁸⁵

⁸³ Long, straight elderberry branchlets were widely used as a spindle in fire making; larger elderberry branches for flutes and clapper sticks, a ceremonial rhythm instrument. Some local Indians have restored the use of elderberry for these purposes (Bocek 1983:254; field data 1986-present.)

⁸⁴Native people recognize fire, when properly managed, as a regenerative force in nature (see Blackburn and Anderson 1995 and Anderson 2005). Some Ohlones are restoring ancestral burning practices (Hannibal 2014:60-63).

⁸⁵The idea that the Julpun, a Bay Miwok tribe, used buckeye for fire making is consistent with records that at least some Sierra Miwok tribes used buckeye for their hearth boards and spindles, and rotten buckeye as tinder (Barrett and Gifford 1933:195-196).

Here's how to pronounce the Plains Miwok letters and symbols:

Accent marks indicate the syllable on which to put greater emphasis or stress.

' = a glottal stop, a type of catch in the throat sound made by partly or completely blocking the path of air through the mouth when you speak, like the sound you make when you quickly release air before a vowel, as in the sound between "uh" and "oh" when you say "uh oh!"

e like the "e" in bet

ee like the "e" in they, only with the sound dragged out

h like the "h" in Henry

i like the "ea" in eat

jj like the "y" in "yet," only with the sound dragged out

k like the "k" in kind

l like the "l" in like

ll like the Spanish "l," only with the sound dragged out

m like the "m" in maybe

o like the "o" in open

p like the "p" in spill

ss like the "s" in see, only with the sound dragged out

tt like the "t" in still, only with the sound dragged out

u like the "u" in put

uu like the "oo" in food, only with the sound dragged out

w like the "w" in woman

Regarding '*Olétti*', '*olé*' means coyote⁸⁶ in Proto Miwok and Lake Miwok; -tti following a word that ends in a vowel means big or old.

Please note that *Ójjompille* is the Sierra Miwok word for Mount Diablo. The Plains Miwok word was likely the same.

⁸⁶ In English, Coyote is often referred to as "Big Man Coyote."

Introduction to Delta Yokuts: An Overview

By Alan Leventhal, Tribal Historian, Muwekma Ohlone Tribe

Delta Yokuts Tribal Groups

Twelve to 16 Delta Yokuts-speaking tribes had their homelands in the present-day Stockton Delta region down through the Stanislaus River drainage of the San Joaquin Valley (“the Tulares”). After Spanish contact, these interior Yokuts tribes were brought into the mission system. Some of their tribal names, recorded by the Mission San Jose and Santa Clara priests, include Cholvon, slightly north and near the town of Tracy; Coybos, near present-day Lathrop; Jalalon, located east of Brentwood; Nototomne, near the Stockton-area Delta; Tamcan, east of Byron; Tauquimne, north of Stockton; Passasamne and Yatchikumne, at present-day Stockton; Lacquisamne, within the Stanislaus River drainage and present-day Ripon; and Yosemite, located north of the Lacquisamne along the San Joaquin River.

Environment

The San Joaquin River delta was once a vast wetland consisting of sloughs, lakes, marshes, and several major rivers that flowed down from the western Sierra Nevada. The old-time landscape, much more rich, diverse, and different than today’s expansive, dry valley, provided the Delta Yokuts with a nutritious and varied diet.

Major Delta Yokuts animal food resources included salmon, steelhead, elk, deer, antelope, and many different kinds of waterfowl, such as ducks and geese. Plant foods included seeds, bulbs, and fruits. The Delta Yokuts traded for raw materials that were not locally available, such as obsidian from the north (Napa Glass Mountain) and from the east near Mono Lake, olivella and abalone shells from the Ohlone tribes to the west, and finished objects made from those same raw materials. After Spanish contact, Delta Yokuts peoples became accomplished equestrians. Some raided Spanish missions and Mexican ranchos for cattle and horses, as well as pueblos as far afield as San Jose and Monterey.

Mission Resistance: Indian Outlaws or Heroes?

A Delta Yokuts man named Estanislao Cucunuchi, baptized in 1821 at Mission San Jose with a group of Lacquisemnes, became a charismatic leader at the mission. About Estanislao, for whom Stanislaus County is named, ethnohistorian Randall Milliken wrote, “[S]ome time in early 1828, the Yokuts-speaking Lacquisemnes fled Mission San Jose under the leadership of Estanislao, and joined a larger number of fugitive Tugites, Chugueas, Chipecyquis, and Lamames, all of whom were Yokuts speakers from Mission Santa Clara under the leadership of Cipriano.”⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Milliken 2008.69.

Apparently these mission resisters wanted the freedom to return to their homelands in the central Valley. In response, the Californio-Mexican authorities sent out several expeditions to capture the revolt leaders and punish those who joined in. Estanislao's armed party repulsed the first two parties sent out to force their return. As Milliken described, "[A] party of 104 Mexican troops and 50 Mission Indian auxiliaries under Mariano G. Vallejo defeated them on the Stanislaus River in May 1829. The defeat of Estanislao accentuated the waning of Yokuts predominance in the Mission San Jose community."⁸⁸

This revolt was one of many attempts by local tribal peoples to resist the terrible conditions at the missions and return to the lands that they knew and loved as a free people. To the Spanish authorities they were outlaws, but to many Indian people, they were, and are, heroes.

Surviving Delta Yokuts Lineages and Families

Today there are few surviving Indians who trace their lineages and families back to Delta Yokuts tribes. After being brought into the mission system, the majority died of European diseases. Those who survived intermarried with other mission Indians who were from neighboring tribes, as well as tribes located at greater distances than would have married during pre-mission times.

One of today's Delta Yokuts families, the Guzman family, traces its lineage to Yatchikumne Yokuts baptized at Mission San Jose beginning about 1815. On August 21, 1892 at Mission San Jose, one descendant, Jose Guzman (born c. 1853), married Francisca Nonessi, an Ohlone Indian woman of mixed tribal ancestry.

Jose Guzman was one of the last knowledgeable speakers of the Chochenyo Ohlone language. Jose Guzman and Francisca Nonessi's descendants enrolled with the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the 20th century. Many of their descendants, are, in turn, enrolled in the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

A Land of Many Languages

Following is a summary of Delta Yokuts linguistic knowledge by Randall Milliken⁸⁹ :

Delta Yokuts was spoken in the northern San Joaquin Valley by local tribes that moved to Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara between 1810 and 1826. It was closely related to Northern Valley Yokuts, spoken by people from the central San Joaquin Valley. Shipley (1978:83) wrote, “Probably any Yokutsan dialect was intelligible to the speakers of immediately neighboring dialects with only some minor adjustments; on the other hand, speakers of two widely divergent dialects were almost certainly incapable of understanding each other.” Ken Whistler and Victor Golla (1986) took a closer look at the Yokuts dialects and argued (a) that Far Northern Valley (Delta), Northern Valley, and Southern Valley Yokuts are separate, but closely related (and only recently differentiated), languages within a sub-family labeled Valley Yokuts; (b) that Valley Yokuts itself is part of a higher-level Northern Yokuts group that also includes the Gashowu and Kings River dialects; and (c) that Northern Yokuts languages are distinct from Yokuts languages of the Tule-Kaweah, Buenavista, and Poso Yokuts sub-groups.

Prior to mission times, the only Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts local tribes that intermarried with Costanoan-speaking local tribes were those along the long language boundary at the break of the Coast Ranges and San Joaquin Valley. After the missions were established, large numbers of Yokuts speakers moved to missions San Jose, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista in Costanoan-speaking territory, where they did intermarry with local Costanoan [Ohlone] family members in patterns that did not occur in earlier times.

⁸⁹ Milliken, Shoup and Ortiz 2005:41.

Website Resources: Ohlones, California Indians, and North American Indians

The websites listed here include information about:

1. Contemporary Ohlone tribal groups and organizations;
2. The broader Bay Area American Indian community;
3. A California Indian Land Tenure Curriculum for grades K-12;
4. News and perspectives of California and other North American Indians;
5. A source of teaching materials; and
6. California Indian cultural preservation links.

In addition to the listed Ohlone tribal group and organization websites, please note that individual Ohlones, and other local tribal peoples are increasingly using personal websites, blogs, social media sites, YouTube videos, and the like to share their perspectives and experiences.

For websites of the three previously recognized Ohlone tribes:

1. Amah Mutsun Tribal Band: <http://www.amahmutsun.org>
2. The Muwekma Ohlone: <http://www.muwekma.org>
3. Ohlone/Costanoan Esselen Nation: <http://www.ohlonecostanoanesselenation.org/>

For information about Ohlone (Costanoan) peoples past to present from the perspective of three contemporary tribes and tribal organizations:

1. Costanoan Rumsen Carmel Tribe: <http://www.costanoanrumsen.org/>
2. Confederation of Ohlone Peoples: <http://www.ohlonation.org/>
3. Costanoan Ohlone Indian Canyon: <http://www.indiancanyonlife.org/> and <https://indiancanyontimes.wordpress.com/about/>

For information about the only currently federally recognized tribe in the San Francisco Bay Area:

1. Federated Indians of the Graton Rancheria: <http://www.gratonrancheria.com/>

For information about, and events sponsored by, and/or featuring local Native peoples and other American Indians:

1. Bay Area Native American Indian Network: <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/bay-area-native-american-indian-network>

2. Indian People Organizing for Change: ipocshellmoundwalk.homestead.com

“Indian People Organizing for Change (IPOC) is a community-based organization in the San Francisco Bay Area. Its members, including Ohlone tribal members and conservation activists, work together in order to accomplish social and environmental justice within the Bay Area American Indian community. Current projects include the preservation of Bay Area shellmounds, which are the sacred burial sites of the Ohlone Nation, whose homeland is the San Francisco Bay Area.”

For free Indian Land Tenure Foundation “Lessons of Our California Land” Curriculum for Head Start and grades K-12:

1. <http://www.iltf.org/resources/land-tenure-curriculum>
<http://www.landlessons.org/>

A “standards-aligned curriculum that increases K-12 students’ understanding of the history and meaning of California land, fostering appreciation for the motivations and knowledge of California Native American people who engage in land tenure, planning, and use issues.” Grants are available for curriculum adaptation and implementation.

For local and California Indian news and perspectives:

1. *News from Native California*: <http://www.heydaybooks.com/news>

A quarterly magazine published by Heyday “devoted to California's indigenous people. Regular features, such as our Calendar, announce and report on Native events. Feature articles range from ceremonial regalia and traditional use of tobacco to environmental issues and California archaeology, all emphasizing Native Californian points of view, historic and contemporary. We also regularly feature poetry, short stories, plays, and literary non-fiction by California Indian writers. Regular columns address California Indian languages, the arts, books, skills & technology, law, and more...”

For American Indian news and perspectives:

1. *Indian Country Today* Media Network: <http://www.indiancountry.com>

Offers Indian country headline news and on-line services in politics, environment, arts and entertainment, business, and education.

For two statewide organizations involved in the preservation and perpetuation of California Indian basketry and storytelling traditions, respectively:

1. California Indian Basketweavers Association: www.ciba.org

CIBA's Vision Statement: "The Purpose of the California Indian Basketweavers Association is to preserve, promote and perpetuate California Indian basketweaving traditions. CIBA accomplishes this in the following ways:

- By promoting and providing opportunities for California Indian Basketweavers to pursue the study of traditional basketry techniques and forms, and to showcase their work.
- By establishing rapport and working with public agencies and other groups in order to provide a healthy physical, social, cultural, spiritual and economic environment for the practice of California Indian basketry.
- By increasing California Indian access to traditional cultural resources on public and tribal lands and traditional gathering sites, and encouraging the reintroduction of such resources and designation of gathering areas on such lands.
- By raising awareness and providing education for Native Americans, the public, public agencies, arts, educational and environmental groups of the artistry, practices and concerns of Native American Basketweavers.
- By promoting solidarity and broadening communication among Native American Basketweavers and with other indigenous traditional artists.
- By monitoring public and private land use and encouraging those management practices that protect and conserve traditional Native resources.
- By monitoring and discouraging pesticide use in traditional and potential gathering areas for the safety of weavers, gatherers, and others in tribal communities.
- By doing all of the above in a manner which respects our Elders and Mother Earth."

2. California Indian Storytelling Association: www.cistory.org

CISA's "purpose is to support Native California Indian storytellers, honor our elders, pass on storytelling traditions and culture and work with groups sharing a common vision. CISA provides a place to share the authentic voices-in traditional, historical and contemporary stories."

Since its "inception CISA has been building cultural bridges between indigenous peoples throughout California."

For information about California Indian cultural site protection and preservation laws and initiatives:

One of the most challenging issues facing local Native peoples and other California Indians is the protection and preservation of ancestral cultural sites threatened by development or other human activities. The following websites will assist you in understanding these and other legal issues that affect contemporary California Indian peoples.

1. California Indian Legal Services: <http://nahc.ca.gov/>

“California Indian Legal Services (CILS) is one of the oldest non-profit law firms devoted exclusively to the cause of Native American rights. Governed by a Board of Trustees selected by California tribes and tribal organizations, CILS has provided free and low-cost legal services to California tribes, tribal organizations and Native American individuals throughout the state for over four decades. Our mission is to protect and advance Indian rights, foster Indian self-determination, and facilitate tribal nation-building.”

2. California Native American Heritage Commission: ceres.ca.gov/nahc

The commission oversees “the preservation and protection of [California] Native American human remains, associated grave goods and cultural resources.”

3. California State Parks Office of Historic Preservation: <http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/>

“The OHP is responsible for administering federally and state mandated historic preservation programs to further the identification, evaluation, registration, and protection of California's irreplaceable resources. We operate under the direction of the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), a gubernatorial appointee, and the State Historical Resources Commission, a state review board appointed by the governor, and responsible for reviewing nominations to the four federal and state programs administered by the OHP. Explore our webpages and learn more about the OHP and about preserving California's heritage!”

Field Trips and Workshops

Naturalist-led field trips and workshops about Ohlone and other central California Indian cultures occur at Coyote Hills Regional Park and Sunol Regional Wilderness. For more information, go to www.ebparks.org or contact the park staff by phone (for Coyote Hills, 510-544-3220; for Sunol, 510-544-3249).

For information about programs through which local Ohlone and Ohlone/Bay Miwok individuals share cultural knowledge and skills, please contact the Coyote Hills Regional Park Visitor Center staff at 1-888-327, 2757, option 3, ext. 3220, or 510-544-3214.

An annual “Gathering of Ohlone Peoples” takes place each year at Coyote Hills on the first Sunday of October. This event, a celebration of the cultures, and cultural involvements, of Ohlone peoples past to present, includes, among its many activities, an opportunity to taste acorn soup cooked with heated stones in a basket. For more information about this event, please contact the Coyote Hills Visitor Center staff at 1-888-327-2757, option 3, ext. 3220, or 510-544-3214.

A self-guided trail featuring local Indian uses of plants has been established at Leona Canyon Regional Open Space adjacent to Merritt College in Oakland. The trailhead is accessible by public transportation. Trail brochures are stocked with park maps at the trailhead bulletin board. For more information, or to download a longer trail guide, go to http://www.ebparks.org/Assets/files/Leona_Canyon_Trail_Guide.pdf.

References: Ohlone Resources⁹⁰

Bean, Lowell John, ed.

1994 *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers 42, Sylvia Brakke Vane, Series Editor. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

What Does It Mean to Be Ohlone (Linda Yamane); The European Contact of 1772 and Some Later Documentation (Alan K. Brown); The Bedrock Milling Station (E. Breck Parkman); Prehistoric Rock Art of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties (Jeff Fentress); Chocheño and Rumsen Narratives: A Comparison (Beverly R. Ortiz with Alex Ramirez); The Costanoan-Yokuts Language Boundary in the Contact Period (Randall Milliken); Rumsen Seasonality and Population Dynamics (Gary S. Breschini and Trudy Haversat); Central Ohlone Ethnohistory (Chester King); The Development of San Jose Mission, 1797–1840 (Robert H. Jackson); Tamien Station Archaeological Project (Mark G. Hylkema); The Language of Race Hatred (Edward D. Castillo); The Ohlone Back from Extinction (Alan Leventhal, Les Field, Hand Alvarez and Rosemary Cambra); Noso-n “In Breath So It Is In Spirit”—The Story of Indian Canyon (Ann Marie Sayers).

Bocek, Barbara R.

1984 Ethnobotany of Costanoan Indians, California, Based on Collections by John P. Harrington. *Economic Botany* 38(2):240-255. Institute for Economic Botany, New York Botanical Garden (2900 Southern Blvd New York, NY 10458, sciweb.nybg.org).

Summarizes multiple uses of 157 plants—old-time through the 1930s, as shared by Ascención Solórzano (Mutsun Ohlone) and Isabelle Meadows (Rumsien Ohlone) with linguist John Peabody Harrington in the 1920s and 1930s.

Hannibal, Mary Ellen

2014 “A View from Quiroste.” Lighting Cultural Fires. *Boom: The Journal of California* 4(3):60-63.

⁹⁰ *The Ohlone Way* is not referenced here because it is a novel that, while beautifully written, conflates Ohlone-based cultural knowledge with that of other California Indian cultural groups in an imaginative re-envisioning of what life may have been like in “Ohlone country” prior to non-Indian intrusion, a way of life no Ohlones who served as cultural consultants to cultural anthropologists, linguists, and other researchers, had ever experienced. The book is the first publication to use the word Ohlone for the name of the entire language area or cultural nationality (Milliken et al. 2009:45). In 1974 its author, Malcolm Margolin, founded Heyday Books in Berkeley, and, in 1987, co-founded and became publisher of *News from Native California*, a quarterly magazine by and about contemporary California Indians. In these latter capacities, Malcolm has published numerous significant and compelling books and articles by and about California Indians past to present. For a full list of Heyday publications go to www.heydaybooks.com.

Harrington, John Peabody

[1921–39] Chochenyo, Mutsun, and Rumsien Field Notes. Originals on file at the Smithsonian Institution.⁹¹

Unpublished field notes with elders who spoke three Ohlone languages. Available on microfilm at the San Jose State University Library and other locales.

1932 Culture Element Distributions: XIX, Central California Coast. *Anthropological Records* 7(1):1-47.

A check list noting the ethnographic presence, absence, and unknown status of more than 1,700 cultural features among northerly and southerly Ohlone-speaking peoples, as well as other Central Coast of California cultural nationalities. While the check list itself is of limited use, some relatively detailed notations about particular cultural “elements” are included.

Keator, Glenn and Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone)

1995 *In Full View: Three Ways of Seeing California Plants*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

Includes the insights and research about Ohlone plant use of Rumsien Ohlone cultural scholar Linda Yamane.

Kehl, Jacquelin J. (Mutsun Ohlone) and Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone)

1995 *Ethnohistoric Genealogy Study: Tasman Corridor Light Rail Project, Santa Clara County, California*. Oakland, CA: Woodward-Clyde Consultants for the Santa Clara County Transportation Agency.

Through several case histories, this work illustrates the process by which the ties of descendancy are traced. These case histories explore and document ways that the often tenuous ties between the historic record and the modern Ohlone community have been passed down and traced through the generations.

Kroeber, Alfred

1907 Mythology of the Southern Central Region, Costanoan *in* Indian Myths of South Central California. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 4(4):191, 199-202.

⁹¹ Researchers at UC Davis are currently working to make these notes more accessible through the J.P. Harrington Database Project. “The goal of the J.P. Harrington Project is to increase access to the linguistic and ethnographic notes on American Indian languages collected by J.P. Harrington during the first half of the twentieth century. The men and women he interviewed were often among the last remaining speakers of their languages. His notes are a treasure of indigenous knowledge that otherwise would have been lost. Well over half of an estimated 500,000 pages are on California Indian languages,” <http://nas.ucdavis.edu/nalc/j-p-harrington-database-project>.

Six Rumsien Ohlone sacred narratives.

La Pérouse, Jean François de, with introduction and commentary by Malcolm Margolin and illustrations by Linda Gonsalves Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone)

1989 *Life in a California Mission, Monterey in 1786: The Journals of Jean François de La Pérouse*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

Jean François de la Pérouse, commander of a French expedition, describes his perspective of the mission at Monterey and its Ohlone and Esselen inhabitants.

Leventhal, Alan, Rosemary Cambra, Monica V. Arellano, Gloria Arellano-Gomez, Sheila Guzman Schmidt, and Dottie Galvan Lameira (all co-authors Muwekma Ohlone).

2009 *Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area*. San Jose, CA: Muwekma Ohlone Tribe (2574 Seaboard Avenue, San Jose, CA 95131, muwekma@muwekma.org).

An overview of the history of the Muwekma tribe and its efforts to restore its status as a federally recognized tribe. Additional Muwekma publications are linked on the tribe's website.

Levy, Richard

1978 *Costanoan. Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 8, California*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution (U.S. Government Printing Office, P.O. Box 979050, St. Louis, MO 63197-9000, <http://bookstore.gpo.gov/catalog/minorities-cultures-languages/american-indians/handbook-north-american-indians>).

An encyclopedic overview of early-day Ohlone (Cotanoan) lifeways.

Meadows, Stephen (Mutsun Ohlone)

2011 *Releasing the Days*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

A collection of poetry drawn from over thirty years of the author's work.

Milliken, Randall

1987 *Rumsen Ethnohistory*. Papers in Northern California Anthropology 2. Northern California Anthropological Association. Salinas, CA: Coyote Press facsimile reprint (P.O. Box 3377, Salinas, CA 93912, www.coyotepress.com).

An ethnohistoric study of the Rumsien tribe of the Monterey area.

1995 *A Time of Little Choice. The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Region 1769–1810*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

This comprehensive account of the history of the Indian peoples of the Bay Area during the era of Spanish missionization includes detailed information about Spanish and Ohlone interactions, and the specific geographic locales of the tribal homelands of Ohlone peoples. It also includes an overview of Ohlone culture.

- 2002 History of Indian Assimilation into Mission Santa Clara. *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices*, Russell Skowronek, ed. Santa Clara, CA: Santa Clara University, pp. 45-63.

An ethnohistoric study of the tribal peoples at Mission Santa Clara.

- 2008 *Native Americans at Mission San Jose*. Banning, CA: Malki-Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

Documents the history of the Indian people who lived at Mission San Jose and their descendants through the early twentieth century, including Ohlones.

Milliken, Randall, Lawrence H. Shoup, and Beverly Ortiz

- 2009 *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*. San Francisco, CA: Golden Gate National Recreation Area. To download a PDF, go to <http://www.nps.gov/goga/historyculture/publications.htm>, then scroll to item #6 under the “Park-wide Documents” header.

An in-depth overview of the languages, cultural affiliations, and history of Ohlone peoples past to present.

Mills, Elaine L.

- 1985 *The Papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution 1907–1957, Volume 2*. White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, pp. 81-120 (Kraus International Shipping Company, 1400 East Clement Street, Baltimore, MD 21230, <http://www.krausintl.com/>).

A guide to the linguist John Peabody Harrington’s field notes with speakers of multiple California Indian languages, including Chochenyo, Rumsen, and Mutsun, including the names of his cultural consultants and the years they worked with him.

Miranda, Deborah (Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation)

- 1998 *Indian Cartography*. Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press (2 Middle Grove Rd., Greenfield Center, NY 12833, www.nativeauthors.com).

Poetry that highlights family and tribal history from the perspective of a member of the Ohlone Costanoan Esselen Nation. Winner of the North American Native Authors First Book Award.

2012 *Bad Indians*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

Part tribal history, part memoir, this book tells stories of the author's Ohlone Costanoan Esselen family, contextualized within the broader framework of California Indian history and experience.

Morgan, Ruth and Janet Clinger, with Ann Marie Sayers (Mutsun Ohlone), exhibition convener

2006 *Ohlone Women Elders: Restoring a California Legacy*. Berkeley, CA: Community Works (4681 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, www.communityworkswest.org), and Hollister: Costanoan Indian Research, Inc. (P.O. Box 28, Hollister, CA 95024-0028, <https://indiancanyontimes.wordpress.com/about/>).

A booklet of interviews and photographs of twelve Ohlone women elders who were honored at Indian Canyon during 2004 and 2006 ceremonies, and through an exhibition featuring the honorees and its conveners.

2015 *Ohlone Elders and Youth Speak: Restoring a California Legacy*. Berkeley, CA: Community Works (4681 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, www.communityworkswest.org), and Hollister: Costanoan Indian Research, Inc. (P.O. Box 28, Hollister, CA 95024-0028, <https://indiancanyontimes.wordpress.com/about/>).

This e-book is "...an exploration of the efforts of three generations of Ohlone people committed to keeping their cultures alive and thriving.

Ortiz, Beverly R.

1994 Chocheño and Rumsen Narratives: A Comparison. *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, Lowell John Bean, ed. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

Includes the full text of all known Chochenyo sacred narratives, with a comparative analysis of their themes and content.

Petersen, Douglas and Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone)

1999 *The Ohlone People of Central California: An Educator's Guide*. Los Gatos: Santa Clara County Parks and Recreation (298 Garden Hill Drive, Los Gatos, CA 95032, parksinfo@prk.sccgov.org).

This 55-page, illustrated curriculum focuses on old-time culture; Spanish, Mexican and American era history; and Ohlone people today.

Ramirez, Alex (Rumsien Ohlone, 1928–2012)

1995 *Tjatjakiy-Matchan (Coyote): A Legend from Carmel Valley*. Berkeley, CA: Oyate (330 E Thomson Ave., Sonoma, CA 95476, <http://oyate.org>).

Alex Ramirez (Rumsien Ohlone) retells and illustrates a tale he first heard as a youth from his grandfather. Versions of this narrative are known throughout Europe, Latin America, and Native America. In some European versions fox is the “trickster.” In this version, coyote has that role, as he does in other Central California Indian narratives.

Sayers-Roods, Kanyon (Costanoan Ohlone and Chumash), in collaboration with AmandaLee Julius

2014 Indian Canyon Mutsun-Ohlone Coloring Book. Hollister, CA: Indian Canyon
A coloring book “with the focus of revitalizing the MUTSUN Language.” To obtain copies contact Kanyon at indiancanyon.kanyon@gmail.com, or through <http://about.me/kanyon.coyotewoman>.

Shoup, Lawrence H. and Randall Milliken

2002 *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

The history of Rancho Posolmi in the Santa Clara Valley and its first owner, Lupe Iñigo (1781–1864), an Ohlone.

Teixeira, Lauren S.

1997 *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

A comprehensive, annotated reference list of resources, organized by topic and location.

Yamane, Linda (Rumsien Ohlone)

1994 Bringing Our Games Back Home. *News from Native California* 8(1):34-35 (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

An overview of Rumsien Ohlone Games.

1994a What Does It Mean to Be Ohlone? *News from Native California* 8(1):54 (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

A poem expressing a personal perspective on what it means to be Ohlone today.

1995 *When the World Ended, How Hummingbird got Fire, How People were Made*. Berkeley, CA: Oyate (330 E Thomson Ave Sonoma, CA 95476, <http://oyate.org>).

1998 *The Snake that Lived in the Santa Cruz Mountains and other Ohlone Stories*. Berkeley, CA: Oyate (330 E Thomson Ave Sonoma, CA 95476, <http://oyate.org>).

Linda retells and illustrates never before published creation narratives of the Rumsien of the Monterey area. These narratives were shared by elders Isabelle Meadows and Manuel

Onesimo in the 1930s with linguist John Peabody Harrington in a blending of old California Spanish and English.

- 1999 *Ohlone Basketry: Keeping a Tradition Alive*. DVD produced by Linda Yamane. For information about obtaining a copy contact Linda at rumsien123@yahoo.com.

This five-minute introduction to Ohlone basketry includes footage of the gathering and preparation of sedge rhizomes, and closeups of coiling and twining techniques.

- 2010 How I Came To Be a Basketweaver. *News from Native California* 24(1): 26-27 (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

A first-person account of how Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone) became the first Ohlone in modern times to revive the art of Ohlone basketry.

- 2010a Voyages of Discovery: In Search of Ohlone Baskets. *News from Native California* 24(1):28-31. (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

A first-person description of how Linda Yamane (Rumsien Ohlone) researched her ancestral basketry traditions, including three visits to museum collections.

- 2012 Reburial Verses. *News from Native California* 25(4):10-12 (P.O. Box 9145, Berkeley, CA 94709, <https://heydaybooks.com>).

A personal perspective on the emotional impact of dealing with disturbance of ancestral remains.

- 2012a *Weaving at the Edge of the World: The Art of Ohlone Ceremonial Basketry*. DVD produced by Linda Yamane. For information about obtaining a copy contact Linda at rumsien123@yahoo.com.

This 8-minute DVD follows Ohlone basketweaver Linda Yamane as she gathers ordinary plants from nature and transforms them into a beautiful, feathered ceremonial basket, an art whose tradition reaches back in time hundreds, even thousands, of years.

Yamane, Linda, ed. (Rumsien Ohlone)

- 2002 A Gathering of Voices, The Native Peoples of the Central California Coast, *Santa Cruz History Journal* 5 (Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History, Santa Cruz, 705 Front Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95062-4508).

A series of articles, poems, profiles, and organizational statements by and about Ohlone peoples, and other nearby groups, including historical and contemporary perspectives.

References: Bay Miwok Resources

Bennyhoff, James A.

1977 *Ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok*. Center for Archaeological Research at Davis Publication 5. University of California, Davis.

Includes historical information about Bay Miwok tribes, neighbors of the Plains Miwok. Historical documents are cross-referenced with ethnographic, linguistic, and archaeological information to determine the locales and language affiliations of specific tribes. Details tribal intermarriages and alliances, including resistance to missionization. While this work's conclusions about tribal "districts," and the locales of particular tribes, including the Chupcan and Tatcan, two Bay Miwok tribes, have been updated since, the quality of the overall research is first-rate.

Blount, Clinton, Shelly Davis-King, and Randall Milliken

2008 *Native American Geography, History, Traditional Resources, and Contemporary Communities and Concerns: Cultural Resources Inventory of Caltrans District 3 Rural Conventional Highways*. Prepared for California Department of Transportation, District 3, Office of Cultural Resources, Marysville, CA by Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, CA.

Includes ethnohistorical information about the Julpun, a Bay Miwok tribe.

Callaghan, Catherine A.

1971 Saclan: A Re-Examination. *Anthropological Linguistics* 13(9):448-456.

A technical analysis of Bay Miwok linguistics.

2014 *Proto Utian Grammar and Dictionary with Notes on Yokuts*. Trends in Linguistics Documentation 31. Berlin, Germany and Boston, MA: Walter De Gruyter GmbH.

A comprehensive, comparative study of Utian, the Miwok-Cotanoan language family. This volume's chapters detail: (a) The distribution and classification of Utian (Miwok-Costanoan) languages; (b) Utian linguistics; (c) Utian and Yokuts relationships; (d) Evidence for an Esselen substrate in Utian; and (e) Suggested future Utian research.

Levy, Richard

1978 Eastern Miwok. *Handbook of North American Indians* 8, Robert F. Heizer, ed. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 398-413 (U.S. Government Printing Office, P.O. Box 979050, St. Louis, MO 63197-9000, <http://bookstore.gpo.gov/catalog/minorities-cultures-languages/american-indians/handbook-north-american-indians>).

An overview of the cultures, languages, and history of Bay, Plains, Northern, Central, and Southern Miwok (Mewuk) peoples.

Merriam, C. Hart

- 1910 *The Dawn of the World: Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Mewan Indians of California*. Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark. (Republished in 1993 as *The Dawn of the World: Myths and Tales of the Miwok Indians of California* in 1993 by the University of Nebraska Press in Lincoln, Nebraska, 1111 Lincoln Hall, Lincoln, NE 68588-0630, <http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu/catalog/CategoryInfo.aspx?cid=152>). Details the sacred narratives of several Miwok tribes, including the Julpun (Bay Miwok) narrative featured in Student Resources, Bay Miwok subsection, pp. 12-14, “Mount Diablo and the Creation of the World,” and Supplemental Resources, pp. 55-58, “Bay Miwok Content—Bay Miwok Sacred Narratives and Mount Diablo.”

Milliken, Randall

- 1982 *An Ethnohistoric Study of the Clayton Area, Contra Costa County, California. Cultural Resource Evaluation of Keller Ranch, Clayton, California*, Miley P. Holman and Matthew R. Clark, Coyote Press Reprint 1578. Salinas, CA, Coyote Press (P.O. Box 3377, Salinas, CA 93912, www.coyotepress.com).

An ethnohistoric and cultural overview of Bay Miwok peoples, with an emphasis on the Volvon people of the place now called Clayton.

- 1995 *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Region 1769–1810*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

This comprehensive, historic account of Spanish missionization in the region now known as the Bay Area includes information about Spanish and Bay Miwok interactions, and the specific geographic locales of Bay Miwok homelands.

- 2008 *Native Americans at Mission San Jose*. Banning, CA: Malki-Ballena Press (P.O. Box 578 Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

Documents the history of the Indian people who lived at Mission San Jose and their descendants through the early twentieth century, including Bay Miwoks.

Milliken, Randall, Lawrence H. Shoup, and Beverly Ortiz

- 2009 *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*. San Francisco: Golden Gate National Recreation Area. To download a PDF, go to <http://www.nps.gov/goga/historyculture/publications.htm>, then scroll to item #6 under the “Park-wide Documents” header.

This in-depth overview of the languages, cultural affiliations, and history of Ohlone peoples past to present includes some Bay Miwok linguistic content and history.

References: Delta Yokuts Resources

Eidsness, Janet and Randall Milliken

- 2004 *Cultural Resources Inventory of Caltrans District 10 Rural Conventional Highways, Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, San Joaquin, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus, and Tuolumne Counties, California*. Ethnographic Study IV. Prepared for California Department of Transportation, District 10, Stockton, California by Far Western Anthropological Research Group, Inc., Davis, California.

Includes ethnohistorical information about Delta Yokuts tribes.

Milliken, Randall

- 1994 The Costanoan-Yokuts Language Boundary in the Contact Period. *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, Lowell John Bean, ed. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers 42, Sylvia Brakke Vane, Series Editor. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press, pp. 165-182 (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

Details the geographic boundary between Ohlone (Costanoan) and Yokuts language areas.

- 1995 *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Region 1769–1810*. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press (since 2005, the Malki-Ballena Press, P.O. Box 578, Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

This comprehensive account of the history of the Indian peoples of the Bay Area during the era of Spanish missionization includes information about Spanish and Delta Yokuts interactions, and the specific geographic locales of the tribal homelands of Delta Yokuts peoples.

- 2008 *Native Americans at Mission San Jose*. Banning, CA: Malki-Ballena Press (P.O. Box 578 Banning, CA 92220, www.malkimuseumstore.org).

Documents the history of the Indian people who lived at Mission San Jose and their descendants through the early twentieth century, including Delta Yokuts.

Milliken, Randall, Lawrence H. Shoup, and Beverly Ortiz

- 2009 *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*. San Francisco, CA: Golden Gate National Recreation Area. To download a PDF, go to <http://www.nps.gov/goga/historyculture/publications.htm>, then scroll down to item #6 under the “Park-wide Documents” header.

This in-depth overview of the languages, cultural affiliations and history of Ohlone peoples past to present includes some Delta Yokuts linguistic content and history.

Schenck, W. Egbert

- 1926 Historic Aboriginal Groups of the California Delta Region. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 23:2: 123-146.
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Grades Four and Five History-Social Science Content Standards Cross-Referenced to Ohlone Curriculum Content

Grade Four: California—A Changing State

Students learn the story of their home state, unique in American history in terms of its vast and varied geography, its many waves of immigration beginning with pre-Columbian societies, its continuous diversity, economic energy, and rapid growth. In addition to the specific treatment of milestones in California history, students examine the state in the context of the rest of the nation, with an emphasis on the U.S. Constitution and the relationship between state and federal government.

Students describe the social, political, cultural, and economic life and interactions among people of California from the pre-Columbian societies to the Spanish mission and Mexican rancho periods.

1. Discuss the major nations of California Indians, including their geographic distribution, economic activities, legends, and religious beliefs; and describe how they depended on, adapted to, and modified the physical environment by cultivation of land and use of sea resources.

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, p. 9, “Ohlone Cultural Values,” pp. 18-19, “Other North American and California Indian Groups,” pp. 27-30, “Living with the Land,” pp. 31-38, “Folklore Tradition and Religious Systems,” pp. 39-108, “Horticulture and Plant Life,” and pp. 109-148, “Adapting to the Environment.”

Students understand the structures, functions, and powers of the local, state, and federal governments as described in the U.S. Constitution.

5. Describe the components of California's governance structure (e.g., cities and towns, Indian rancherias and reservations, counties, school districts).

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, p. 163, “California Indian Sovereignty,” pp. 164-167, “Ohlones and Federal Recognition,” and pp. 168-169, “Federally-Recognized Tribes in the United States.”

Grade Five: United States History and Geography: Making a New Nation

Students in grade five study the development of the nation up to 1850, with an emphasis on the people who were already here, when and from where others arrived, and why they came. Students learn about the colonial government founded on Judeo-Christian principles, the ideals of the Enlightenment, and the English traditions of self-government. They recognize that ours is a nation that has a constitution that derives its power from the people that has gone through a revolution that once sanctioned slavery, that experienced conflict over land with the original inhabitants, and that experienced a westward movement that took its people across the continent.

Studying the cause, course, and consequences of the early explorations through the War for Independence and western expansion is central to students' fundamental understanding of how the principles of the American republic form the basis of a pluralistic society in which individual rights are secured.

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, pp. 149-162, "Spanish, Mexican, and American Impacts."

Students describe the major pre-Columbian settlements, including the cliff dwellers and pueblo people of the desert Southwest, the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, the nomadic nations of the Great Plains, and the woodland peoples east of the Mississippi River.

1. Describe how geography and climate influenced the way various nations lived and adjusted to the natural environment, including locations of villages, the distinct structures that they built, and how they obtained food, clothing, tools, and utensils.

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, pp. 10-12, "Stories of the Past," pp. 14-16, "A Land of Many Villages and Tribes," pp. 39-108, "Horticulture and Plant Life," and pp. 109-148, "Adapting to the Environment."

Students describe the major pre-Columbian settlements, including the cliff dwellers and pueblo people of the desert Southwest, the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, the nomadic nations of the Great Plains, and the woodland peoples east of the Mississippi River.

2. Describe their varied customs and folklore traditions.

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, p. 9, "Ohlone Cultural Values," pp. 27-30, "Living with the Land," and pp. 31-38, "Folklore Traditions and Religious Systems."

Students describe the major pre-Columbian settlements, including the cliff dwellers and pueblo people of the desert Southwest, the American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, the nomadic nations of the Great Plains, and the woodland peoples east of the Mississippi River.

3. Explain their varied economies and systems of government.

See Student Resources, Ohlone Curriculum subsection, pp. 18-20, "Other North American and California Indian Groups."