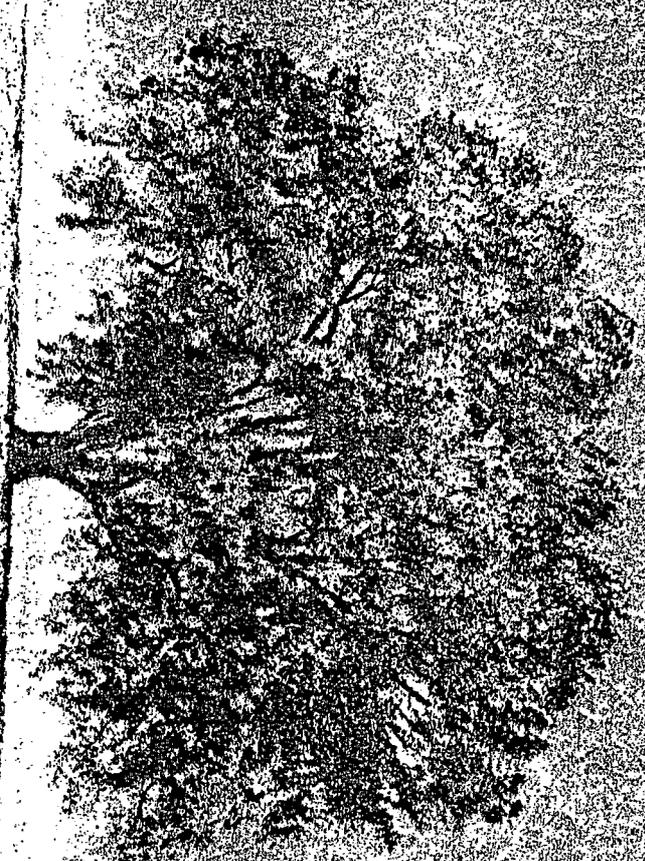


ETHNOGEOGRAPHY OF THE PLAINS MIWOK
by
JAMES A. BENNYHOFF



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ENDNOTES

1. Though Aginsky obtained responses of some sort from Sierran groups for the entire questionnaire, the Plains Miwok column is completely blank for the sections on lineages, land ownership, war, and nearly so for political organization. Aside from demonstrable informants' errors (denial of shell-bead money and pressure flaking), poor organization of the data adds such confusions as the jumbled mixture of upright granaries, subsurface granaries and pit storage in the tables, along with the listing of pit storage as denied by all informants (Aginsky 1943, nos. 251-260, pp. 449, 455). The section on final patrilocal residence (nos. 1444, 1446) is also confused. The supplementary notes, so essential for such a poorly known group as the Plains Miwok, are unusually meager and cryptic. For these reasons, entries at variance with the general valley pattern of Nisenan, Maidu and Patwin culture have been given slight weight in this general summary.
2. The village sketch by Chever (1870: Fig. 35) suggests that each lineage erected a granary. Additional granaries were maintained in collecting localities several miles from the village (Sullivan 1934:71).
3. Some 200 Maidu Indians from several villages were seen returning from a communal hunt with 64 antelope; only a few Indians were armed, for most had merely formed the encircling ring (Work 1923:24).
4. Cf. the Nomlaki, among whom hunting was considered work for the ordinary man and was seldom engaged in by the wealthy specialist (Goldschmidt 1951:330).
5. The definite emphasis on wealth, trade, and specialized crafts reported from the Nomlaki living in the dry hills of the eastern North Coast Range is documented in literature on the valley groups only for the River Patwin, though confirming echoes can be found scattered through the data available for Maidu, Miwok, Wappo, and Pomo (Goldschmidt 1951:326-341; McKern 1922:235-238; Driver 1936:210). Population density of itself supports the ethnographic conclusion that Nomlaki institutions were a pale reflection of those found in the valley. It is therefore unfortunate that detailed information on valley groups is so meager that the possibility of emergent class differentiation must fall largely within the realm of speculation.
6. Smith noted the change from thatched to earth-covered lodges as he ascended the Feather River in 1828, thus confirming the Nisenan data (Sullivan 1934:57, 67, 68-70; Kroeber 1929:259).
7. Logs carried from the mountains by flood waters and used for ferries were repeatedly referred to on the Feather River but were not mentioned for the smaller rivers in Miwok territory.
8. Valley Nisenan data. Though definitely problematical, use as spindle whorls seems most likely for the abundant stone discoidals found archaeologically in the Delta. First appearing along with a beaded, twined cloak and tubular smoking pipes, they mark the beginning of the Late Horizon (an archaeological period with multiple phases), which was clearly ancestral

to the historic culture. One may speculate that this was the time of entry of many of the cultural traits shared by Central California and the Southwest (Heizer 1946:191), but a northern complex (harpoons, collared pipes, grave pit burning) can also be distinguished.

9. Valley Nisenan data. Feather cloaks (also termed duck or goose blankets, feather robes) are referred to for the Plains Miwok by Belcher (1843:126) and Merriam (1967:367). They are often mentioned in the historical accounts on the Nisenan.

10. The persistent denial by acculturated informants of a belief in life after death is not supported by mythology or archaeology (Kroeber 1925:452; Aginsky 1943: Nos. 2018, 2020).

11. Archaeology does not support the claim that Plains Miwok practiced secondary cremation and poled the burning corpse to ashes (Aginsky 1943:440). As a general practice this custom (along with the Mourning Ceremony) was restricted to the Sierra aboriginally. The occasional secondary cremations found in historic sites in the valley would seem to document the generally reported practice of returning the mortal remains of an individual who died away from home to his natal village in the form of easily carried ashes.

12. The Plains Miwok appear to have been specifically excluded because there was no evidence of the Hesi ceremony of the Kuksu Cult. This is not the place to go into the veiled intricacies of the origin and spread of this cult. However, it can be said that available archaeological data tend to support the less favored alternative offered by Kroeber, namely, that Patwin preeminence in Kuksu complexity was the result of late accretion from diverse centers, rather than an indication of local origin and longest development (Kroeber 1932:401-402). His more general association of the primary center of this religion with the Sacramento River rather than Clear Lake is supported by admittedly controversial evidence which suggests an original Delta hearth where both ancient and intrusive ideas were fused into a religious complex at the beginning of the Late Horizon. By one interpretation inferrable from effigy ornaments as burial associations, this religion diffused outward to the north and west in the form of public dance ceremonies. Restriction of performances to the men's secret society may have been a protohistoric development. Constant accretion and reorganization would seem indicated, and the River Patwin, centrally located and least affected by European settlement, were able to add elements developed by their neighbors and to preserve far more of the aboriginal content than other Valley groups.

13. The ethnographers consistently heard this suffix as -mni, but the mission documents are equally consistent in the appearance of -mne. The tribelet names given parenthetically have been hyphenated for emphasis. It is probable that only -ne was added to village names ending in -m (e.g., Cosom; see tribelet 16). However, the meaning of too few Plains Miwok names is known to establish rules governing the behavior of suffixes in that language; Merriam (1967:367) recorded Guaypem as Wipa.

14. Though both Chamisso and Choris grossly misunderstood much of what the Spanish told them about local ethnogeography, the comments on the "Tcholovones" (Cholbon herein) are repeated by Vallejo and other sources.

15. The entire question of fugitive Karkin-Tauquimne synonymy would hardly have arisen had not Abella's 1811 reference to the "Tauquimenes" been misprinted as "Tarquimenes" in Bancroft (1885a:323). In regard to aboriginal mobility, Schenck's inferences as to the relative frequency of trips made to San Francisco Bay by the "Cosumnes" and "Moquelemnes" derive from his use of secondary sources (little more than Bancroft) - no primary source supports his discussion. The Cuyens and Mayeme were local Yokuts, not wandering Cosomne.

16. Neither the Laquisimas village nor the Stanislaus River were shown on the 1824 Map, although 124 "Lacquisemne" had been baptized at Mission San Jose between 1811-1822. Since 17 Laquisimas were taken to Mission Santa Clara between 1816-1823, the jurisdictional boundary between the two missions probably passed through Laquisimas territory several miles above the mouth of the Stanislaus River (see Chapter 6). In 1829, Sanchez stated that the ford of the San Joaquin River north of the Stanislaus River was "in the territory of Mission San Jose" (Cook 1962:174, May 9).

17. Pertinent diaries of interior explorations and military campaigns between 1800 and 1840 have been translated and published by Cook (1960, 1962). A convenient table of Spanish (pre-1820) penetration of the general Delta region was provided by Schenck (1926:135-136); few of his synonymies of tribelets have been accepted herein, however. Cook (1955a:57, 59, 60, 64-65) discussed the various accounts in relative detail, but often differed as to the groups involved. General summaries were provided by Bancroft (1885a, b).

18. The Musupumne are also shown as not yet Christian, but were probably confused on the 1824 Map with the Guaypemne (peak frequency 1828). If the Musupumne (peak frequency 1824) are shown correctly, most of the inhabitants were presumably baptized late in the year, after the map was made (see tribelet 9).

19. Note the replacement of the -mnes suffix (terminal s forms the Spanish plural) with -menes. This occurred most frequently in military documents, and is one of many indications of lack of concern with the native pronunciation. The priests were much more careful, and, aside from a single "Ssigusome" (Siusumne), the Plains Miwok names contained in the Mission San Jose register were always written -mne with two consistent and significant exceptions: Muqueleme and Pasasime (the latter was Yokuts). On the other hand, the mixed recording which appears in the Mission Santa Clara register would indicate that for the Yokuts groups using this suffix, the predominant pronunciation was the simple -me. It seems possible that Yokuts usage was influencing the actual speech of the Muqueleme Miwok (see tribelet 23).

20. Unfortunately, Pinart (the source of all marriage data) recorded the marriages of only certain years, and a large gap of intermediate years exists. Most of the discussion which follows is based on what appears to be a relatively complete recording of the year 1834, plus the years 1819 to 1826. As will become apparent in the analysis of the 1830-1831 data, access to the original documents could remove the uncertainty which results from the use of the incomplete information abstracted by Merriam. If one knew the day of baptism, personal names, sex, and spouse (other relatives are often given in

the Mission Solano register), one could probably reconstruct many unknown aspects of Plains Miwok social organization.

21. Usage of the term "clan" follows Murdock (1949). The two suggestions of clans in Central California refer to the Nomlaki (Goldschmidt 1951:319) and the Plains Miwok (Aginsky 1943: Nos. 1440, 1994o, p. 464).

22. Mariano Vallejo was so given to gross exaggeration and romantic invention that care must be taken in the acceptance of many of his statements. It is well documented that, aided by his brother Salvador and Chief Solano (a Suisun Patwin), Mariano Vallejo did become Lord of the North Shore. However, Vallejo's account of his subjection of Solano, already a neophyte, as well as the numbers involved in various campaigns against the Patwin, cannot be accepted. With reference to the Plains Miwok, the data given for 1837 and 1838 are consistent and have been accepted. The events reported for 1840 are contradictory. One may question whether the "Tagulamnes" (Tauhalame) and "Lachysimas" (Laquisimas) Yokuts (living on the Tuolumne and Stanislaus Rivers), who were already raiding the much closer Santa Clara Valley, would have joined the unrelated Ochejamne in a raid on Napa Valley. To do so the Yokuts would have had to evade the Muqueleme (already in control of the Calaveras River) when most of the Delta was blocked by high water. It seems more likely that unknown Miwok groups were involved. That the Ochejamne participated is supported by Yount (1923:54). However, the latter placed the battle in December rather than in the spring. In this case it would appear that Yount was in error, for the Ochejamne are reported to have been living at New Helvetia by July, 1840 (Phelps ms.).

23. Personal names used for the analysis reported herein were obtained largely from Pinart (ms.). Unfortunately, the incompleteness of this source limits the sample of names available for a number of Plains Miwok tribelets. Additional names from groups adjacent to the Plains Miwok, baptized at Mission Dolores, were taken from Bancroft Library ms. C-C 4, folder 68.

24. Lake Miwok names were indistinguishable from Wappo in the sample available. Intermarriage is quite possible, but a possible confusion of Wappo and Lake Miwok tribelets with a similar name is also possible (Cf. Kroeber 1932:366-367).

25. Archaeological sites are referred to herein by reference to a county symbol and number; e.g., Sac-29 refers to the 29th site recorded in Sacramento County. Other county symbols include: CCo-, Contra Costa; Mrn-, Marin; Nap-, Napa; SJo-, San Joaquin; Sol-, Solano; Sut-, Sutter; and Yol-, Yolo.

26. The following sites have yielded beads of the Mission period (probable historic names have been indicated where possible): Sacramento River (north to south): Sac-85; Sac-86 = Hulpumne; Sac-56 = Gualacomne; Yol-53 = Ylamne; Sac-75 = Junizumne (?); Cosumnes River (south to north): Sac-6 = Cosomne; Sac-107 = Mayeman; Sac-117 = Lowemul; Sac-120 = Shalachmushumne; Sac-126 = Amuchamne; Sac-127. So few excavations have been made on the Mokelumne River that no sites of this period have been identified. The northerly concentration of sites is primarily a reflection of proximity to the major institution carrying on excavations (the former Sacramento Junior College), but probably reflects missionization as well. Neophytes were buried at

Mission San Jose, so the number of historic burials in the more southerly sites would be greatly reduced.

27. The following radiocarbon dates are of pertinence to the temporal boundary between Phase 1 and Phase 2:

<u>Period</u>	<u>Date (A.D.)</u>	<u>Lab. no.</u>	<u>Site</u>
Early Phase 2	1530+90	I-5988	Mrn-170
Early Phase 2	1510+50	UCLA-1793A	CCo-30
Late Phase 1	1485+50	UCLA-1793D	CCo-30
Late Phase 1	1450+150	M-884	CCo-138

In a preliminary report the beginning of Phase 2 was placed at 1600 (Heizer 1958b: 6); however, the emphasis on trade which is evident in Phase 2 suggests that a century time-lag between the coast and interior valley is excessive and the depth of some Phase 2 deposits also favors the placement of the dividing date at 1500.

28. No adequate data are available for the Plains Miwok in the American period. Indirect evidence suggests that dances were still performed at a newly located Amuchamne in the 1870's (see tribelet 19). The cohesion of the group probably did not last long; if a terminal date for tribelet extinction is placed at 1881, the Plains Miwok would have endured an even 75 years of direct contact with Europeans since their initial contact in 1806.

29. As discussed in the text, it is convenient to begin the historic period in 1769 rather than with the intermittent coastal contacts. Because of the possibility of glass bead importation from Southern California via the San Joaquin Valley, this earlier date seems preferable to 1776 (founding of Mission Dolores) as a beginning date for Central California. The year 1811 (beginning of active missionization of the Central Great Valley) might be a more suitable boundary than 1800 to separate the early and late divisions of the Mission period. This point can only be clarified by the discovery of an early Mission period cemetery near San Francisco Bay; none has yet been found.

30. The informant was born at Kadema (Sac-192), though his father came from Pusune. Kadema was not referred to in the Sutter period, and archaeological excavations suggest that this village was not occupied until the American period (it was inhabited earlier in Phase 1).

31. In Phase 1 times CCo-141 also displays consistent differences from CCo-150, the latter being only three miles to the northwest in the Diablo district.

32. "Ulpinos" is a variant of the Bay Miwok tribelet name Ompin. The Spanish and Mexicans continued to use this tribelet name as a general referent for the region at the mouth of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers. Bidwell distorted "Los Ompines" into "Los Ulpinos." Americans had a poor ear for Miwok names: "Machalumbry" and "Magnele" are American renderings of Muqueleme, while the Spanish plural of Julpun (Julpunes) became "Pulpenes" to Americans.

33. Depopulation of valley villages had been so extreme by 1846 that the number of inhabitants recorded by Gatten can be used to distinguish valley from foothill locations. None of the villages which have firm valley locations on the Mokelumne, Cosumnes, and American Rivers had a population in excess of 93 inhabitants when visited by Gatten; the largest Plains Miwok settlement had only 88. In contrast, the foothill villages (which had largely escaped the malaria epidemic of 1833) had populations which ranged from 142 (Wapumne) to 485 (Yalesumne). Lopotsimne, with only 74 inhabitants, thus belongs with the valley villages. The neighboring village to the west was Yamlocklock (referred to in no other source except Gatten), and the population of 67 inhabitants also indicates a valley placement. Yamlocklock has therefore been placed on the Cosumnes River as a subsidiary village of the Lopotsimne Plains Miwok. Yuleyumne was a Northern Miwok village in the adjacent foothills east of Lopotsimne, and the population of 237 inhabitants again agrees with the known foothill placement.

34. Ryan is the source on Murphy's marriage and use of Indians, but he did not provide any names of the tribelets; it is possible that his wife was the sister of Pachatu, the Newachumne chief in 1847 (Sutter 1939:127).

35. Shulule was probably a victim of the 1847 sickness; Sutter (1939:81) commented that Augustin (one of his Muqueleme workers) "took charge" of Shulule's people. This probably means that Augustin directed the move of the Yuseumne village, since it is quite improbable that this Nisenan tribelet would have accepted an alien Miwok as chief. The Yuseumne are next referred to as arriving with Sekumne workers in February, 1848, suggesting a return to the American River (Ibid., p. 115).

36. At least one of Merriam's (1960:33; 1967:370) informants was Chief Hunchup, a Foothill Nisenan of El Dorado County interviewed in 1904. This informant reported that Foothill Nisenan territory extended only to Michigan Bar, and that the Plains Miwok held the Cosumnes River and Deer Creek from Sloughhouse to the tules; Yumhui was specifically assigned to the Plains Miwok.

37. Yolimhu was also placed "near" Folsom (Kroeber 1929:256). Neither Yodok nor Yolimhu appear in the historical documents so their significance remains uncertain. Folsom remained an important Indian center during the last decades of the 19th century but no contemporary reference to the name of the Indian settlement has been noted. Since Chief Hunchup, living in the upper Cosumnes drainage, referred to the Folsom Nisenan only as "northerners," a late shift of population could be indicated. It is probable that the inhabitants of Yodok moved their village from Folsom to Salmon Falls after the Yalesumne abandoned the latter site and moved to Latrobe. Quite possibly Yodok was a subsidiary village of the Yalesumne.

38. Miners at Michigan Bar objected to the dam and Jared Sheldon was killed in the dispute which arose in 1857; the dam was destroyed by flood waters the following winter. Sheldon's sons maintained the ranch, but it is probable that the Amuchamne left the upper Cosumnes during the chaotic 1850's. Sedimentation of the river by mining operations soon ended the annual salmon run.

39. References to the "Mokosumni," "Umucha," and Elk Grove all pertain to the Amuchamne. The dating is provided by Kroeber's (1929:272) reference to the death of a dance leader Yoktco at Elk Grove, leaving no adequate successor. Yoktco introduced valley dances to the Foothill Nisenan in 1872 (Gifford 1927:229; Beals 1933:399). The fact that Yoktco was a Muqueleme from Pleasanton, yet died at Elk Grove, would suggest that dances were no longer given on the Mokelumne River in the 1870's.

40. Sac-1 is referred to as site 1 in Schenck and Dawson (1926:357). There is no support for Schenck's (p. 358) interpretation of the formation of the mound during 75 years of historic occupation. The burials were intrusive into an older midden deposit:

41. All 12 villages were assigned to the "Mokelkos tribe" living between Lockeford and the mouth of the Cosumnes, but the number probably refers to all tribelets west of Camanche. Other documentation for the summary which follows in the text will be found under the pertinent tribelet.

42. The four Northern Miwok wives were baptized in 1829, three from Polayum and one from Silepum. Polayum was probably the same Northern Miwok village recorded as "Polasu," just south of Sonora (Kroeber 1925: Pl. 37, no. 24). The baptismal year and suffix suggest that Silepum was nearby. The possibility that Polayum and Silepum were subsidiary Plains Miwok villages seems unlikely in view of the small number of baptisms, single and early baptismal date, and lack of other references to the groups. Only five Plains Miwok tribelets appear in the baptismal register for 1829, and all are near the mouth of the Cosumnes River (Ochejamne, Junizumne, Tihuechemne, Locolomne, and Seuamne). The four Northern Miwok women were probably married to men of these tribelets, particularly the Locolomne, because this tribelet later moved into Northern Miwok territory.

43. Merriam reported that this village had been occupied within the memory of persons then living. He also reported that another Muqueleme village east of Lockeford had been abandoned earlier, but no archaeological site has been reported between SJo-27 (Merriam's "Muk-kel") and SJo-26 (Merriam's "Lalum-ne"). It is possible that Merriam misunderstood the relative positions, and "Muk-kel" was at Staple's Ferry (SJo-30) before 1852, but the population shifted to SJo-27 after the death of Chief Senato at Staple's Ferry (Gilbert 1879:13).

44. Smith's name for the Stanislaus River ("Appelaminy") is another instance in which the name of a visiting Indian group was applied to a river which was not occupied by that group aboriginally. Viader visited the Apelamenes on the San Joaquin River south of the Tuolumne in 1810 (Cook 1960:259-260).

45. Only 14 Chilamne names are available, but the constellation of endings is clearly Miwok, as indicated by the following frequencies of the -mayen (typical Miwok) and -te (typical Yokuts) endings: Chilamne names display 29% -mayen, 0% -te; Muqueleme endings include 23% -mayen, 5% -te; Yatchicumne Yokuts names display 0% -mayen, 27% -te.

46. The vocabularies from "Pujuni" and "Tsamak" (Sama), though short, suggest different Nisenan dialects (Hale 1846; republished in Powers 1877:599-600).

47. John Cooper, an in-law of Vallejo, termed the American River the "Rio Ojotska" (from Ochejamne) on his 1833 land grant map (Severson 1973:25). It may be noted that the Chucumne also have been placed in the territory of Sutter's settlement (Gudde 1936:55). As discussed under tribelet 11, this group lived south of Sutter's land grant and was not mentioned in the Sutter documents.

48. Limited excavations in Kadema (Sac-192) suggest that this site may have been abandoned before the protohistoric period, but was reoccupied in the 1850's as the final Valley Nisenan village on the American River.

49. The other two villages (Wana and Kui) do not appear in the baptismal registers and presumably represent subsidiary villages of the Chilamne tribelet. That the Yatchicumne were a distinct tribelet is clear from both the baptismal registers and varied historical documents.

50. The Spanish and Mexican documents emphasize tribelets named after a principal village, as among the Miwok. While there are scattered suggestions of tribal organization among the Northern Valley Yokuts (particularly for the Tauhalame), the evidence is too meager and contradictory to discuss herein.

51. The photograph in Merriam (1966: Pl. 8b, p. 117) is attributed to "Mokalumne" near Lockeford but the nearby hills indicate that this old style dance house was at Buena Vista (Cf. Merriam 1955:Pl. 43a).

52. In a similar manner Merriam (1966:45, 60) recorded a Hill Nisenan vocabulary from Tom Cleanso's sister before learning that she had forgotten her native Pusune (Valley Nisenan) language.

53. Vocabularies A-F represent Northern Valley Yokuts. The last five vocabularies (G-K) should probably be classified as Central Valley Yokuts.

54. Wilde (1925) gave the variant name "Siyokos". This prompted a query from Merriam to which Wilde (ms.) replied that "Siyokos" was a tribal name which became "Si(y)akum" when Stockton was founded, but was now rendered Siakumne. A similar change was claimed by Gilbert (1879:13) for the "Yachekos", "or as they are now called, the Ya-che-kum-na"; Gilbert (1879:12) had wrongly inferred from four river names (Cosumnes to Tuolumne) that -umna meant "river" in both Miwok and Yokuts. Use of the -ko suffix, meaningful only in Miwok (Barrett 1908:341), suggests that the informants used by Wilde and Gilbert were Plains Miwok.

55. Despite some variant frequencies, the endings of 30 "Lacquisemne" female personal names were clearly Yokuts: 27% -te, 10% -me, 3% -ye, 27% -s, 0% -mayen.

56. Cook (1943:33; 1962:165), followed by Broadbent (1974:96), Moratto (1976:32) and Moratto and Hall (1976:82), identified Estanislao as Miwok. However, Pinart (Merriam 1955:134) included the "Lakkisamnes" with tribelets which spoke Yokuts, an affiliation which is supported by female personal names. Likewise, there is no support for Cook's (1955a:76, Map 4) extension of Southern Miwok territory to the valley floor along the Merced River and

Mariposa Creek.

57. Palomares identified the Stanislaus River chiefs as Estanislao and his brother Saulon; the latter was probably the "Indian" called Sabulon by Sanchez in 1829 (Cook 1962:174). Palomares also claimed that the Muqueleme chief at this time was named Cipriano but this Christian name would not have been used by an unconverted chief; the famous Cipriano was an associate of Estanislao. The later mass conversion of the Muqueleme, doubted by Cook (1962:211, note 49), is supported by the baptismal records. Palomares provided the earliest reference to Chief Jose Jesus, but he associated him with the Tuolumne River whereas all other references link Jose Jesus with Stanislaus River groups. Palomares did not record his "Memoria" until 1877 so he may have confused the affiliation of these chiefs contacted by the Peralta expedition; the 1833 date for the latter was given in a contemporary letter (Cook 1962:188).

58. Bryant named four chiefs without specifying tribelet affiliation, but the same chiefs were identified by tribelet in 1847 in The New Helvetia Diary. Jose Jesus was chief of the "Chapesimny" (Sutter 1939:68); Raymundo was sub-chief of the "Lakissimneys" and Carlos was sub-chief of the "Tawalemneys" (Sutter 1939:45). "Filipe" (Felipe) was probably a sub-chief of the Chapaiseme because he always appeared with Jose Jesus (Sutter 1939:67, 73). The absence of Cornelius (chief of the Tauhalame) and Florio (chief of the Laquisimas) in the Bryant list suggests that distinct tribelets were still functioning in 1846. Bryant named only one chief for 12 "Machelemes" (Muqueleme) warriors whom he had recruited the previous day.

59. If Gomez' memory was correct when recorded in 1877, the dominion of Jose Jesus extended from the Stanislaus River to the Calaveras River and into the foothills to Mokelumne Hill by 1849 (Heizer 1955:45-46). Heizer identified Jose Jesus as a Sierra Miwok but the aboriginal associations of Chapaiseme, Siakumne and Knights Ferry support Yokuts affiliation.

60. The reference to caves by Muñoz also allows identification of this diary as the source for Vallejo's fanciful derivation of "Tuolumne" from "talmalamne" (Gudde 1962:330; Hoover and Rensch 1966:566; note that "Taulamne" was misread as "Tautamne"; cf. Moratto 1976:15). The river was named "Rio de los Towalumnes" by Fremont in 1848 (Gudde 1962:330) after the dominant tribe resident upon its banks (Fremont 1887:443-444, 446). The modern spelling appears on the 1849 map of Derby.

61. Cañizares referred to this village as at the eastern entrance to Carquinez Strait (Cook 1957:137). The Spanish "north" was actually northeast, so Cañizares was probably attempting to designate what would now be called the south shore. The village shown on his 1775 map was definitely not at Martinez but can best be equated with the large village found at Tormey by the 1776 expedition (Bolton 1930:385, symbol g). Cañizares must have seen other villages but stated specifically that he "had communication" with only one village.

62. Various diarists of the pre-mission explorations of San Francisco Bay recorded the behavior of the native inhabitants upon meeting the Spaniards. Those who did not flee soon overcame their fears and approached the strangers to receive beads and gifts; the Indians often accompanied the explorers for

variable distances only to leave them for no reason apparent to the earliest or newly arrived priests. As was soon realized by experienced explorers, such behavior could usually be associated with territorial boundaries of different tribelets. Without going into the earlier evidence, it will be sufficient here to quote Anza's impressions of a day's exploration on the San Francisco peninsula in 1776: "I encountered numerous docile heathen who accompanied me with pleasure but without going a step outside their respective territories, because of the enmity that is common among them" (Bolton 1930: Vol. III:128).

63. The villages visited the day before would have been those of the Huchiun tribelet, firmly located in the Richmond-San Pablo region (see Cook 1957:141-143, 147). Only major Costanoan tribelets have been shown on Map 2, herein; approximate locations are based on baptismal dates and occasional placements given in the Mission Dolores register, but a more intensive analysis of the Bay region is needed (cf. Brown 1974; Heizer 1974a).

64. The hill Indians may have been Saclan Bay Miwok who probably held the north slopes of Mount Diablo. A less likely alternative would be that Wolwon Bay Miwok had permission from the Saclan to hunt in Concord Valley. No specific location for the Wolwon ("Volvon") is available. One of the early names for Mount Diablo was "Cerro de los Bolbones" (Cook 1960:265, Oct. 28, 1811; Harlow 1950:Map 19). Baptismal dates support a location in the hills along the south side of Mount Diablo; the tribelet center was probably near Marsh Creek Springs or Round Valley on the upper reaches of Marsh Creek. Personal names support affiliation of the Wolwon with the Bay Miwok. Kroeber (1925:Fig. 42) had earlier considered the Wolwon tribelet to be Costanoan. Most others assumed that the "Bolbon" were synonymous with the Cholbon Yokuts (Hodge 1906: Pt. 1:158; Cook 1955a:57-58). That Wolwon and Cholvon were distinct tribelets is indicated by personal names, different peak frequencies of baptism, and the appearance of both tribelet names in the same lists recorded by Choris and Chamisso (Mahr 1932:89, 99).

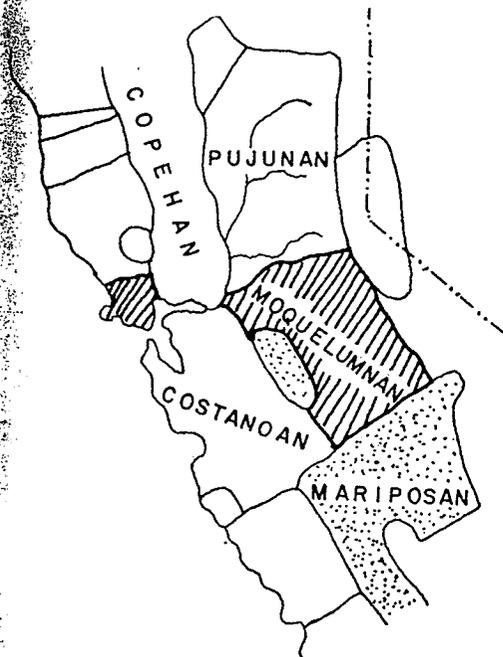
65. Font noted that soldiers sent by Fages two years earlier had also visited this village (Bolton 1930: Vol. III:273, Vol. IV:385). Chupcan can be identified as the village designated "b" on Font's 1777 map (Harlow 1950:Map 7). Chupcan also appears as the middle village on the south shore of Suisun Bay on the 1776 map of Cañizares (Cook 1957:Map 2). Font placed the village identifiable as Chupcan a dozen steps from the water, so Cañizares would have seen it; Cañizares' placement does suggest Port Chicago, but this position would have been visible from Willow Pass, yet neither Anza nor Font referred to any sign of villages on the shore between Karkin and Chupcan. A comparison of Font's 1777 map and the Villavicencio 1781 map leaves no doubt that the middle village on the latter map was at Antioch. The easternmost village on the 1781 map, shown just west of the grove of trees (Oak Ridge) is clearly Chupcan (Cook 1957:Map 3). The appearance of the "San Ricardo" village on the 1776 map and its absence from the 1781 map is discussed in endnote 66.

66. "San Ricardo" appears as No. 101 on Font's 1777 map (Harlow 1950:Map 7). Since this village was directly on the river bank it would have been seen by Cañizares in 1776, and therefore can be identified as the easternmost village shown on the south bank of Suisun Bay and the estuary on his 1776 map (Cook 1957:Map 2). The village does not appear on the 1781 map, presumably because Villavicencio knew from the Anza-Font diaries that "San Ricardo" was reported

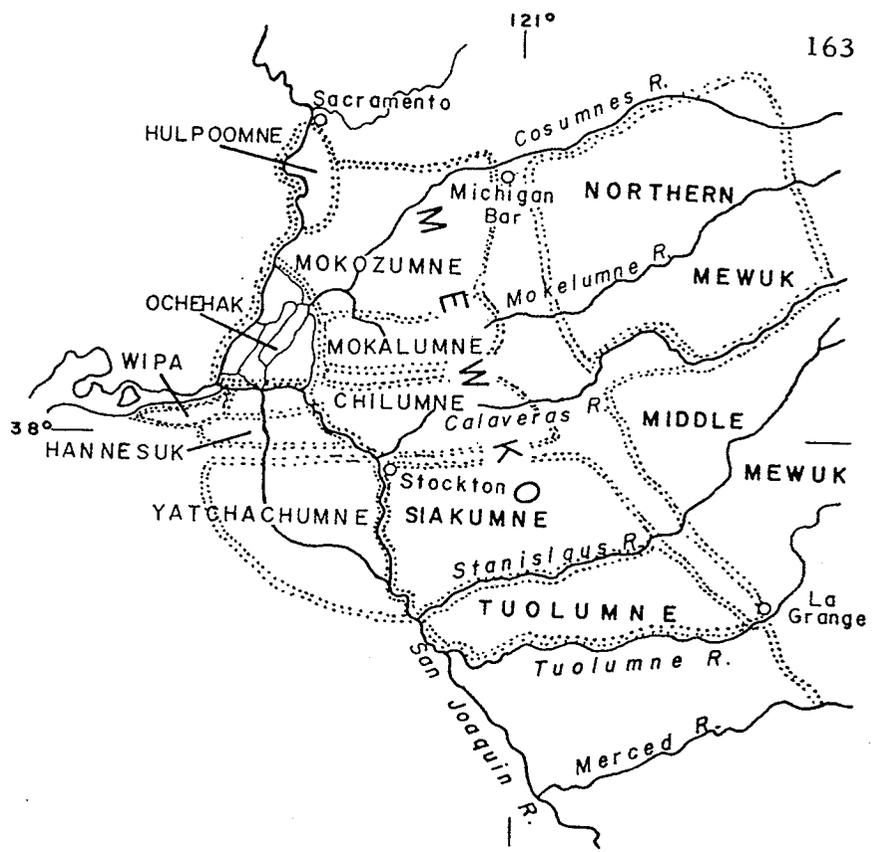
as abandoned, and the cartographer desired to show only occupied villages.

67. It is probable that the Saclan had access to Suisun Bay aboriginally. On the basis of terrain, one can suggest that the Saclan controlled Seal and Mount Diablo Creeks, and that the Saclan-Chupcan boundary probably ran along the crest of the hills just east of Port Chicago and Clayton. The last recorded Saclan baptism at Mission Dolores was in 1798, and the Chupcan may have extended their control to Walnut Creek after Saclan depopulation.

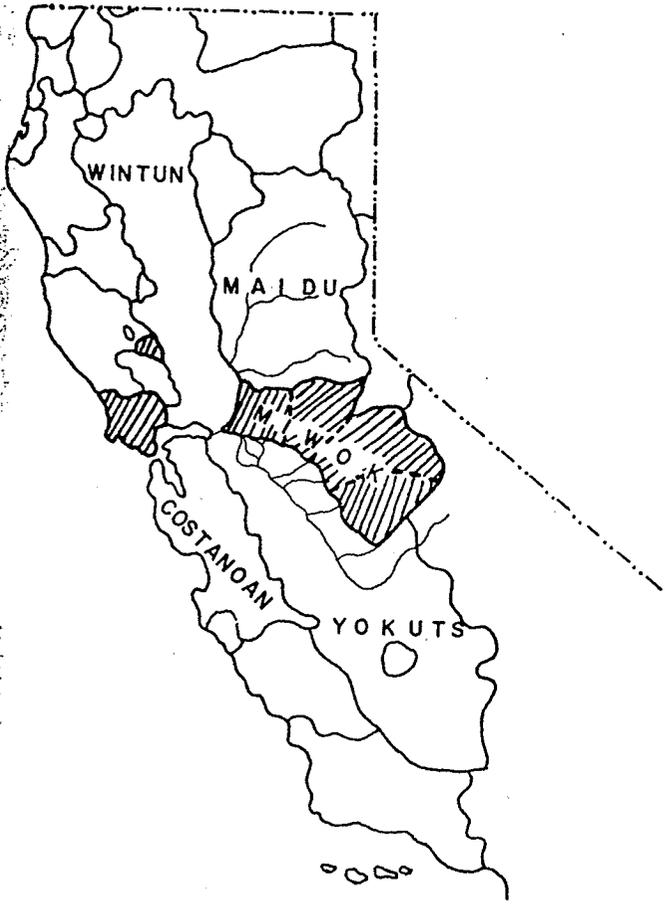
68. In his account of the same expedition, Arguello stated that the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers joined to form the "bays of the Julpunes, Ompines, and Chupcanes" which discharged through the "Strait of the Karquines" (Cook 1960:287, May 21). This grouping of Julpun, Ompin and Chupcan is in agreement with the 1824 Map, but it is clear that the explorers were using tribelet names as generalized place names.



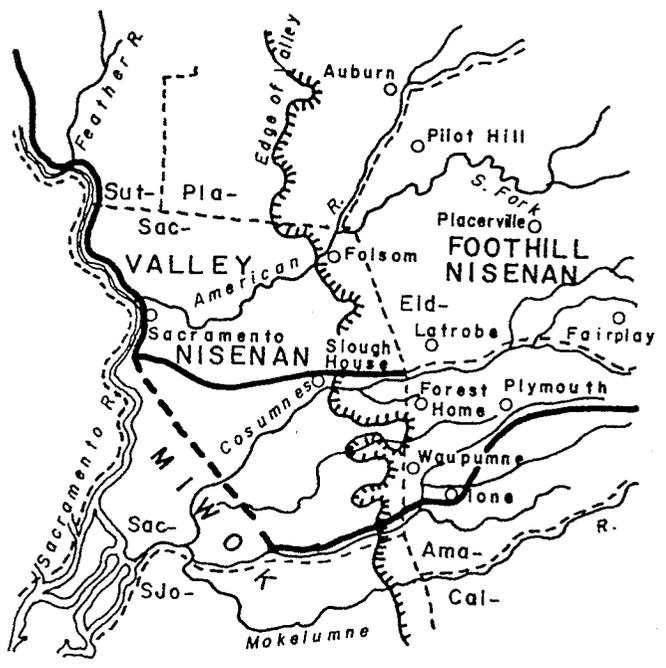
a. Powell 1891



b. Merriam 1907

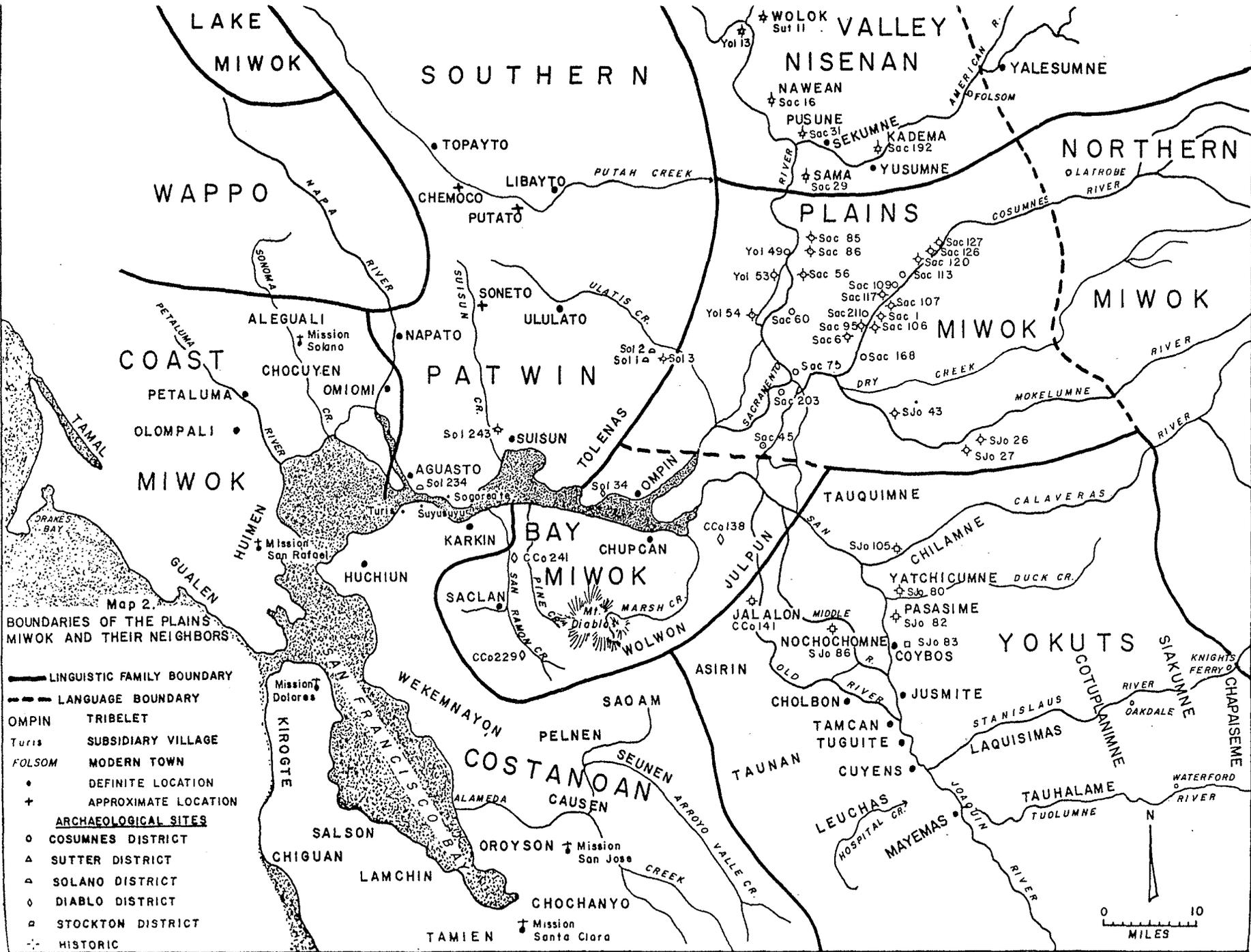


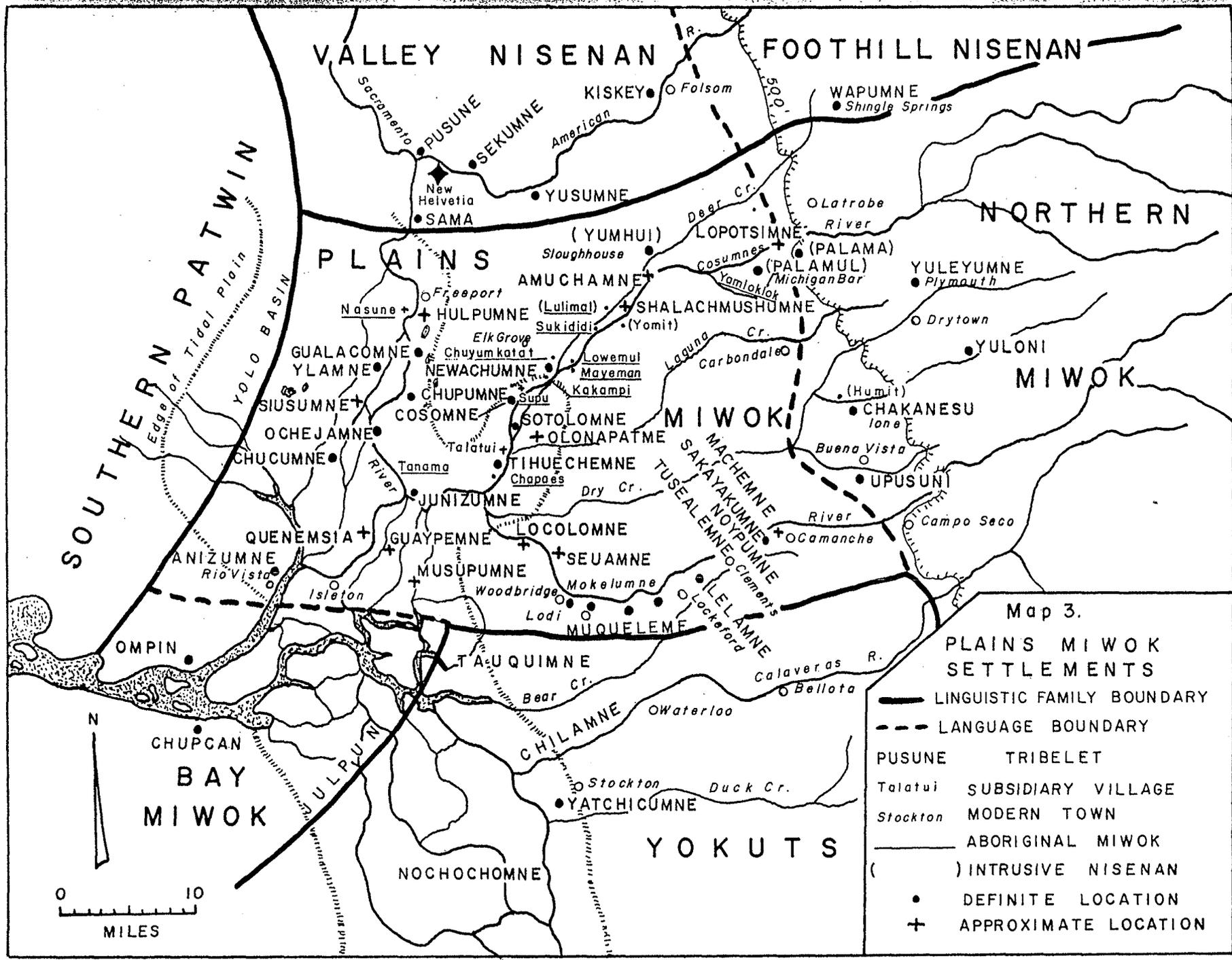
c. Kroeber 1925



d. Beals 1933

MAP I. Plains Miwok Boundaries According To Various Ethnographers





Map 3.
PLAINS MIWOK
SETTLEMENTS

- LINGUISTIC FAMILY BOUNDARY
- - - LANGUAGE BOUNDARY
- PUSUNE TRIBELET
- Talatui SUBSIDIARY VILLAGE
- Stockton MODERN TOWN
- ABORIGINAL MIWOK
- () INTRUSIVE NISENAN
- DEFINITE LOCATION
- + APPROXIMATE LOCATION

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Abbreviations used:

AA	American Anthropologist
AmAnt	American Antiquity
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
CHSQ	California Historical Society Quarterly. San Francisco.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
SI-AR	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report
UC-PAAF	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Berkeley.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
UCARF-C	University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Contributions. Berkeley.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports. Berkeley.
UC-PL	University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley and Los Angeles.

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