

**RECOGNITION THROUGH REMEMBRANCE:  
A CONSIDERATION OF MUWEKMA OHLONE ORAL HISTORIES WITH KUKSU-  
ASSOCIATED MATERIAL CULTURE TO INFER PRECOLONIAL CONNECTIONS  
TO PLACE**

A Project Report

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Master of Arts

By

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May 2019

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Recognition through Remembrance: A Consideration of Muwekma Ohlone Oral Histories with  
Kuksu-Associated Material Culture to Infer Precolonial Connections to Place

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research project report conducts and investigates place-based narratives/oral histories of Muwekma Ohlone people from the greater Bay Area in order to triangulate pre-Columbian settlement and territorial patterns. This study is a complement to other archaeological efforts to assess Muwekma Ohlone claims related to the tribe's narrative of aboriginal and historical ethno-geographic ties to the San Francisco Bay Area, descent from three Bay Area Missions, as well as their efforts to regain federal recognition. These narratives are juxtaposed with pre-European contact evidence that focuses on the distribution of N-series "Bighead/Kuksu" pendants found in specific Bay Area archaeological sites. The scope of analysis includes assessments of Muwekma Ohlone identity, kinship and experience by understanding concepts of narrative and collective memory in order to contribute to current decolonization efforts that support aspects of historical multivocality.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people I would like to thank related to this research. First, I would like to express my most sincere gratitude to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area. I would like to especially thank those Muwekma tribal members who participated in this research: Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, Mary Louisa Cline, Frank and Carrie Ruano, Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Monica V. Arellano, and Charlene Nijmeh. I would like to recognize Monica V. Arellano as she helped facilitate this research. Additionally, I would like to thank Rosemary Cambra, Norma Sanchez, and Arnold Sanchez. Each and every Muwekma tribal member I worked with welcomed me with open arms and shared their lives with me, and to them I am forever grateful.

I would like to thank Mr. Alan Leventhal; not only did he serve on my graduate committee and offer me substantial guidance during this research, he connected me with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and assisted me in finding employment. Alan continuously finds ways to involve students in archaeology both in the lab and in the field, and I am humbled I had the opportunity to work with him during my graduate studies.

Dr. Marco Meniketti served as the Chair of my committee and provided me with invaluable direction during this process. Not only has Marco worked with me to bring this project to fruition, but he encouraged me to apply for graduate school and further my career in archaeology. I would like to thank Marco for reaffirming my interest in and passion for archaeology, history, and travel.

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Charlotte Sunseri; without her guidance this research would not have been possible. Charlotte emanates a calming and nurturing persona which was

incredibly helpful during times of stress. Charlotte always challenged me to assess things differently, hold myself accountable, and reminded me to always think anthropologically. Her intellect is inspiring, and her good nature is infectious. I would like to thank Charlotte for being involved in this research.

Viviana Bellifemine Sanchez-Chopitea was a major inspiration for this project report. Viviana introduced me to the Kuksu religion and deserves ample credit as she was foundational in this research. Not only that, but Viviana served as a wonderful confidant for me. I would like to express my appreciation for Viviana and her guidance during my studies.

Far Western Anthropological Research Group contributed to this research by providing me with helpful data pertaining to the Sunol Water Temple site. I would like to particularly thank Dr. Brian Byrd for his assistance and Mr. Michael Darcangelo for his guidance in the field.

I would like to recognize Briann DeOrnellas, Alisha Marie Ragland, Brenna Wheelis, Amanda Jorgenson and Leslie Hoefert for their friendship and camaraderie. I would like to especially thank my cohort member and friend Arianna Heathcote who helped peer review my work and always had time to talk, regardless of her own hectic schedule. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my longtime friend Jasmine Fast who read countless drafts, offered me suggestions, and helped me formulate my thoughts and ideas. Jasmine has always and continues to offer me unconditional love and support. Thank you all for being amazing friends.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner Brian Dial. Throughout the many trials and tribulations I have experienced, Brian has been there to lift me back up and invigorate me to press on. This research would not have been possible without Brian's love, support, and encouragement. For Brian, I would like to express my deepest appreciation.

## DEDICATION

*In memory of*  
*Joy Claire Hedges*  
*(1956-2014)*  
*and*  
*Dale Langdon Hedges*  
*(1953-2016)*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF MAPS.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
Problem Statement .....	1
Project Significance.....	9
Project Deliverables .....	13
<b>CHAPTER 2: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO IDENTITY .....</b>	<b>15</b>
Narrative.....	15
Collective Memory.....	18
Placemaking .....	22
Agency .....	29
Summary .....	34
<b>CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....</b>	<b>35</b>
Persistence in the Face of Colonialism (1542-1868) .....	35
The Ghost Dance (1869 – 1890).....	39
Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Descriptions and Mentions of Kuksu .....	42
Material Manifestations of Kuksu.....	48
An Overview of Pertinent Archaeological Sites .....	54
<b>CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>79</b>
Mapping of Significant Places .....	80
Oral History Interviews with Contemporary Muwekma Tribal Members.....	81



<b>CHAPTER 5: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS .....</b>	<b>85</b>
Gifford’s California Shell Typology .....	86
Archaeological Implications .....	91
Conclusion.....	92
<b>CHAPTER 6: MUWEKMA OHLONE ORAL HISTORY RESULTS.....</b>	<b>94</b>
Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira.....	94
Mary Louisa Cline.....	98
Frank Ruano .....	100
Sheila Guzman-Schmidt.....	103
Monica V. Arellano.....	107
Charlene Nijmeh .....	110
Conclusion.....	113
<b>CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>115</b>
Analysis of Archaeological Site Reports .....	115
Analysis of Oral Histories.....	118
Convergence.....	121
<b>CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>127</b>
Project Deliverables .....	128
Limitations .....	129
Future Research.....	129
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>APPENDIX A: DELIVERABLES TO THE MUWEKMA OHLONE TRIBE .....</b>	<b>145</b>
Deliverable 1 .....	145
Deliverable 2 .....	166

**APPENDIX B: MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING ..... 167**

**APPENDIX C: ORAL HISTORY CONSENT FORM ..... 170**

**APPENDIX D: ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT ..... 173**

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> N-Series pendant illustrations (Gifford 1947: 80).....	35
<b>Figure 2:</b> Jack Wilson (Wovoka), Paiute leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Photo courtesy of I Love Ancestry. ....	40
<b>Figure 3:</b> Big head dancers at Stony Ford Rancheria c. 1914-17. Northeastern Pomo and Patwin. ....	44
<b>Figure 4:</b> N-series “big head” or Kuksu pendants from CA-ALA-329 made of abalone featured on the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe’s website .....	48
<b>Figure 5:</b> Superimposed N-series pendant to illustrate similarities to the “big head”/Kuksu dancers (Leventhal 1993: 231).....	49
<b>Figure 6:</b> The evolution of N-series pendants among three different districts adapted from Bennyhoff (1977). The Alameda district is of particular interest to this study (Winter 1978:148).....	53
<b>Figure 7:</b> Laboratory imaging of an N1aIII (above) and a possible N1aII (below) Kuksu pendants interred with Burial 36 at the Sunol Water Temple. Photo Courtesy of Far Western Anthropological Resource Group.....	57
<b>Figure 8:</b> Field photo of Burial 36 at the Sunol Water Temple. Note the Kuksu-associated pendant emerging next to the cranium. Photo courtesy of Far Western Anthropological Research Group and the Muwekma Tribal Council.....	58
<b>Figure 9:</b> Ohlone Native Americans on the San Francisco Bay in a tule boat. Painted by Louis Choris in 1822.....	60
<b>Figure 10:</b> Kuksu pendant illustrations of artifacts associated with Burial 106 at Tamien Station (Hylkema 2007:268).....	67
<b>Figure 11:</b> Kuksu pendant description associated with Burial 106 at Tamien Station (Hylkema 2007:176).....	68
<b>Figure 12:</b> Poorly imposed image of Burial 9 in-situ (Winter 1978:21).....	72
<b>Figure 13:</b> Ornament typology created by Dr. James Bennyhoff and used at the Hotchkiss Mound. Examples shown are those artifacts associated with Kuksu with Types G (N1b) and H (N2b) being anthropomorphic while Types I (N5) and J (N6b) are zoomorphic (Atchley 1994: 42).....	76
<b>Figure 14:</b> Timeline illustration of identifiable Kuksu-associated pendants subtypes at the six archaeological sites.....	89
<b>Figure 15:</b> Distribution of Kuksu-associated pendants in burial matrices associated with males, females, and children across the six archaeological sites included in this study.....	92

**Figure 16:** Oral history places of significance and their frequency across six interviews.....120

## LIST OF MAPS

<b>Map 1:</b> Native California tribes with emphasis on E.M. Loeb’s (1932) area of study.....	43
<b>Map 2:</b> Map included in Leventhal’s thesis of the Ryan Mound (CA-ALA-329) in the San Francisco Bay in relation to other archaeological sites and Mission San Jose (Leventhal 1993:28).....	59
<b>Map 3:</b> Yukisma Mound project location (Bellifemine 1997: 49).....	63
<b>Map 4:</b> Tamien Station project location and site plan (Hylkema 2007:2).....	66
<b>Map 5:</b> Project location of the Holiday Inn Site (Winter 1978:2).....	69
<b>Map 6:</b> Hotchkiss Mound project location. Note the proximity to Pleasanton and Mission San Jose. (Atchley 1994: 15).....	74
<b>Map 7:</b> Geographic distribution of the six archaeological sites containing Kuksu-associated pendants discussed in this study.....	117
<b>Map 8:</b> Geographic distribution of significant places mentioned in Muwekma oral histories collected during this research.....	121
<b>Map 9:</b> Geographic distribution of archaeological sites (purple), places of significance (green), Bay Area Missions (blue crosses) in relation to the boundaries of Muwekma associated territory in the Bay Area (shaded grey).....	122

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1:</b> Kuksu pendants with burial associations found at the Ryan Mound as detailed by SJSU and Stanford University (Leventhal 1993:234-235).....	61-62
<b>Table 2:</b> Effigy pendants with burial associations found at the Yukisma Mound (Bellifemine 1997:191).....	64
<b>Table 3:</b> Effigy pendant temporal chronology at the Yukisma Mound (Bellifemine 1997:215)...	65
<b>Table 4:</b> Distribution of <i>Olivella</i> Beads and <i>Haliotis</i> Ornaments at the Holiday Inn Site; showcases 3 Kuksu pendants associated with Burial 9 and 19 fragments found in backdirt (Winter 1978:98).....	71
<b>Table 5:</b> History of excavations at the Hotchkiss Mound (Atchley 1994: 18).....	75
<b>Table 6:</b> Distribution of Kuksu-associated ornament types between Male, Female, and Child burials (Atchley 1994: 60).....	77
<b>Table 7:</b> Differentiation between Male and Female burials that contained effigy ornaments (Atchley 1994: 58).....	77
<b>Table 8:</b> An inventory of all <i>mentioned and identifiable</i> pendant types found at the sites observed in this study—fragments are not included. All descriptions were derived from Gifford’s (1947) shell typology.....	87-88

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **Problem Statement**

Current archaeological projects in the Bay Area often involve tribal collaboration if artifacts or human remains are found. These collaborations are often mitigated by archaeological firms working under the supervision of tribal descendants to ensure that culturally sensitive procedures are practiced. Breaking from this normative route, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area have moved beyond solely supervising archaeological projects and actively participate in the archaeological excavations of their ancestral sites.

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe maintain a grassroots commitment to validating their cultural history and tenure to their historical homeland, which contributes to their advocacy campaigns geared toward regaining federal recognition. Many tribal members are trained in archaeology, an effort pioneered by the former tribal chairwoman Rosemary Cambra in the 1980s, to contribute to the process of unearthing cultural resources that help them identify themselves and have the potential to represent their collective history. In the subsequent reporting, some Muwekma members have been, and continue to be, contributing coauthors on all excavation reports and remain active throughout the entire process. Furthermore, the tribe, on a case-by-case basis, will consider conducting further excavations to add credence to conceptions of their identities and validating historical claims to territory conducive to federal recognition and reclamation of ancestral heritage sites.

One item of special interest to the Muwekma is an atypical abalone shell pendant, which can depict both an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure meant to be worn around the neck. Differing from other abalone adornments, these pendants are extremely rare and personify the

elite status of the individual that is interred with them. These pendants suggest membership or affiliation to the Kuksu religion, an exclusive, secret society. The religion was documented firsthand by early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists such as Samuel Barret (1917), Alfred Kroeber (1925), E.W.Gifford (1927) and E.M. Loeb (1926;1932) and found archaeologically in regions associated with groups such as the Pomo, Patwin, Maidu, Miwok, Ohlone, Salinan and other central California tribal groups (Leventhal 1993).

The significance of this distinctive pendant is imperative because it demonstrates religious solidarity among pre-contact Native California tribal groups. This is important because it communicates concepts of networking indicated by the dispersal of a secret religious experience—religious commonality must have existed in the distant past to give context to the Kuksu religion’s diffusion among northern California tribes. Moreover, the pendant showcases conceptions of ascribed social status amongst elites (Bean & Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993). Not only is the tangible pendant important, but so are the narratives and collective memories associated with the artifact as it affords contemporary tribal members with a greater sense of agency and represents tenure and stewardship to the places in which they are found.

### ***Approach***

This study is multifaceted in approach; it aims to concatenate oral histories, Kuksu artifact distributions, and associated landscapes in order to evaluate Muwekma claims to territory in the Bay Area. Landscapes and cultural materials have always and continue to be denoted with cultural agency by the resident groups, and this study is meant to assess whether or not there are overarching cultural attachments evident in contemporary tribal members’ oral histories to associated landscapes and artifacts. The importance of bringing all of these research items together is emphasized by the reverence of triangulating findings—if this study is able to



establish overlapping themes recurrent through these three mutually-exclusive research topics in a coherent way, it may be an important contribution to the Muwekma's political arsenal as well as efforts to reclaim aspects of their history. Additionally, this research will be of benefit to the Muwekma regardless if connections are able to be drawn as the primary goal for all is to better understand California's pre-colonial history.

The Muwekma are active agents in the archaeological excavation of the indigenous populations they claim ties to which promotes tribal agency as well as contributes to the decolonization of practices—the tribe is foregrounded in research efforts as a primary stakeholder and archaeological steward rather than perceived as a political obstacle (Field & Leventhal 2003). Ohlone Families Consulting Service (OFCS) was an archaeological firm created by the Muwekma—now completely under the auspices of the tribe—that specialized in writing field reports centered on the narrative of pre-contact Ohlone peoples. Cambra and colleagues (2014) elucidate Ohlone longevity to the Bay Area by providing extensive information about pre-contact/ancestral heritage sites that served as dedicated large Native cemeteries, indicating massive occupation sites and relationships to place. Furthermore, mortuary sites located in greater Santa Clara Valley include many Kuksu-associated pendants, and when situated within the wider nexus of northern California pre-contact cemeteries, it is evident that Santa Clara Valley constituted the southwestern region of the larger Kuksu network and ceremonial/economic interaction sphere (Cambra et al. 2014). The tangible evidence of Kuksu-influence is present in the pre-contact Bay Area archaeological record, however, what is important is what these pendants mean to contemporary tribal members and how the religion is represented in oral histories and Ohlone collective memory.

Fortunately, ideas of early narratives and early 20<sup>th</sup> century collective memory were derived from the Bureau of American Ethnology associate J.P. Harrington. Harrington's cultural and linguistic fieldwork of the Costanoan/Ohlone ethno-geographic territory during the 1920s yields extensive field notes, interview transcripts, recordings, and ethnographic information still referred to today (Becks 2018; Field & Leventhal 2003; Milliken et al. 2009). These field notes detailed interviews Harrington conducted with two principal Muwekma informants, Angela Colos and Jose Guzman, who informed Harrington of important cultural patterns, linguistic attributes, and geographical information pertaining to themselves and neighboring tribes (Becks 2018; Milliken et al. 2009). Mission records are viable resources when addressing ideas of tribal affinities among different groups. Cambra and colleagues (2014) discuss how Kuksu-associated pendants have been found over a wide geographic area encompassing many different tribal bands and linguistic groups. This information taken together with the similarities in name endings found in Mission records, which include “-tole”, “-mayen”, and “-cse” over the same geographic areas as Kuksu-associated pendant distributions asserts that these groups had strong cultural ties prior to the advent of Spanish colonialism (Cambra et al. 2014; Leventhal 1993; Milliken et al. 2009).

### ***Shortcomings of the Federal Recognition Process***

The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe encompasses all the surviving lineages whose ancestors were Missionized into three Bay Area Missions (Dolores, Santa Clara and San Jose) within the greater San Francisco Bay Area. The tribe was federally recognized up to 1927 along with neighboring southern Costanoan tribal groups, such as the present-day Amah-Mutsun Tribal Band from Mission San Juan Bautista and the Esselen Nation from Missions San Carlos and Soledad (Field 2003). Ever since their dismissal from recognition, the Muwekma leadership have

been vigilant in their attempts to regain their rights to sovereignty. The quest for federal recognition is both convoluted and overwhelmingly bureaucratic; the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe are no stranger to this arduous process. The Muwekma Tribal Council petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) from 1989-1998, sued them in 1999-2000, and have appealed their Final Determination (which deemed them ineligible) verdict over the span of 90 years (Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). Thornton (2005) describes how the federal recognition system is flawed in that tribes are required to provide lengthy accounts of their genealogical history, yet many of these items or knowledge were destroyed during Spanish and American colonialism. It is important to note that the Office of Federal Acknowledgement did determine that during the tribe's successful lawsuit (1999-2000), 100% of 550 enrolled members of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe were able to demonstrate their descent from a historical tribe--the Verona Band of Alameda County--and that Congress had never truly terminated the tribe from recognition (Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). This instance showcases the labyrinthine nature of the recognition process and the disconnect between bureaucratic authorities. Furthermore, the evidence required by the federal government is based on Western conceptions of governance which completely negates any differing narrative form.

Thornton (2005) estimates that there were seven million Native Americans thriving prior to European contact. Much of the depopulation was the result of foreign diseases such as smallpox, typhoid, cholera, etc. However, other incidences also contributed to decline, such as population relocation, forced labor, and outright massacre. When the government finally began entering into conversation with tribes instead of acting against them, policy was crafted with the hopes of retaining Native culture and sovereignty (Thornton 2005). The proliferation of

intermarriage prompted the government to require official documentation of “Indianness” as it was difficult to discern who was indigenous and who was not.

The BIA claims that the only substantial criterion of federal recognition is that one live among a tribal group in relation to other tribal groups, mixed-blood included, where others can attest to the legitimacy of the claim (Thornton 2005). That is not to say that gaining recognition is easy--it is incredibly difficult--but to showcase that requirements may be different depending on location and claim information. There are currently 562 federally recognized tribes that receive services from the BIA, or 1.7 million individuals (Thornton 2005). Requirements of federal recognition vary between tribes, but most require a Certificate of Indian Blood which displays a blood quantum that indicates indigenous descent. However, the amount of Native blood varies from each tribe as a requirement. The variation of requirements depending on the tribe serves as a fundamental flaw in the recognition process as it creates loopholes for both BIA and false tribes to manipulate in order to satiate personal agendas.

### ***The Effort to Decolonize Anthropology***

In 1968, The American Indian Movement (AIM) radically altered perceptions of the indigenous experience as tribal members were able to communicate their struggles with the rest of the nation. Not only was the general public moved by this, but academia as well. In response to the movement, Forbes (1971) sought to explain the oppression of Native Californians in a language accessible to the public. Forbes (1971) broke the Native American experience up into three timelines. The first was the indigenous era, which he states lasted at least 15,000 years, where Natives were free to develop their societies in the way they saw fit. The second, the European era, lasted about 100 years and was beset by violent military conquest and horror. The third is the contemporary era—the situation Native Americans currently find themselves in—one

of colonization and non-violent Native protest of discrimination, poverty, and institutionalized racism (Field 2003; Forbes 1971; Starn 2011). Native archaeology is not enough to understand sociocultural ideas of pre-contact Californian tribes; ethnography of the descendants of these tribes, inspired by trust, is the only way to arrive at more substantive understandings of culture (Forbes 1971; Lightfoot 2006).

Writing thirty years later, Starn (2011) echoes Forbes's (1971) argument by examining how early anthropologists based their careers around studying Native Americans in a colonial fashion—mirroring most of the indigenous studies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century around the world. Starn (2011) pays mind to Kroeber's documentation of Ishi and how Kroeber manipulated photographs and evidence to represent his own desires of capturing pre-contact culture through the last surviving member of the Yahi. Due to this, Kroeber failed to record the ways in which the Yahi subsisted off of colonial refuse and used things like glass to make arrowheads and flour sacks to use as thatch (Starn 2011). This study was not isolated in practice and serves as a past embarrassment to the discipline.

Starn (2011) discusses how AIM strained relationships between Natives and anthropologists. However, Native revitalization has created new productive partnerships with anthropologists in a collaborative effort rather than a researcher-subject relationship (Atalay 2012; Field 2003; Field & Leventhal 2003; Natcher & Hickey 2002). There is still a long way to go to decolonize anthropology, though some steps have been taken such as the implementation of the Association of Indigenous Anthropologists as a branch of the American Anthropological Association, the re-gendering of the discipline from mostly male to mostly female, and the growing ethnic diversity of practitioners.

A critique of early scholarship must be made regarding the romanticization and obsession over California Missionization in favor of the Spanish—telling the story from the “winner’s” or “settler’s” perspective, further perpetuating contemporary Native marginalization. “Our idea of what constitutes ‘truth’ changes through time and, as such, requires revision to reflect these changing perceptions of reality” (Skowronek 1998:678). I assert that the history of the Native American experience should be the emphasis of study or referenced at length to balance out scholarly efforts of recounting the past (Lightfoot 2006; Skowronek 1998; Starn 2011). Moreover, notions of the one-way acculturation model have been replaced with evidence of accommodation, syncretism, and transculturation as adaptive strategies used by Natives (Field et al. 2013; Skowronek 1998).

There is an evident need to decolonize anthropology and evaluate longstanding paradigms (Atalay 2012; Darbellay & Stock 2011; Field 2003; Field & Leventhal 2003; Lamphere 2004; Lightfoot 2006; Skowronek 1998; Starn 2011). Lightfoot (2006) argues that the past is made up of multivocal perspectives and it is the job of scholars to assess and approach sites that comprise both colonists and Natives as interdependent entities during Missionization, not one and the other. Moreover, colonial studies essentially operate through the lens of either the colonist or the colonized and not through both simultaneously (Lightfoot 2006). It is this fact that illuminates the pressing issue that there is a monumental amount of knowledge not yet available to anthropological inquiry due to the fact that current methodology and lack of curation of existing artifacts is barring progress (Curtis 2008; Darbellay & Stock 2011; Lightfoot 2006; Parezo 1990). One of the ways this could be remedied is by “...foreground[ing] Native people as the primary object of study and follow their entanglements with various colonial programs and colonial institutions through time” (Lightfoot 2006:285).

## Project Significance

My research employs significant elements of ethnoarchaeology, ethnohistorical landscape analysis, and an evaluation of material culture in order to understand overarching cultural aspects of the Muwekma. The objective is to understand how narratives and collective memories have been maintained and passed down and how they are regarded today. One of my main interests is the study of oral histories and their relationship to place, space, and material objects such as Kuksu-associated pendants. Therefore, my research questions are as follows:

- 1.) *How does the spatial distribution of Kuksu pendants relate to Ohlone oral histories and place-based narratives within them?*
- 2.) *What do these oral histories and related material patterns tell us about Ohlone historical occupations of space/territory?*

The primary goal of this research has been to conduct an investigation of Ohlone narratives and collective memory, as well as review the site reports and literature in order to help facilitate the Muwekma leadership's goal to discover aspects of California's past heritage by focusing on Kuksu-associated pendants, which have been found in distinct Ohlone archaeological assemblages. These abalone artifacts may contribute to their political efforts and cultural revitalization of claiming tenure to places, the decolonization of dissemination of their past, and to provide information on Kuksu—as it has not been widely studied—in order to contribute to understanding the sociocultural complexities of what life was like during pre-colonial times and how it has helped shaped tribes today.

Within the broader discipline of anthropology, this research is significant in that its core purpose is to facilitate a partnership with the Muwekma Tribe, who will be the most affected by

the outcome. The decolonization effort within the discipline is active and thriving, and this research aims to both generate knowledge as well as investigate a topic of importance to the Muwekma. The tribe's ultimate hope is that this research project will contribute to their effort of solidifying the Ohlone/Costanoan aboriginal presence and tribal boundaries within the San Francisco Bay Area by conducting a thorough landscape analysis of the places being contested and that are represented in their oral histories.

### ***A Community-Based Participatory Research Project***

In keeping with the dominant theme of San Jose State University's Applied Anthropology graduate program, my research is not just 'my' research but shared with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe in a collaborative research effort. In order to conduct a community-based participatory research (CBPR) project, the community must be defined so that research goals can be framed (Hacker 2013). Many authors agree that community has diverse characteristics and incorporates social interaction, geographic area, and common ties (Austin 2004; Hacker 2013; Natcher & Hickey 2002; Ratner & Gutierrez 2004; Fast et al. 2013). When defining the community, one must assess whether the defining factor is geographic, nongeographic, or conditional and if the researcher will be working directly with the community or with their representatives. For my purposes, I have worked alongside the Muwekma Tribal Council who act as representatives for the larger tribal coalition (Morris and Luque 2011) who identify as aboriginal to a specific geographic locale—the San Francisco Bay Area.

It is certain that the assumption of power is the death of any project as power dynamics need to be equally dispersed between the academic and the affected community—the people we study need to be just as respected and have just as much as a say as we do in proceedings, otherwise there will be no trust or cooperation (Field 2008). Both parties must decide if the



project is in their mutual interest and if they have enough time to effectively carry it out (Hacker 2013). I have addressed the prospect of this project with the Muwekma Tribal Council who were eager to understand the implications of their spatiotemporal relationship with Kuksu.

The purpose of CBPR is that it is formed locally and that it involves the people who are directly affected by the research rather than segregating the community and leaving lone academics to their own interpretive devices (Austin 2004; Hacker 2013). This research serves as an example of an applied archaeological effort, or community-based archaeology (Atalay 2012), and therefore findings need to be relatable, relevant and understandable; when archaeology is conducted in an applied context, the results can be used to change policy and empower marginalized populations (Brighton 2011; Atalay 2012). Not only that, but archaeology is being reinvented in an applied sense by helping local communities internally connect through common heritage sites and thus expand networks and bridge modern day social prejudices (Brighton 2011; Atalay 2012). Community engagement and heritage management are at the forefront of community-based archaeology, and this fact requires that archaeologists incorporate new methodologies and working skills to satiate local communities' interests and Native American needs (Atalay 2012). It is these reasons that invigorate my project as this research will potentially add to the Muwekma's political arsenal geared toward regaining their federal recognition as well as contribute to their revitalization efforts and connect to each other.

I have worked in collaboration with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Council to bring this project to fruition. During the fall 2017 semester, I was employed by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe to assist in the archaeological excavation of their ancestral dead and cultural resources at the Sunol Water Temple (CA-ALA-565/H). During this fieldwork, I was afforded the opportunity to establish professional relationships with Rosemary Cambra (former Tribal

Chairwoman), Monica V. Arellano (Vice Tribal Chairwoman and co-chair of the Muwekma Language/Education Committee), Norma Sanchez (former Tribal Administrator), Arnold Sanchez (Muwekma Archaeologist), among others. These relationships have proven fruitful as they have fostered the collaboration necessary for the creation of this project. Monica V. Arellano has served as my primary contact and is excited about this research. She hopes it will help explain the context in which Kuksu-associated pendants were placed within the burials of sites currently affiliated with the Muwekma, thereby legitimizing the tribe's aboriginal presence in the San Francisco Bay Area.

My research project relies on multiple avenues of data collection as a way to validate subsequent findings; I have conducted a mixed-methods approach in order to triangulate data and add further credence to my research outcomes. Jick (1979) points out that people are more likely to adopt notions that have been the result of multiple approaches, and if different methods of data collection reach the same consensus, then that consensus is likely valid. Incorporating multiple methods is important as one method may uncover a significant phenomenon which other methods used may have overlooked (Curtis 2008; Jick 1979). For my research, I have employed both quantitative and qualitative data collection strategies in order to understand Kuksu distribution patterns; how they appear spatially (quantitative) and how they are represented in the current worldview of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe (qualitative).

Mixed-method approaches are important, regardless if there is convergence or not, in that they provide different approaches to answer the same question (Jick 1979; Wutich et al. 2009). The lack of convergence may suggest that the way the research question is framed is too simplistic for the phenomenon being studied (landscape cosmology) and thus requires revision. In order to obtain the information needed for this study, I have used a mixed-methods approach

by incorporating various data collection strategies including ethnohistorical research, creating geographic maps highlighting key archaeological sites, and ethnographic interviews to capture oral histories.

### **Project Deliverables**

It was important to have a transparent partnership with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, and Monica V. Arellano (Tribal Vice Chairwoman) and I established a working relationship meant to discuss the deliverables for this research that would be of benefit to the tribe. This relationship was formalized through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between Monica and myself which listed all expectations as well as the agreed upon deliverables derived from this research (see Appendix B). More importantly, the MOU encouraged future partnerships between myself and the tribe on any subsequent publications pertaining to Muwekma oral history research. In addition to this project report that will be published on San Jose State University Department of Anthropology's website, there are two other products (deliverables) intended for the tribe.

The first deliverable is a nonacademic report discussing the findings of the project in a clear and accessible manner for the Muwekma tribal members (see Appendix A). The report conveys the main points of the project along with key findings, and what these findings mean in relation to the cultural, historical and political issues that the tribe faces today. This report is formatted both in print copy as well as in an accessible PDF document which the tribe can do with as they wish.

The second deliverable is a multilayered and interactive map that showcases the archaeological sites around the San Francisco Bay Area that had Kuksu-associated ornaments in their assemblages and that have been associated with the current Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. The

map was created using Google's MyMap software program, and each designation on the map represents an archaeological site, places of significance found within interviews, the three Bay Area Missions, and the boundaries of Muwekma tribal territory. Furthermore, each designation is interactive, and users are able to click on a particular designation to learn more about the associated archaeological sites as well as how these spaces are related to Kuksu. The map is a visual representation of the relationship between landscapes used by the indigenous populations of the Bay Area juxtaposed to landscapes that are important to contemporary Muwekma tribal members. The patterns found can be interpreted as continued land tenure by the cotemporary Muweka members from the aboriginal populations they claim ties to. The map has been formatted to be embedded into their website if they so choose (see Appendix A).

## **CHAPTER 2: ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO IDENTITY**

One of California archaeology's greatest intrigues has been in relation to what early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists refer to as the Kuksu "cult", referring to a secret society amongst central Californian tribal groups. This research project follows a multilateral approach by assessing the appearance of Kuksu in oral histories, mentions in ethnographies, and in archaeological assemblages in order to understand the implications of the dispersal of the Kuksu religion. In this instance, the notion of secret society will both refer to the level of which this religious coalition was hidden away from contemporaneous tribal members as well as the fabrication of the religion in response to white settlers. As a direct byproduct from the Mission experience, many ex-neophytes kept traditional religious practices secret from white settlers, regardless of their intentions, as a way to protect themselves from further abuse and subjugation. It is this reason, amongst others, that scholars are advised to be skeptical and critical of the earliest ethnographic accounts pertaining to Kuksu and other native practices. In order to understand the cultural implications of the Kuksu religion in the past and its impact on the present, I reviewed concepts pertaining to the formation of identity including narrative, collective memory, placemaking, and agency.

### **Narrative**

The concept of narrative has been dissected by many disciplines as a way to delineate identities of individuals, groups, and societies. A prominent scholar of Native California defines identity as "...the constantly transforming, and always incomplete, production of knowledge about the ways of expressing self and social being, under stratified systems of power" (Field 2008:9). In anthropological analysis, narrative often refers to the wealth of oral literature provided by members of a culture and their subsequent transcribed accounts (Brenneis 1988;

Klein 1999). Narrative selection depends on the intended audience and is chosen based on the narrator's predetermined agenda for what they want known and unknown. Furthermore, a narrator's interpretations and chosen theatrics displayed to recount stories represent disembodied and nuanced narratives of sociocultural elements (Ratner 2001; Silverstein & Urban 1996). For example, extreme emphasis may be placed on a particular place in a story, representing its importance in the narrator's culture. Therefore, narrative themes are cultural (Brenneis 1988; Cruikshank 2005; Klein 1999). Cultural qualities can be extracted from verbal accounts as narrative themes are contextualized via overarching cultural elements (Ratner 2001).

An example of the tacit structure of culturally endowed narratives is presented by Ratner (2001) in the setting of a preschool. In this scenario, an instructor notices that a child has poured herself a cup of water in a glass. In response, the instructor approaches the child by saying "that is not a paper cup". The statement alone is not transparent and can be interpreted by an outsider as a mere declaration. However, both the child and the instructor understand the statement as rebuke due to their culturally implicit understanding that young children are unfit to use glass cups due to safety reasons. Tacit roles in cultural contexts are byproducts of embedded sociocultural values, beliefs, roles, and rules that are understood by all cultural participants. Cultural themes are generally concealed in narrative statements and are embedded and formed based on overarching cultural phenomena, such as the emphasis on moral character, what it means to attain morality, and how these values are maintained culturally and how they differ cross-culturally (Ratner 2001)

Narrative is not only the story of the cultural informant, but also the interpretation and subsequent publications by anthropologists. For this research, I emphasized the importance of ethnography and assert that recounting stories is central to the anthropological pursuit of

understanding humanity (Klein 1999). It is imperative to acknowledge ownership over differing narratives in relation to stories, tales, and cultural ideologies. Narratives may differ depending on who is narrating and there may be counter-narratives, which demonstrates the fact that narratives function beyond their essence, especially in the discourse of the oppressed (Cruikshank 2005; Klein 1999; Olwig 1999). Anthropology has recognized and embodied the importance of narrative; fieldwork data and ethnographic accounts are being disseminated based on storytelling characteristics in order to make findings more accessible to larger audiences. Narrative joins events and elements in crafted meaning which is both spatially and temporally ordered (Klein 1999).

Narratives are multifaceted—they can be personal accounts, autobiographical, fictional, nonfictional, folktales, or traditional tales. Narratives can encompass a variety of agendas from communicating ancient ideologies to censoring perceived sacred words to protect or create an unattainable façade of certain narratives. Focusing on the linguistic properties of the Arizona Tewa Tribe, Kroskrity (2009) confers the importance of storytelling and veneration of the heritage language by critically examining the ideological struggle over Tewa storytelling. Kroskrity (2009) discusses how Tewa locals use storytelling to aid with the moral development of children, the transmission of agricultural/ecological knowledge, and the maintenance of the Tewa community. These local narratives are protected and revered but are also susceptible to modification based upon who is delivering the narrative—a common attribute to storytelling and something disdained by Tewa elders. Because of this, storytellers are held accountable if they are viewed as butchering or falsifying traditional accounts, such as sharing stories in English which, considering the translation gap, is highly discouraged by Tewa elders (Kroskrity 2009).

Debates rage between village elders and the younger community about whether traditional Tewa stories should be told in the home or both in the home and in local school systems; elders do not want the stories to be tarnished while the younger generation wants these stories more widely dispersed to aid in heritage revitalization. Kroskrity (2009) explains that elders do not want Tewa culture to vanish, yet they stand firm on their position in the debate and demand that the younger generation take the time to become fluent in the Tewa language and engage more in traditional culture before being allowed to tell the sacred tales. Kroskrity (2009) points out that, unless the younger generation is included and awarded the honor of storytelling, then the traditional Tewa culture is condemned to fade.

### **Collective Memory**

Analyses concerning personal cognition and internalized emotions reveals the influence of cultural engagement on collective memory and how communal acts of remembrance are facilitated by conceptions of national identity (Kelly 1995; White 1999). Collective memory is constructed through evoking emotional responses through communal channels; oral histories and communal landscapes themselves do not automatically elicit emotional responses. However, narrators incorporate metacommunicative signals that dictate the relationships between the information and the audience, as well as the subsequent emotional reactions and aspects of personal internalizations (Klein, 1999; White 1999). Cultural meaning emerges from dialectic relationships between multiple individuals and the social experience. Oral histories and landscapes, therefore, become ingrained in sociocultural meaning when their narrators evoke a strong sense of inclusion of individual audience members, creating a collective experience (Cruikshank 2005; White 1999). The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe have a longstanding affinity with the San Francisco Bay Area that is evident in their past and present oral histories as well as their



continued residence on the landscapes of their ancestors. This geographic locale, coupled with the tribe's collective memory pertaining to the area in ways of tangible landmarks, cosmological relations, and archaeological evidence, facilitates notions of longstanding occupation on the landscape. This premise allows for my research on the Kuksu-associated pendants found on these venerated landscapes and helped me extrapolate on how this material evidence relates the contemporary Muwekma to particular places and other longstanding neighboring tribes as a way to triangulate precolonial tenure to the Bay Area.

Nation-making depends upon historical narratives that establish a societal connection to the place and space in which a given society resides and forms relations (White 1999). This collective identity is maintained through the repetition and institutionalization of collective historical narratives, creating relationships between individuals via similar emotional responses and the spatial locales where unique historical accounts reside (Kelly 1995; White 1999). Collective memory functions symbolically and is constructed by narratives with the intention of creating a strong sense of national camaraderie, facilitated by cultural forms and powerful media outlets (Kelly 1995; Silverstein & Urban 1996; White 1999). Moreover, the ways in which self-narratives and national narratives interrelate contributes to how national solidarity comes to be and maintains itself through generational and cultural shifts (White 1999). Furthermore, the institutionalization of national historical narratives serves as a conduit for individual allegiance and further social solidarity (Silverstein & Urban 1996).

How we see the past is not an objective enterprise, but rather socially constructed by contemporary values, such as creating a sense of heritage and legitimacy. Olwig (1999) argues that the past is not a free resource, and that the heritage movement is ethically unsound in that it is exclusive when selecting which sites to preserve, motivated by the tourism industry and

heritage politics. Furthermore, the populations who are assumed to represent/be the descendants of the culture to which the heritage movement sets its sights feel pressures to be performative in their day-to-day lives for tourists and researchers. Olwig (1999) uses examples from the African Caribbean on the island of St. John where two conflicting narratives have dictated how people understand the history of the island. The earlier notion communicated that the island was a peaceful, inclusive community of moral economic exchange was replaced by an exclusive island only inhabited by defiant ex-slaves (Olwig 1999). These two narratives were crafted by the sociopolitical state at the time, the first being in hopes of sustaining moral, inclusive family land holdings; the second regarding the 1733 slave uprising. Olwig (1999) points out that these are two valid points of view, but only one can become the dominant discourse, and that is usually chosen by an external political entity whose motives can vary from promoting tourism, creating exoticism for study, or for petitioning for basic human rights and land holdings.

Francaviglia (2000) attests to how the appreciation of American history and its landscape has increased throughout time, represented by universal interest and preservationist legislation. Not only is American heritage a growing curiosity, but heritage tourism has superseded agriculture and industry in gross revenue in many different parts of the country; heritage tourism constitutes over half of all American tourism, which is valued at \$344 billion (Francaviglia 2000). The American past is a romanticized fascination among citizens and visitors alike and is exploited by the desire to experience the physicality of what once was through heritage landscapes. Moreover, historic landscapes typify modern romantic perceptions of the past and use this emotional connection with consumers to drive the heritage tourism market; some of these include historic buildings untouched since their construction, aside from minor repairs and rehabilitation efforts. Furthermore, created structures are not the only landmarks that qualify as

historic sites, but natural ones as well as they are associated with Native American and pioneer culture. These landscapes are depicted as frozen in time and serve as a massive historical artifact which are actively consumed through the tourism industry (Francaviglia 2000). Because the preservation of these landscapes are inspired by capitalist benefit, the question of whether or not historical landscapes are accurate depictions of the past or if they are manipulated to satiate romantic notions in order to accrue profit must be considered. Heritage tourism markets have the capability to modify heritage landscapes and allow tourist expectations to trump genuine historical facts and these pressing expectations influence the themes of marketed historical landscapes (Francaviglia 2000; Olwig 1999).

Native American revitalization has forced many tribes to be exclusive in order to emphasize their unique cultural attributes to market themselves, even though many tribes have historically been inclusive when creating kin-like ties. This phenomenon is observable in California tribes' quest for federal recognition, especially when trying to conform to the BIA's stringent Criteria for Federal Acknowledgement which demands that tribes display the continuity of a solitary, collective unit in a specific locality from 1900 into the present day (Office of Federal Acknowledgement 1997). These seven criteria encourage the political autonomy of tribes, something that favors Western conceptions of governance over others that may have been more inclusive prior to the recognition process, especially in instances of intermarriage, trade, and collective governance (Stoffle & Zedeno 2001). Not only that, but tribal descendants may feel pressured to illustrate a stereotypical "Indian" appearance and organization of peoples to try and prove that their candidacy for federal recognition is legitimate, further illustrating the lasting legacies of racist ideologies and policies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Placemaking

The way in which collective memory is related to place is a phenomenon found all over the world from the Greeks revering Mount Olympus as the home of the gods to the Mayans' cryptic depiction of the underworld based on vast labyrinths beneath and connecting sacred cenotes. Places help give context to cultural development which is especially evident when evaluating indigenous worldview. Cruikshank (1997) explores and analyzes the sacred and ancient stories told by Tlingit elders at the Yukon Storytelling Festival, an event that began in 1988 and encouraged indigenous groups from around Canada to share their sacred stories with others.

Austin Hammond, a senior Tlingit elder, emphasizes the importance of the Taku River by paying tribute to the sockeye salmon in both narrative and material culture. Cruikshank (1997) paints a vivid picture of Hammond during his presentation as she describes him as holding up a ceremonial robe depicting the image of a sockeye salmon—a crucial food source of the Tlingit found in the Taku River. Cruikshank (1997) relays the story as some young men on a boat that capsized in the center of the lake, and one of the men was swallowed by a giant sockeye salmon. The story is multipurpose; first, it teaches the younger generations to respect the lake as it is crucial to their survival as the primary source of food and water. Second, and most importantly for my purposes, it represents historical Tlingit connections to place by way of the cultural adaptations to the space and its subsequent indoctrination into their metaphysical cosmology.

Field (2008) discusses the cultural importance of abalone to northern California tribes including the Muwekma (San Francisco Bay Area), the Wiyot (Humboldt Bay), the Central Coastal Pomo (Mendocino and Sonoma Counties), the Karuk (Siskiyou County), the Hupa and the Yurok (Humboldt County). His area of study stretches as far south as Monterey to the

California-Oregon border along the coast and looks for spatial representations of abalone found in oral traditions as well as material culture. Field (2008) finds that, like Kuksu, the persona of Abalone Woman is present in many tribal oral traditions, but she does not play the same role in each of these cosmological stories. Although, there are some universals to the tale, such as the emphasis on domestic violence against Abalone Woman and her resistance to it, abalone as being regarded as the First Creature of the sea, and the adaption of the abalone shell to create ceremonial regalia, which is its own sentient being. “The story in its numerous forms relates the origin of abalone and why abalone is found in only certain very specific areas of this coast” (Field 2008:152). The culmination of the stories of Abalone Woman refer to tangible landmarks found along the coast, such as Patrick’s Point and Shelter Cove as the formation of and resting place of abalone in its modern form. Not only is Field’s (2008) study important in understanding relationships to places like the coast through the cosmological exploitation of abalone, but it is essential for the cultural revivification efforts of many contemporary tribal entities that seek to have a better understanding of the practices of their ancestors. Field (2008) uses this pan-regional study of abalone to understand the larger trade, marriage, and other networks prevalent among northern California tribes pre and post contact and what that means for tribal bodies today.

It is vital to understand that humans have an overwhelmingly complex relationship to landscapes, leading to the subsequent desire to preserve them (Alanen 2000; Franclaviglia 2000; Melnick 2000; Schuyler & O’Donnell 2000). This preservation impulse speaks to the universal human curiosity of our collective past and its physical impressions left to later generations. Melnick (2000) stresses how history emphasizes human continuity and therefore stability--a trait many favor over change. Moreover, landscapes are generationally dynamic and their desirability feeds directly into their sustainability. Nature and culture do not simply reside on opposite ends

of the spectrum, but rather coexist on the landscape as an amalgamation of perceptions, emotions, and ascribed meanings. Because of this, landscape ideology requires clarification over simplification—landscape relationships are incredibly complex and need to be regarded as such; landscapes are both breathing and dynamic, and that the propensity of change should be represented in historical landscape marketing rather than reifying one single point in time (Franclaviglia 2000). Additionally, landscapes facilitate multiple perspectives and showcase changes temporally and through resident and foreign resource acquisition; these ties can be inferred as ethnographic in nature (Melnick 2000).

Considering the historic formation of the American West, Dubrow (2000) introduces the convoluted assessment of Asian American cultural landscapes, as many of these immigrants seldom made distinguishable imprints on the landscape. The lack of occupation evidence is due to the fact that Asian American immigrants usually modified pre-standing or characteristically American structures for practical occupation. Company towns affiliated with Pacific American Fisheries in Washington are used as an example of this point, and photographs found in the special collections of the University of Washington Libraries illustrate Asian American's physical dwellings of the time period (Dubrow 2000). These photos show how workers rented houses from companies but supplemented them with practical attachments such as subsistence gardens. These gardens are of interest because they display the supplemented foodways of these marginalized communities; their Japanese or Chinese liaisons only came once a month to deliver food supplies such as rice, miso, tofu, and meats (Dubrow 2000). These towns have long been destroyed, but physical traces still remain on the landscape such as housing foundations and tree stumps.

Many Asian American hubs were not denoted by cultural iconography such as statues or symbols, which further complicates contemporary understandings of what buildings served what purpose and where (Dubrow 2000). Moreover, the interiors of certain buildings speak a wealth of information assuming that researchers are properly equipped with the knowledge necessary to recognize them, such as wood-stoves designed to hold large woks which illustrates common foodway practice. Dubrow (2000) asserts that many of these features can only be recognized through research done in library special collections and through interviews capturing the oral histories of descendant populations.

Hardesty (2000) defines ethnographic landscapes as places that embody cultural practices and beliefs and uses the Navajo's cultural tie to Canyon de Chelly National Monument to illustrate how the Navajo have traditional as well as spiritual ties to the area. Not only that, but certain places on the landscape are directly mentioned in Navajo origin stories and spiritual events and contain important resources required for rituals, health, and wellness. Where the Navajo see land imbued with immense cultural meaning, tourists to this location do not and visit for its aesthetics. Hardesty (2000) describes places such as Canyon de Chelly as ethnographic landscapes because they embody the Navajo's ideological beliefs, morals and values shared by the culture. Moreover, ethnographic landscapes reflect continued dependence in order to perpetuate ideological agency, showcasing the landscapes dynamism into contemporary tribal life. Hardesty (2000) asserts that the protection of these ethnographic landscapes is imperative in the cultural resource management effort, and current federal laws can be extended to these natural lands as well as collaborating with Native groups and educating the public of their importance.

Many cultural landscapes are mistakenly perceived as natural by lay persons and, ergo, untouched by human intervention (Toupal et al. 2001). However, many seemingly “sterile” landscapes are culturally affiliated with indigenous groups and rely on certain cultural lifeways to maintain healthy ecosystems. By understanding that many landscapes rely on human intervention to succeed, Toupal and colleagues (2001) believe that productive and proactive stewardship partnerships can be formed to maintain both the natural landscape as well as persistent social systems. To date, the majority of collaborative efforts between local tribes and cultural consultants has pertained to the preservation of artifacts and other material objects. However, as the number of projects has increased, so too has the realization that there are other commodities that retain equal cultural value to local tribes beyond material manifestations such as plants, animals, minerals, landforms, water, and even air (Toupal et al. 2001).

Cultural landscapes are not easily defined and generally lack material evidence or overt human modifications to landscape. Due to this, it is imperative that researchers, consultants, and tribal entities enter into collaboration for all projects surrounding the area of interest; tribal groups may have important information regarding these landscapes in their oral traditions or other sources that are significant additions to understanding these landscapes holistically. In their landscape study with the Nellis Air Force Base’s Native American Interaction Program, Toupal and colleagues (2001) observed how tribal partners (Southern Paiute, Western Shoshone, Owens Valley Paiute, and Mohave ethnic groups) were able to observe cultural landscapes mnemonically and could recall oral histories, recognize familiar landscape features, and relate resources to traditional practices more thoroughly than if asked the same questions in another location. Furthermore, patterns in cultural affinities to these landscapes were shared by all of the tribes consulted. Pan-ethnic cultural themes allow land managers to perceive the landscape in



ways that were once not observable. This is important when considering that recommendations made by these managers could affect the ebb-and-flow of local tribal lifeways (Toupal et al. 2001). Ideological ties to places surpass arbitrary spatial boundaries; cultural landscapes are developed from specific ceremonial and secular uses and are illustrated in oral histories and patterns of resource acquisitions. Not only that, but cultural landscapes embody generational shifts and are an important historic resource, reminding us that the only constant in life is change. Landscapes, as they are now, need to be studied and understood in order to comprehend how they have changed and how they continue to change (Schuyler & O'Donnell 2000).

Native oral histories pertaining to place rests on the frontier of interdisciplinary inquiries regarding associated landscapes. Stoffle and Zedeno (2001) avow that societies are able to recollect critical events over millennia through repeated oral transmissions. Oral histories are not meant as leisure past times, but as the foundational structure in which elders assist the next generation in ordering their everyday lives and concepts of identity. As testament, contemporary Paiute descendants are able to recollect the use and meaning of archaeologically excavated materials, even though those materials are no longer in circulation (Stoffle & Zedeno 2001). These descriptions can help give context to items found that would otherwise be indiscernible. The Southern Paiute have no concept of a different origination of their ancestors, or that they had migrated to their current location from another land. Likewise, surrounding tribal groups have no mention of being conquered by the Southern Paiute and remember them as always being their neighbors, showcasing their continued tenure on landscapes within the Great Basin (Stoffle & Zedeno 2001). It is unfortunate that tribal voices are not routinely utilized when working to discover the past of a particular area. Tribes maintain rich oral traditions that can serve as a prominent framework for archaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnological research.

Ethnic frontiers are not as simple as the early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists' tribelet models and do not reflect accurate past cultural boundaries; these short-sighted and destructive legacies continue to plague native populations. Ergo, Paiute peoples are also Hopi, and Hualapai are also Paiute; contemporary ethnic divisions represent colonial structures many California tribes face. The Hualapai and the Paiute share the same land-based cosmological afterlife story, the "Salt Song Trail", which attests that the road to the afterlife is along both sides of the Colorado River (Stoffle & Zedeno 2001). Likewise, the Hopi and Southern Paiute spoke mutually intelligible languages, had the same creation stories, and shared affinities to the same geographic spaces. Elders from both tribes discuss their precolonial interactions with one another through the sharing of songs, dances, social gatherings. Native groups do not associate identity with which tribal entity they belong to, but rather to the land where they predominately reside. Everything associated with a person is also associated with the tangible landscape where they live (Stoffle & Zedeno 2001). Collaboration between researchers and tribal entities can result in a more holistic vision of North American history.

There are two overarching perspectives that constitute archaeological landscape theory. The processual-born perspective suggests that cultures are dictated based on their environment (Binford 1962) and that culture manifests as people adapt to their surroundings. The evolution of this view has translated into the multidisciplinary pursuits that praise quantitative analyses (mapping, surveying, etc) of landscapes and their archaeological sites (Kluiving & Guttman-Bond 2012). The post-processual view asserts that cultures are not predicted by environment, and that different people make sense of and order their environments based on context and their preexisting conceptions of time, space, and culture (Kluiving & Guttman-Bond 2012). Currently, landscape archaeology is a fusion of the two views: on one hand, landscapes are

imperative to understand quantitatively (processual) and need to be documented and mapped to show spatial relationships. On the other hand, it is just as important to be qualitative (post-processual) and to understand how past peoples utilized their environments, and how those landscapes retain reflections on how past peoples interacted with them (Kluiving & Guttman-Bond 2012).

Sovereignty over a geographical place is the most common issue when addressing tribal rights, and some federally recognized tribes are afforded spaces that are not their aboriginal homeland (Biolsi 2005). Furthermore, territorially based rights to off-reservation resources requires co-management among neighboring tribes and/or the federal government. Imagined boundaries on the indigenous landscape are difficult for Native Americans as their government-granted sovereignty over a particular landscape may not be appropriate or even beneficial; many of these historical land grants were often deemed unfit for the rest of American society (Biolsi 2005). However, even though these landscapes may not serve as culturally significant, they are still spaces contemporary tribes can utilize, adapt to, and bestow with new cultural significance—an opportunity many Native American groups do not have.

### **Agency**

Not only is collective memory represented in narratives, heritage displays, and place, but also in the materials left behind by tribal ancestors. Material culture serves as a source of contemporary agency as tribal revitalization has flourished and members have sought to connect to their collective past (Field & Leventhal 2003; Gleeson et al. 2012). Feathers are regarded as one of the main material items that epitomize Native Californian identity in the way that they represent tribal values, cultural adaptations, and ceremonial uses (Gleeson et al. 2012). Additionally, important cultural shifts in response to colonialism are represented in the changes

in feather-work, an area that has not been well covered by anthropology, ethnology, or history. Gleeson and colleagues (2012) argue that all contexts of feather-work should be documented, curated, and disseminated to understand the cultural changes and variances of Native Californians in collaboration with descendants. Not only do tribal descendants inform scholars on the cultural significance of the objects themselves but are able to advise museums on proper curation techniques as many feathers are subject to lighting and storage flaws that compromises their integrity (Gleeson et al 2012). Different feathers represent various ideologies and social statuses, and the availability of material and foreign feathers can speak to extensive trade networks and conceptions of cross-tribal camaraderie. Tribal revitalization facilitates descendant adaptations to traditional practices (manufacturing regalia) and allows them to incorporate their contemporary ideologies into their material culture via their feather-work and other items.

Hodder (2012) introduces the convoluted nature of the variety of ways in which people have relationships to things, how things have relationships to other things, and how things have relationships to people by considering levels of dependences and subsequent dependencies (i.e. entanglements). Human dependence on things solidifies the idea that no person can be unmaterialistic because we live our lives, express ourselves, and are influenced by things. Things are not necessarily material, they can be in the form of plants, domesticated animals, abstract ideas, and landscapes (Toupal et al. 2001). Hodder (2012) refers to dependence as the medium through which people orient and conduct themselves in society—how people need things to interact with those around them and perform their daily activities. All societies operate in a human-constructed environment, and when those constructions require repairs, people become entrapped by the time and effort invested, creating new contexts in which society adapts. Hodder (2012) asserts that entanglements are heterogenous and directional, changing when pressures are

applied, or new opportunities present themselves on the existing entanglements. Things give meaning to people's lives and people giving meaning to things, endowing them with their own personal agency.

The items found in archaeological assemblages in the Bay Area enable current Muwekma members who believe their ancestors are from the area to connect with and claim ownership over the tangible items and the land on which they were found. One of the ways tribes connect with their ancestors is by referring to the prehistoric items found where their indigenous homelands are—the items that once served their ancestors as societal frameworks are now incorporated into the entanglements of their descendants. The dependence on the prehistoric artifacts that the contemporary Muwekma have is different from that of their originators, serving as a testament to Hodder's (2012) concept of directionality in that different entanglements change the narrative of things. Items such as mortars and pestles that were once used for utilitarian purposes are now the symbols of advocacy for recognition for contemporary tribal groups. Furthermore, it can be argued that the dependence current groups have formed with past things can be interpreted as a dependency in the way that the same technology is celebrated and replicated as an aesthetic of their culture rather than improved upon to be used in daily life. Currently, the Muwekma tribal leadership is in the process of teaching children how to make jewelry with abalone shells as a way to provide a hands-on experience in connecting with their cultural heritage (Arellano, personal communication). Things corral people together into heterogenous entanglements, and the things that give Native descendants a sense of camaraderie with each other and their ancestors introduce a new type of dependence, an extension of their current entanglement which seeks to incorporate precolonial customs into their 21<sup>st</sup> century lives (Hodder 2012).

The oppression of Native Americans in the wake of colonialism provided them with a different context to relate to one another in which deeper, emotional connections were formed and maintained until the present. Narratives of resistance and survival discourses (White 1999) operate as a means of cultural expression and provide an important framework for anthropological analysis in how power relations govern collective identities, heritage management, and marginalization (Olwig 1999). Cultural persistence and collective struggles experienced by Bay Area Native Americans are evident through the archaeological record (Arkush 2011) and ethnohistorical information from three historic California Missions (Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). Though Natives were indoctrinated into the Catholic Church and were expected to act in a particular way, many traditional values were maintained and passed on to subsequent generations—which were communicated privately (Lightfoot 2006; Mullins 1999; Voss 2005). The Natives grew accustomed to manipulating the colonial system for their own potential gains as a way to maintain personal agency and exploit the new social mobility (Lightfoot 2005; Arkush 2011; Schneider & Panich 2019).

The Franciscan Mission system classified Natives into two main categories, the *gente sin razon* (people without reason) and the *gente de razon* (people with reason) (Lightfoot 2006). Only the *gente de razon* would be eligible for placement in the social mobility and residence within the Mission walls—the alternative was death. Once indoctrinated, the Padres assigned neophytes to a spot within the Mission hierarchy. Depending on behavior and length of time in the Mission, neophytes could ascend to different ranks of prestige and be entitled to better or more food, better clothing, and recognized roles (Lightfoot 2006). Different Missions implemented different hierarchical structures, with some Missions ascending neophytes who had no elite associations prior to colonization as overseers while other Missions kept traditional tribal

leaders at the top as *alcaldes*, or Mission administrators that could deliver punishment if neophytes misbehaved (Lightfoot 2006). Natives who entered into Missions with established prestige retained their influence clandestinely within the social hierarchy of their tribe and neophytes participated in a dual-hierarchical order split between traditional lifeways and the Franciscan order (Lightfoot 2006).

Many neophytes explored ways to thrive and immerse themselves in the colonial hierarchy in the presence of the priests to avoid colonial retaliation and further subjugation—acting differently in the public sphere versus the private sphere. The private sphere emphasized how Natives retained their traditional ways viewed archaeologically via technology (chipped stone, ground stone, shell ornaments, bone tools) and foodways (faunal/botanical remains); ethnohistorical accounts are derived from colonial diaries detailing how indigenous neophytes generally served as laborers for the Missions yet continued to practice their cultural traditions (Arkush 2011; Field 2003; Lightfoot 2005; Schneider & Panich 2019; Skowronek 1998). Moreover, many Natives were relocated from neighboring areas which afforded a greater sense of agency for those who were familiar with the local landscapes and would work with and against colonial systems in order to remain close to these areas (Schneider & Panich 2019).

The creolization process into a bicultural lifeway—negotiating with cultural modifications and adaptations in response to colonial forces—was a difficult feat for many indigenous people, especially with the constant suppression of their worldviews. However, impressive resiliency is displayed in the evidence found at the Missions and is testament to the contemporary solidarity found among current tribes. While past acts of horrendous subjugation of Natives are no longer condoned in contemporary society, tribes remain politically oppressed

and silenced by those in power, banding them by the common attribute of subjugation which is drawn from their collective past and related to their current struggles.

### **Summary**

This chapter has explored anthropological approaches to the formation of identity by reviewing concepts of narrative, collective memory, placemaking, and agency. Narrative relates to an individualized experience that is both internalized through perception and externalized through story-telling and other forms of communication related to interpretation of events. Collective memory discusses the convoluted ways in which individuals relate to others through nation-making, heritage, and shared tribulations. Placemaking details how people and communities relate to the spaces around them while agency explores past and present relationships to material culture and resilience in the face of oppression. Understanding these approaches to the formation of identity is important when discussing complex religious systems such as Kuksu and how it impacted past societies as well as how it relates to contemporary ones. Chapter 3 discusses the different ways the story of Kuksu was told to anthropologists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The variations in Kuksu's role can change depending on the interpretation of the story-tellers, the collective experience of each tribe, the areas in which the stories are being told, and the cultural needs that the Kuksu-figure fulfilled. Kuksu was more than just a religious figure; Kuksu had an expansive religious following and constituted a cosmological identity for those involved in northern California. The regalia found in archaeological contexts associated with the religion continues to have an impact on contemporary Muwekma Ohlone tribal members' conception of identity as these tangible items establish a more intimate connection with the indigenous populations of the Bay Area which the Muwekma claim ties to.



### CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand the implications of the Kuksu religion on past and present tribal communities, this research has approached the topic diachronically. Kuksu-associated pendants appear as early as AD 900 and can be found up until AD 1700 (Bennyhoff 1977). The first written account of ceremonial practices resembling what we now know as Kuksu began in 1579 (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998) and continued until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In order to understand the religion through time, this chapter begins by discussing written accounts of the Kuksu amidst colonialism, the influential Ghost Dance, mentions by early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists, the material manifestations of Kuksu, and introduces six archaeological sites in which these Kuksu artifacts appear in the Bay Area.

#### Persistence in the Face of Colonialism (1542-1868)

The current working assumption is that the Kuksu religion was active and thriving between 1100AD – 1600AD based on N-series abalone pendants evidenced from the Phase I-Late Period (Cambra et al. 2014).

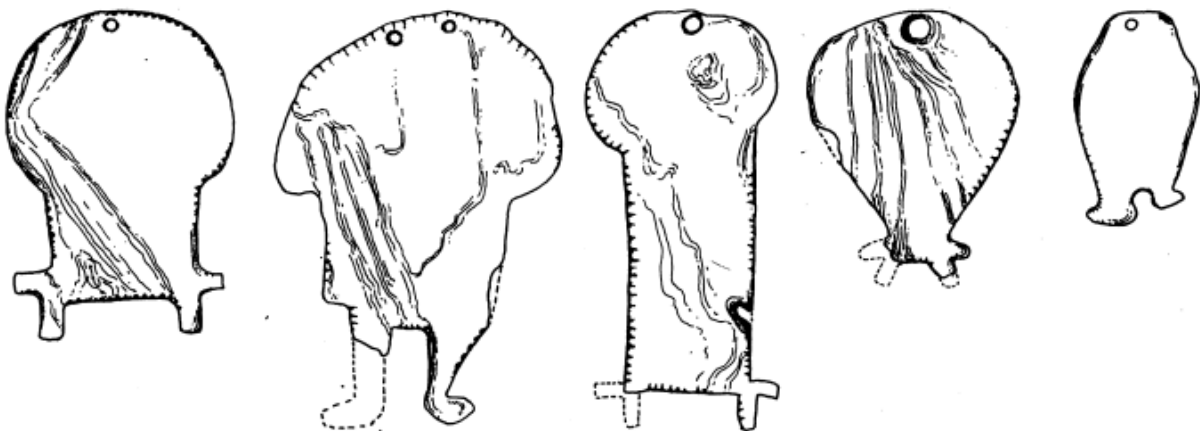


Figure 1: N-Series pendant illustrations (Gifford 1947: 80).

This time frame would mean that the apparent dissolve of the precolonial religion would have coincided with initial European explorations of California, or what Lightfoot (2006) deems the first of three pulses of colonialism. In this framework, the first pulse of colonialism (1542-1603) was constituted by rudimentary European explorations that experienced little contentious contact and instead ventured to scout California's frontier resources. At this stage, minimal attention would have been given to rigorously cataloguing and describing California tribal behavior apart from the captains logs of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century sea voyages (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998; Russell 2009).

Many scholars believe that the modern Ghost Dance and Bole Maru Cults are a derivation of the more ancient Ghost Dance and related Kuksu Ceremony (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998; Barrett 1917; Loeb 1926, 1932; Meighan & Riddell 1972). The Kuksu Ceremony was a healing ritual that included big head dancers (those illustrated with great headdress) who performed curing rites over ill patients by blowing on them with a bone whistle or prodding them with a black staff (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). The protohistoric Ghost Dance was a mourning ritual for the dead and related to the Kuksu Ceremony which was documented first hand during the sea voyage of Francis Drake in 1579—the Drake chronicles (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). These visual accounts detailed by Drake were corroborated through the early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists' ethnographic accounts of Coast Miwok and Pomo peoples conducted by Loeb, Gifford, and Kroeber (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998).

The Drake chronicles illustrated that the crew received a gift of a black plume of feathers upon arrival from indigenous greeters; these described plumes were similar to the ceremonial bundles used in the Kuksu dance observed by the early ethnographers (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). Furthermore, it is noted that a hundred men visited Drake's encampment dressed in

ceremonial regalia that has been associated with Kuksu such as a black scepter, disc bead necklaces (N-series abalone pendants), a variety of feathers, and the painting of each man as equally black and white (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). Black and white are colors associated with Kuksu and Ghost Dance ceremonies as white is understood to represent the sacred while black represents death in Numic cosmology (Garfinkel 2018). It is assumed that the Coast Miwok acted in this way when the European settlers arrived as they thought the ship's crew was their loved ones returning from the dead, and the Kuksu and Ghost Dance ceremonies were associated with sickness, death, and divine intervention (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). The Kuksu impersonators were, perhaps, trying to heal the returned dead loved ones, while the Ghost Dancers mourned their departure back to Mexico; these ceremonies allowed the Coast Miwok a framework in which to make sense of these first contact voyagers (Lightfoot & Simmons 1998). In a complementary study, Russell (2009) archaeologically examines Spanish contact evidence of these sea voyages as they appear in Coast Miwok archaeological assemblages. Items such as porcelain shards and iron spikes may represent abstract, cosmological affinities to this initial encounter rather than salvaged for solely utilitarian use, especially if the crew was greeted in a grandiose fashion (Russell 2009).

The second pulse of colonialism (1769-1840) refers to the colonization of California by the Spanish and Russians by way of the Franciscan Missions and Colony Ross—a prominent fur trade outpost. While the Missions set to indoctrinate the Native populations into Spanish way of life and convert them into Hispanic peasants, the mercantile colonies depended on the Natives as a source of cheap labor and did not attempt enculturation (Lightfoot 2005). Missions notoriously set strict regimes for all neophytes and forced them into manual labor, church activities, and disrupted traditional orientations to space as a way to shift their worldview to be more

“civilized.” However, what resulted was the renegotiation of what it meant to be “Indian” in the Missions, and the formation of new, multipolar kin networks with other tribes forced into the same predicament (Lightfoot 2005). Meanwhile, the tribes affiliated with Colony Ross in the mercantile trade were afforded much more autonomy as they were encouraged to live on their ancestral lands and continue traditional lifeways as long as these practices did not get in the way of profits (Lightfoot 2005). This contrast of the attempts of enculturating Native tribes in California would set the precedent for those tribes who would receive the attention of prominent anthropologists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as those who achieved federal recognition.

Lightfoot’s (2006) third pulse of colonialism (1840s-) acknowledges the enormous influx of white settlers in response to tales of gold and frontier lands. This pulse is the most devastating as state-sanctioned slaughter of Native Americans was encouraged and carried out in horrific numbers. “For every Indian alive in California today there used to be 8 before the white man came” (Platt 2011:49); 95% of the entire native population in California had died within 150 years. These mass murders were endorsed and even encouraged by the United States government with an incentive of cash payment for Native American scalps, heads, or other means of proving their death (Platt 2011). In a 14-year period (1850-1864), 56 massacres took place in Humboldt County alone (Platt 2011). The combination of the Mission system as well as the authorization of mass genocide would serve as the foundational framework for the dehumanization of Native American communities that permeated the minds of white settlers. Furthermore, it would be these dwindling numbers of Native people that attracted early California anthropologists as they romanticized what precolonial life must have been like, a bias that would have a lasting legacy on the conceptions of what it means to be a legitimate tribe in the eyes of academia as well as federal law.

## **The Ghost Dance (1869 – 1890)**

Considering all three pulses of colonialism, Native Californians had to engineer creative ways to maintain their autonomous identities as well as develop survival techniques in a time where their ultimate extermination was sought. Warren (2015) makes mention of the first wave of the Ghost Dance and refers to it as the Paiute Round Dance as a response to the oppressive regime that had besieged the Native American community for the last century. The first wave of the Ghost Dance was introduced in 1869 and was proponed by the prophet Wodziwob, a Northern Paiute healer (Thornton 1986). Wodziwob proclaimed the resurrection of deceased Native Americans in tandem with the engulfment of white oppressors by the Earth itself, which can be interpreted as a response to the inhumane treatment experienced by the Natives from the whites (Warren 2015). Although his prophecy did not come true, Wodziwob's influence did not die with him in 1872, but left a lasting legacy on Tavibo, one of his followers, and Tavibo's son, Wovoka.

In 1889, the second wave of the Ghost Dance emerged with Wovoka (also known as Jack Wilson) as the following's prophet (Thornton 1986; Warren 2015).



**Figure 2:** Jack Wilson (Wovoka), Paiute leader of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Photo courtesy of I Love Ancestry.

This resurgence seems to have adopted many of the rituals from the first wave and further popularized the movement's tenets of proper behavior and emphasis on fraternal dance and tribal camaraderie. The Ghost Dance generated a mass following throughout thirty Native American reservations in the West. The white press referred to this new religion as the "Messiah Craze" or "Ghost Dance," making it obvious that this phenomenon was making a mark on settlers and white media (Thornton 1986; Warren 2015). Authorities also referred to the religion as a "dance craze," as the main ritualistic component comprised of a group of people joining hands in a ring and dancing in a clockwise motion. At the end of this dance, some members report visions of peaceful meetings with "the Father and his Son," deceased loved ones, and picturesque images of landscapes unscathed by white settlers; where Native Americans were the only inhabitants living peacefully amongst one another (Warren 2015). The Ghost Dance emphasized precolonial society where Native Americans retained full autonomy and had access to abundant resources,

and that this life would again be attainable once the new millennium came (Meighan & Riddell 1972). In the meantime, Native Americans were encouraged to integrate into white society via wage-labor jobs and other activities in order to survive.

The Ghost Dance has been regarded as one of the first widespread Native American revitalization efforts and is believed to have been the impetus to the revival of and/or the emphasis of reverberating the Kuksu religion in northern California (Gifford 1927). According to Meighan and Riddell (1972), the introduction of nativistic movements are the byproduct of acculturation; where one domineering force is oppressing another, the response is to formulate nativistic movements centered on revivalistic efforts to incite camaraderie in the oppressed community (Thornton 1986). The 1870's Ghost Dance was in response to the oppressive white colonialism and was adopted and adapted into many different localities and its ideologies operationalized through the revitalization of antiquated ceremonies important to the demographic cosmology of particular tribes (Meighan & Riddell 1972; Thornton 1986). Furthermore, Warren (2015) implies that the prophet Wovoka instructed his followers to engage in wage-labor and to not deny working for the white man, joining precolonial revitalization and conceptions of personal agency with contemporary issues and the increasingly inescapable capitalistic economy. Warren (2015) cautions the binary descriptions of Native Americans and encourages scholars to understand that many Native people confounded their experiences and made efforts to retain their aboriginal identity as well as exist and try to thrive in the society in which they were living. The Ghost Dance emphasized the amalgamation of traditional values with contemporary social structures by respecting precolonial life while urging modern Native Americans to find ways to survive in modern society. It would be after the widespread establishment of the Ghost Dance

and subsequent Kuksu revitalization efforts that the early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists would arrive in California to conduct their research.

### **Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Descriptions and Mentions of Kuksu**

One of the earliest and most comprehensive analyses of the Kuksu religion was undertaken by E.M. Loeb in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his 1932 publication *The Western Kuksu Cult*, Loeb (1932) attempts to reconstruct for the reader the mythological implications and ritual manifestations of Kuksu as it appears throughout the Northern Pomo, Kato (Cahto), Coast Yuki, Huchnom, Yuki, Wailaki, Southern Pomo, Wappo, Coast Miwok, Lake Miwok, and the Southeastern Pomo, with considerations of the Costanoan and Salinian tribes (Loeb 1932).

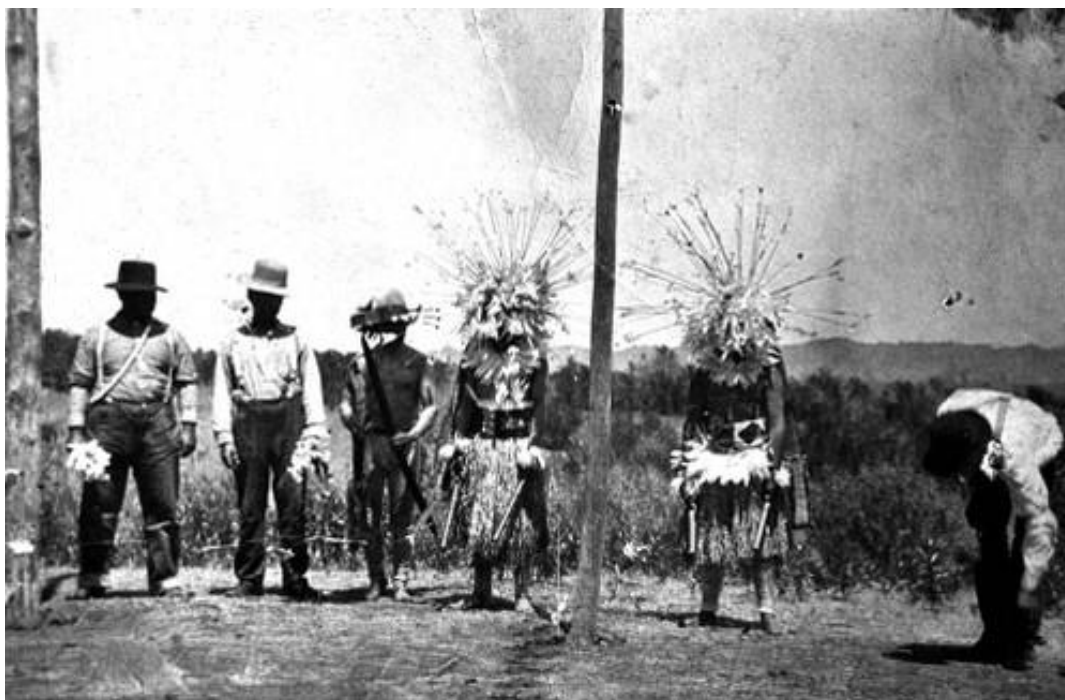


## Native California Tribes



**Map 1:** Native California tribes with emphasis on E.M. Loeb's (1932) area of study.

Loeb (1932) details the parallels and patterns of creation stories expressed to him and other early anthropologists, such as Barrett (1917), Kroeber (1925) and Gifford (1926;1927). Relating to Kuksu, the Northern Pomo did not consider Coyote the creator of the world, but Kuksu (referred to here as *Dasan*) and his father *Makila*. Loeb (1932) goes on to say that *Makila* made man and left Kuksu behind to tend to humanity and is depicted as a feathered “big head” figure.



**Figure 3:** Big head dancers at Stony Ford Rancheria c. 1914-17. Northeastern Pomo and Patwin.

The Wappo believed that the creator of the world was Chicken Hawk, Coyote's grandson and that the original world was destroyed by a great flood and was then rebuilt by Coyote. For the Wappo, Kuksu is associated with the moon and gave Coyote the ability to make man functional. The Kuksu Ceremony was performed once a year during the summer if illness besieged the village, and the Southern Pomo and Wappo used the same song in the Kuksu Ceremony (Loeb 1932). The Coast Miwok (whose culture and belief systems were shared with the northern Ohlone tribal groups) believed that Coyote was the creator of mankind and that his brother was Chicken Hawk and his wife was Frog. Prior to the creation of humanity, a bird race populated the planet, however, Coyote orchestrated a massive flood causing all to perish, and after the flood, Coyote created mankind. Hummingbird also appears and is responsible for introducing fire to the world. Kuksu does not seem to have an official role in the Coast Miwok creation mythology but is represented in dances done to heal the sick (Loeb 1932). The Lake Miwok believed that Coyote created the world and was married to Frog and that Coyote put out a great

fire on the earth with a flood that exterminated the first animal race. Additionally, the Lake Miwok had no official Kuksu Ceremony, but instead relied on the Pomo to initiate their young men into the religion (Loeb 1932). The Southeastern Pomo's name for Kuksu is *Skoykyo*, and in their interpretation two Kuksu brothers cured Coyote from an ailment. The leader of the Southeastern Pomo's secret society conducted the Ghost Ceremony, the Kuksu Ceremony, and the Bear Ceremony. From all of these creation stories, it is easy to see that overarching themes and distinct patterns existed in this California region. Kuksu has been represented in bird form, as a medicine man, a shaman, and a spirit among the water. Kuksu was identified with the moon among the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, and Wappo. Loeb (1932) believed that Kuksu was related to the sun, and that the elaborate headdresses represent the sun's rays and that the ceremonies took place in tandem with the winter solstice.

Although Loeb (1932) does not go into great length about any tribes south of the Coast Miwok, he does make special note of the lack of information pertaining to the Costanoan (Ohlone) relationship with Kuksu, and quotes Kroeber (1925) in saying that there was indeed a winter solstice dance at Mission San Jose, though they could not be sure that it was related to Kuksu. This seeming uncertainty of whether or not Kuksu permeated into Costanoan regions of California is not unprecedented, and the ignorance regarding the expansion of the religion can be attributed to Kroeber's lasting legacy of extinction forced on many coastal California tribes for "all practical purposes" (Field 2003). Ironically, Gifford (1927) briefly acknowledges the fact that the resurgence of the Ghost Dance originated in Pleasanton but dismisses further credence to Costanoan legitimacy by stating that "...the dances are doubtless to be regarded as ancient dances which were revived and made over by the stimulus of the Ghost Dance..." (Gifford 1927:220). What Gifford (1927) did not address was that the 1870's Ghost Dance was a cultural

revivification project amongst many California and Great Basin tribes, and that the inspiration for the rituals practiced were found in antiquity. Many dances, regalia, and ceremonial structures had been maintained throughout Missionization and were reinterpreted and repurposed to be operationalized in the widespread Ghost Dance movement.

The fact that many of the tribes interviewed by Gifford (1927) credit Pleasanton as the ceremonial nexus of northern California and as the teachers to others serves as a testament to the tenure of place for the descendants of this ceremonial interaction hub. We now know that the tribes residing at Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara continued the Kuksu tradition and shared parallel creation stories with their northern neighbors (Becks 2018; Lightfoot 2005). Not only that, but tribes outside the Costanoan community all point back to Pleasanton for the reverberation of the Kuksu religion (Gifford 1927; Kelly 1932; Becks 2018). After the secularization of the Missions in 1833, ex-neophytes had only handful of options, and many remained on Mission land (until pushed out by white settlers), retreated into the dense forest, or sought wage-labor jobs. Many Ohlone and other tribes from Bay Area Missions ventured to Pleasanton to live on the Alisal rancheria (Verona station) which was bestowed to them by Agostin Bernal (Lightfoot 2005). “Here residents performed a plethora of ceremonies, combining the 1870s resurgence of the Ghost Dance with other traditional central California rites such as the Kuksu Dance...the Ohlone-speaking people also occupied...the towns of Niles and Sunol” (Lightfoot 2005:220).

The ceremonies performed and tribal revitalization experienced are discussed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century interviews of Angela Colos and Jose Guzman from Pleasanton and Isabelle Meadows from Monterey, which were conducted by Smithsonian ethnologist J.P. Harrington in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (Becks 2018; Field & Leventhal 2003; Muwekma Ohlone Tribe). In her

recent doctoral dissertation, Becks (2018) includes an excerpt from the Harrington notes of Kuksu as discussed by Jose Guzman in her dissertation which asserts that Kuksu was a healer with a big head—a pattern observed all over northern California. Likewise, Colos shares her knowledge of Kuksu with Harrington and also describes Kuksu as having a big head but was a demon. Becks (2018) attributes the discrepancy between the healer role and the devil role may be due to different modes of access to knowledge about Kuksu based on gender, or that religious entities were taboo to discuss with whites and were therefore modified. Kaufman (2008) details Harrington’s interview with Isabelle Meadows and her knowledge of traditional stories including “Coyote, His Wife, and Makkeweks” and “Coyote and Hummingbird”. Both stories give insight into cultural values, vernacular discourse, and present overarching parallels in northern Californian ideologies. The Ohlone’s believed Coyote created humanity and was a trickster, a god, an idiot, and all-knowing. The first tale is testament to the Ohlone belief that humans are related to all creatures and the importance of dance ritual; as Coyote explains to his wife that she is related to all other animals, she dies, and he revives her with a shamanistic healing ritual (Kaufman 2008). From these accounts, it is clear that the tribes at Pleasanton not only practiced the Kuksu religion but were partly responsible for the diaspora of the belief system all over central California.

## Material Manifestations of Kuksu



**Figure 4:** N-series “big head” or Kuksu pendants from CA-ALA-329 made of abalone featured on the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe’s website

It is disheartening that much of the Ohlone material culture from the San Francisco Bay Area was subject to confiscation by European visitors. Georg Heinrich von Langsdorf was a participant of a Russian-led global scientific voyage and spent much of his time at Missions Dolores, San Jose, and Santa Clara observing and removing Ohlone objects for his own agenda in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Field 2008). Langsdorf was especially impressed with the various abalone necklaces and pendants manufactured by Ohlone members, and even praised them on their craftsmanship. These necklaces would later be (and still remain) displayed at various institutions in Europe. This instance is but one example of the excessive looting and appropriation of material cultural experienced by Native Californian tribes. Because of this, those objects that remain in primary archaeological contexts are of extreme value to the Muwekma Tribe as they are able to communicate past cultural patterns as well as contribute to the overall importance of abalone as a food, material, and cosmological resource. However,

given the exclusivity of Kuksu, many bearers of the ornament may have been missed by past and current excavations; "...because *Haliotis* effigy ornaments were probably used only by certain members of a village and hence would occur in a small area within the site, it is possible that many sites contained effigy ornaments which were never seen by archaeologists" (Winter 1978:127).

The N-series pendants that are pertinent to this discussion were manufactured out of abalone and appear anthropomorphic as well as zoomorphic and feature drilled holes—indicating that they were meant to be worn around the neck of an individual. Since the publication of Gifford's (1947) famous *California Shell Typology*, many scholars believe that the N-series pendants represent the "big head" dancers, which were actively engaging in dances in the proximity of the large ceremonial villages where *capitans* held feasts; it was in the major cemetery mounds that many of these pendants were found. Moreover, these pendants were in direct association with high lineage men, women, and sometimes children (Leventhal 1993).



**Figure 5:** Superimposed N-series pendant to illustrate similarities to the "big head"/Kuksu dancers (Leventhal 1993: 231).

In a cursory effort (and what this project report aims to expand upon), Leventhal (1993) discusses the wide geospatial distribution of Kuksu-associated pendants in northern California that spans from archaeological sites in San Jose, Pleasanton, Stockton, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Emeryville, to name a few. Furthermore, Leventhal (1993) points out that this Kuksu interaction sphere coincides with the geographically associated Penutian language families including Tamien, Chochenyo, Ramaytush, and Karkin—the northern Ohlonean speaking tribal groups. Under this framework, the pendants are also associated with North Valley Yokuts, Bay and Plains Miwok, River Patwin and Coast Miwok, exemplifying the prominent northern California religious network (Leventhal 1993). Due to these archaeological discoveries, it can be ascertained that the East Bay Costanoans shared more religious commonality with their neighbors to the north and east rather than the south, and this would mean that San Jose would have constituted the southernmost territory in the greater Kuksu pendant network (Leventhal 1993; Cambra et al. 2014). This brings us back to the earlier ethnographies, where Gifford (1942) mentions that influence of this practice came from Pleasanton and Loeb's (1932) study which elucidated Kuksu's prominence just north of present day Muwekma-affiliated territory.

As stated earlier, the pendants themselves are manufactured out of abalone, a resource prized by many northern California groups for its beautiful iridescence and power. Field (2008) goes into great detail emphasizing the inclusion of abalone in the diets, regalia, and cosmological identities of the Ohlone, Pomo, Karuk, Hupa, and Wiyot. Not only that, but Field (2008) collaborates with influential Muwekma Ohlone leader Rosemary Cambra in facilitating an abalone feast off of the San Francisco coast for the Muwekma tribal members in an effort to reclaim their ancestral history. Many older Muwekma members remember eating abalone as children and recount that, in those days, it was a reliable and nutritious meal for when money



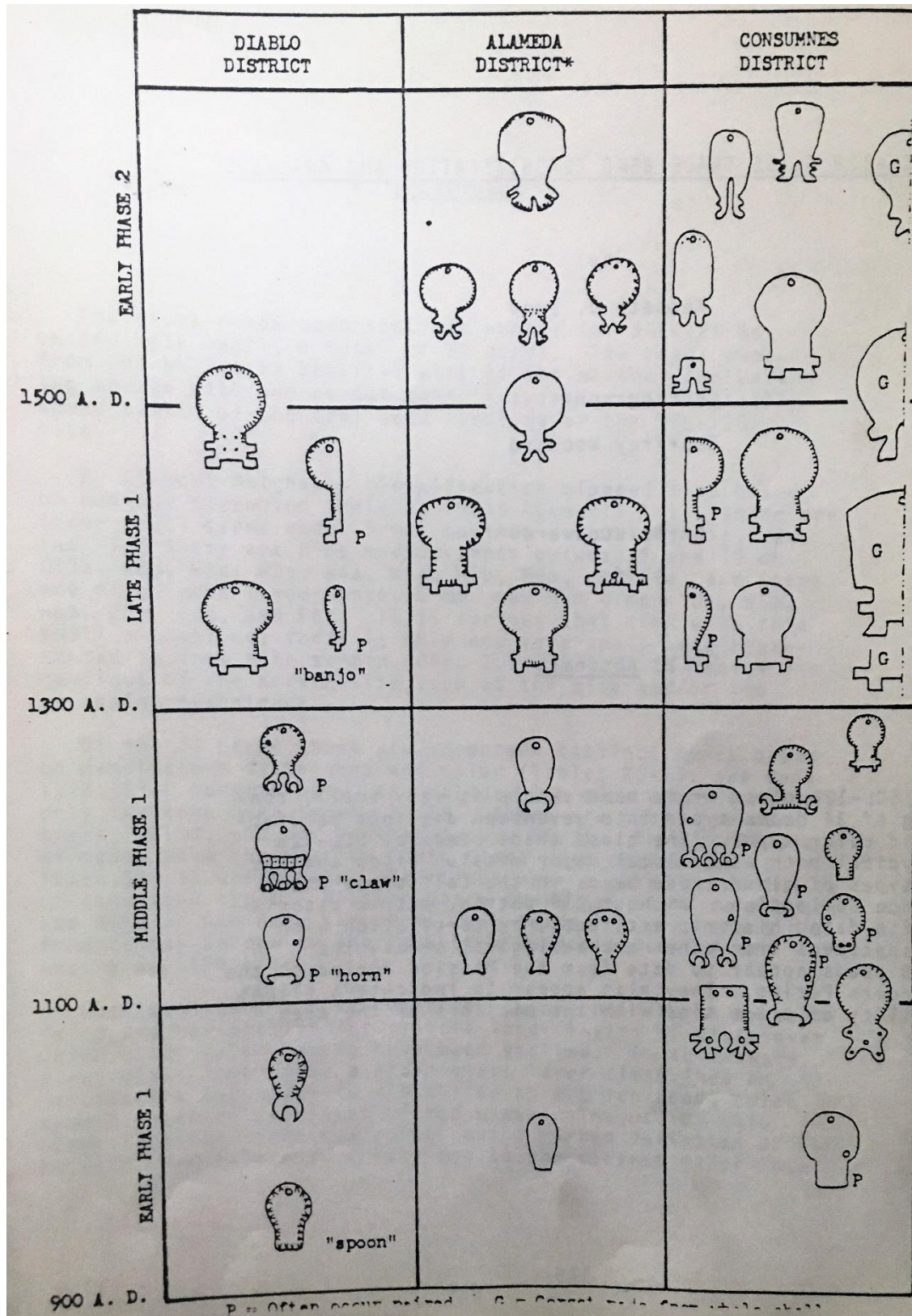
was scarce—a manifested tradition past down from one generation to the next (Field 2008). The rediscovery of the importance of abalone is imperative to fully understanding the religious complexity of belief systems like Kuksu. In an interaction with tribal elder Florence Silva of the Point Area Pomo, Field (2008) discovered the difference between “regalia” and “jewelry” where she explained that jewelry is just for decoration for dances while ceremonial regalia encompassed a sentient being with agency of its own, and that regalia lived and died with the person to whom it belonged. This would explain Leventhal’s (1993) observation of Kuksu-associated pendants—which required time and great skill to make—that were buried with individuals as young as infants. The implications of this are two-fold: first, the mortuary pattern of burying infants and small children with high wealth items communicates hierarchical political structures that are ascribed at birth (Bean & Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993). Second, it showcases that the sentient regalia manufactured for a certain individual did indeed remain with that individual, regardless of longevity.

### *Evolution of Forms*

Something must be said for overarching time periods in California pertaining to Kuksu effigy pendants. As stated earlier, the Kuksu religion is believed to have been active and thriving between AD 1100 – AD 1600 (Cambra et al. 2009). This general time period had been referred to as the Late Horizon period in California history in the earlier archaeological literature but is now more commonly referred to as the Late Period (Bennyhoff & Hughes 1987). A Horizon was used as an explanatory unit that links together culturally contemporaneous phenomenon across a wide geographic region and showcases a spatial continuity for a certain time period (Society for California Archaeology). The Early Horizon (Period) began during the middle Holocene and has been given various ranges from 5,000 BC-500 BC; the Middle Horizon (Period) constitutes 2000

BC - AD 1000; the Late Horizon (Period) represents cultural phenomenon after AD 250 (Society for California Archaeology). For the purposes of this report, all reference will be to the Late Period and its subsequent phases: Phase 1a (AD 900-1100), 1b (AD 1100-1300), 1c (AD 1300-1500), and Phase 2a (AD 1500-1700) after Bennyhoff and Hughes' (1987) Scheme B1. A Phase refers to an incredibly localized cultural unit that is temporally distinctive (Society for California Archaeology). The effigy pendants in this discussion are represented throughout all of Phases 1 and early Phase 2 with manufactured distinctions that are indicative of particular time periods.

First suggested by James Bennyhoff, it has been widely accepted that that zoomorphic N-series effigy ornaments are generally found in earlier contexts while anthropomorphic forms are found in later ones in central California (Winter 1978; Leventhal 1993; Bellifemine 1997). This suggestion has been corroborated by complimentary radio carbon dating on associated items with ancestral Muwekma-associated burials where pendants were found and have been further emphasized on as a cosmological shift (Leventhal 1993). Zoomorphic pendants are those that portray the famous upside-down “banjo” head on one end and either an unforked, “claw”, or “horn end”. Anthropomorphic pendants embody the human form and are characterized by the same “banjo” head with a forked end and lateral projections—hands and feet. However, some anthropomorphic forms may lack the forked ends but still display lateral projections. Winter (1978) exemplifies this by attributing this evolution to Bennyhoff's (1977) diagnostic phases stating that zoomorphic pendants are found in Phases 1a and 1b of the Late Period while more anthropomorphic figures (common Kuksu-associated pendants) are found during Phase 1c through Phase 2a.



**Figure 6:** The evolution of N-series pendants among three different districts adapted from Bennyhoff (1977). The Alameda district is of particular interest to this study (Winter 1978:148).

While Kuksu takes on many roles in California tribal cosmologies, the deity's role is generally attributed to one that communicates with mankind through spirit impersonators or messengers—abandoning his animal form for a human one (Leventhal, personal communication). This evolution has made dating especially helpful when radio carbon dating is not able to be done, or when effigy pendants are found out of context.

### **An Overview of Pertinent Archaeological Sites**

In order to understand the dispersal of the Kuksu religion in the Bay Area, six archaeological sites that contained Kuksu-associated effigy pendants have been included as a primary dataset and served as a geographic datum in which to juxtapose Muwekma oral history results. The sites represented in this project report are the Sunol Water Temple Site, CA-ALA-565/H (Byrd et al. 2019); the Ryan Mound, CA-ALA-329 (Leventhal 1993); the Yukisma Mound, CA-SCL-38 (Bellifemine 1997); Tamien Station, CA-SCL-690 (Hylkema 2007); the Holiday Inn Site, CA-SCL-128 (Winter 1978; Leventhal et al. 2015); and the Hotchkiss Mound, CA-CCO-138 (Atchley 1994). Not only do these archaeological sites represent the geographic dispersal of the Kuksu religion, they also give researchers insight into the manufacture of these effigy pendants and who was permitted to wear them in society.

#### ***Sunol Water Temple; CA-ALA-565/H***

During the fall of 2017, I was invited to Sunol--a small town outside of Pleasanton in the East Bay--by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe to assist as a field archaeologist in the excavation and documentation of their ancestral remains. The site was vast and in the shadow of an unfortunately placed colonial monument, otherwise known as the Sunol Water Temple. I was employed by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe as an archaeological consultant and worked alongside

Far Western Anthropological Research Group and Albion Environmental; we were all contracted by the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission to remove over 70 burials as well as associated grave offerings and artifacts from non-associated contexts. The Sunol Water Temple site--later named *Sii Túupentak* by the Muwekma Tribe's Language Committee--was undergoing excavation for an interpretive center dedicated to the evolution of the landscape and its significance to various peoples as well as a complement to the Sunol Water Temple where three water sources converge under the monument. This educational center seems appropriately placed as routine school busses bring in elementary school children to learn about the Water Temple and the surrounding geography. Later the scope expanded to include a major interior and exterior educational information on the history and heritage of the Muwekma Ohlone who historically resided immediately up the road at Sunol Corners and at the Alisal Rancheria.

The ancestral population from this site appeared quite wealthy based upon the artifact assemblages and preservation of the recovered burials. Burial 59, for example, is of note as it was comprised of three males and was denoted on site as the Fallen Warriors Grave. The Fallen Warriors Grave included a wealth of shell beads and five beautifully preserved obsidian projectile points which, in all likelihood, was the primary cause of their deaths. Mortars and pestles of enormous size were scattered throughout the site indicating mass ritual and the labor required to manufacture these grave goods (one large flower-pot shaped "show" mortar would take at least 126-man hours to complete) showcases the socioeconomic investment required to manufacture such finished products by craft specialists. Burial 56 was interred with a show mortar, pestle, and stone pipe. Burial 56 was sitting upright rather than laterally on his side—as all the other burials had been. The tribe believes that this person (Burial 56), based upon the

presence of a *toreepa* (stone tobacco pipe) may have had a shamanistic doctoring/ceremonial religious role in the society.

There were other important discoveries made at the site; one of which served as the stimulus for this research. Burial 36 included two Kuksu-associated abalone pendants, an artifact which indicates an elite class standing and immersion into the Kuksu religion and ceremonial dance cycle. Kuksu-associated pendants are not a ubiquitous artifact, and it was exciting to have discovered two in relation to this interior valley site. Out of 70+ burials, only one had such Kuksu ornaments associated in their burial matrix, representing only 1.54% of the population.



**Figure 7:** Laboratory imaging of an N1aIII (above) and a possible N1aII (below) Kuksu pendants interred with Burial 36 at the Sunol Water Temple. Photo Courtesy of Far Western Anthropological Resource Group.

According to Byrd and colleagues (2019), Burial 36 was a primary inhumation of a young woman from the Late Phase 1 Period based on stable isotope analysis. She was a 17-20-year-old

who was found flexed on her right side, oriented southwest to northeast. Strontium analysis indicated that she was of local origin, meaning that she was born at the site, later migrated to a distant village (locality with a different strontium signature) in her adolescence, and then returned back to the Sunol region as an adult (Byrd et al. 2019). Other distinguishable artifacts in Burial 36's matrix included one pestle, seven bone whistles, and flaked stone debitage. It is apparent that this individual maintained a high status in this society, in all likelihood as a ceremonial dance leader based upon the bird bone whistles and Kuksu-associated pendants.

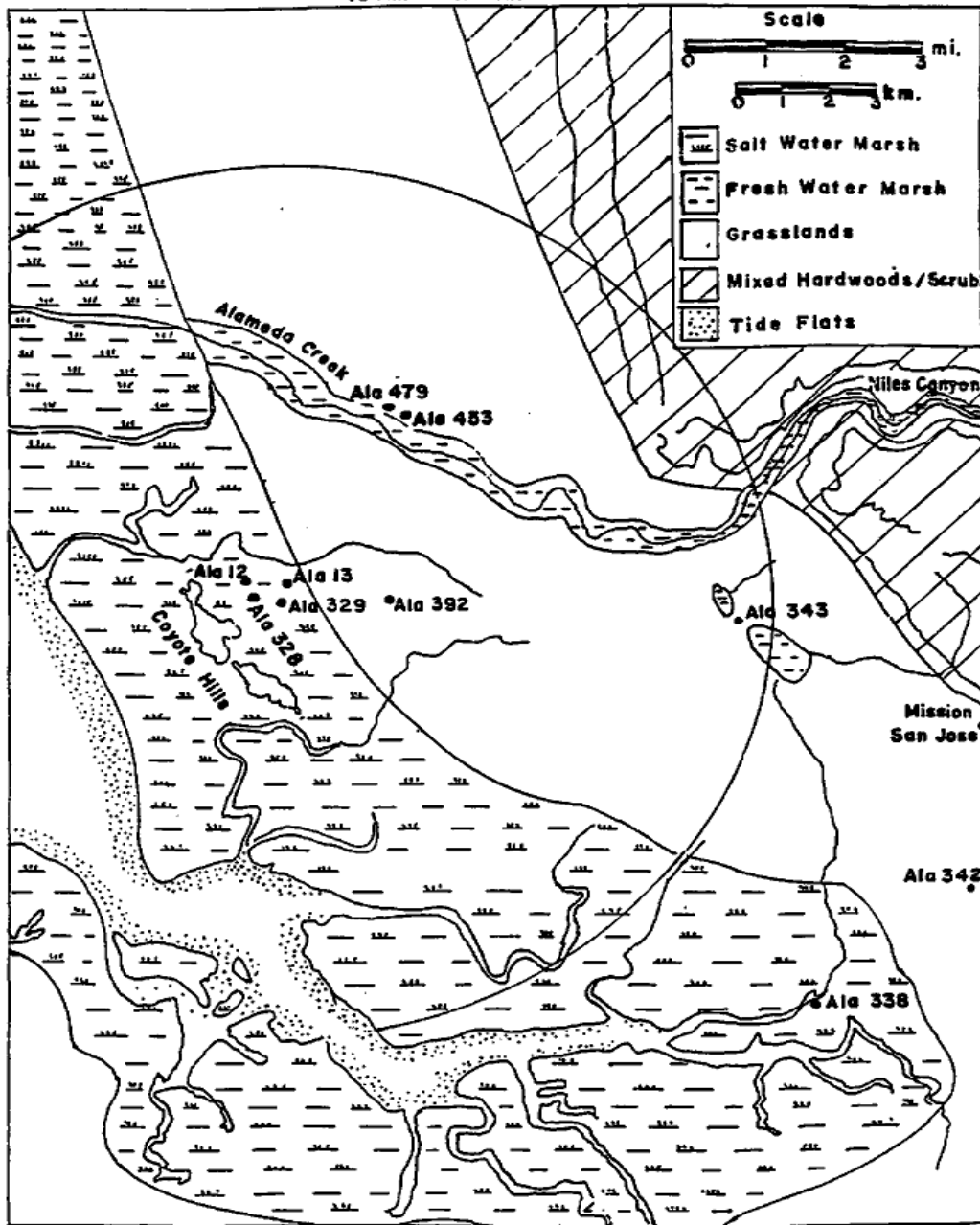


**Figure 8:** Field photo of Burial 36 at the Sunol Water Temple. Note the Kuksu-associated pendant emerging next to the cranium. Photo courtesy of Far Western Anthropological Research Group and the Muwekma Tribal Council.



*The Ryan Mound; CA-ALA-329*

Residing on the southeastern margin of the San Francisco Bay, the Ryan Mound has been the topic of many research endeavors. The Ryan Mound constitutes one of four mound sites (CA-ALA-12, 13, and 328) and ranges in height from 12 – 16 feet tall (Leventhal 1993).



**Map 2:** Map included in Leventhal's thesis of the Ryan Mound (CA-ALA-329) in the San Francisco Bay in relation to other archaeological sites and Mission San Jose (Leventhal 1993:28).

Occupation at the Ryan Mound involved a coastal salt marsh community as the site was most likely situated on the shore of the bay and was subject to both seasonal flooding and many exploitable resources (Leventhal 1993). Moreover, the inhabitants residing near the site may have used tule boats to navigate through the intermittent flooding (Leventhal 1993), the act of which had later been captured through Mission-era paintings.



**Figure 9:** Ohlone Native Americans on the San Francisco Bay in a tule boat. Painted by Louis Choris in 1822.

The Ryan Mound was documented as early as 1873, first excavated in 1935 and has a lengthy relationship with both San Jose State University (SJSU) as well as Stanford University (Leventhal 1993). After all excavations from various groups and institutions, the Ryan Mound yielded 440 burials which was the minimum number of individuals (MNI). Both SJSU and Stanford conducted separate excavations of the site, and both endeavors found burials associated with Kuksu as detailed below.

**Distribution by Age and Sex of the SJSU Burials with Effigy Pendants**

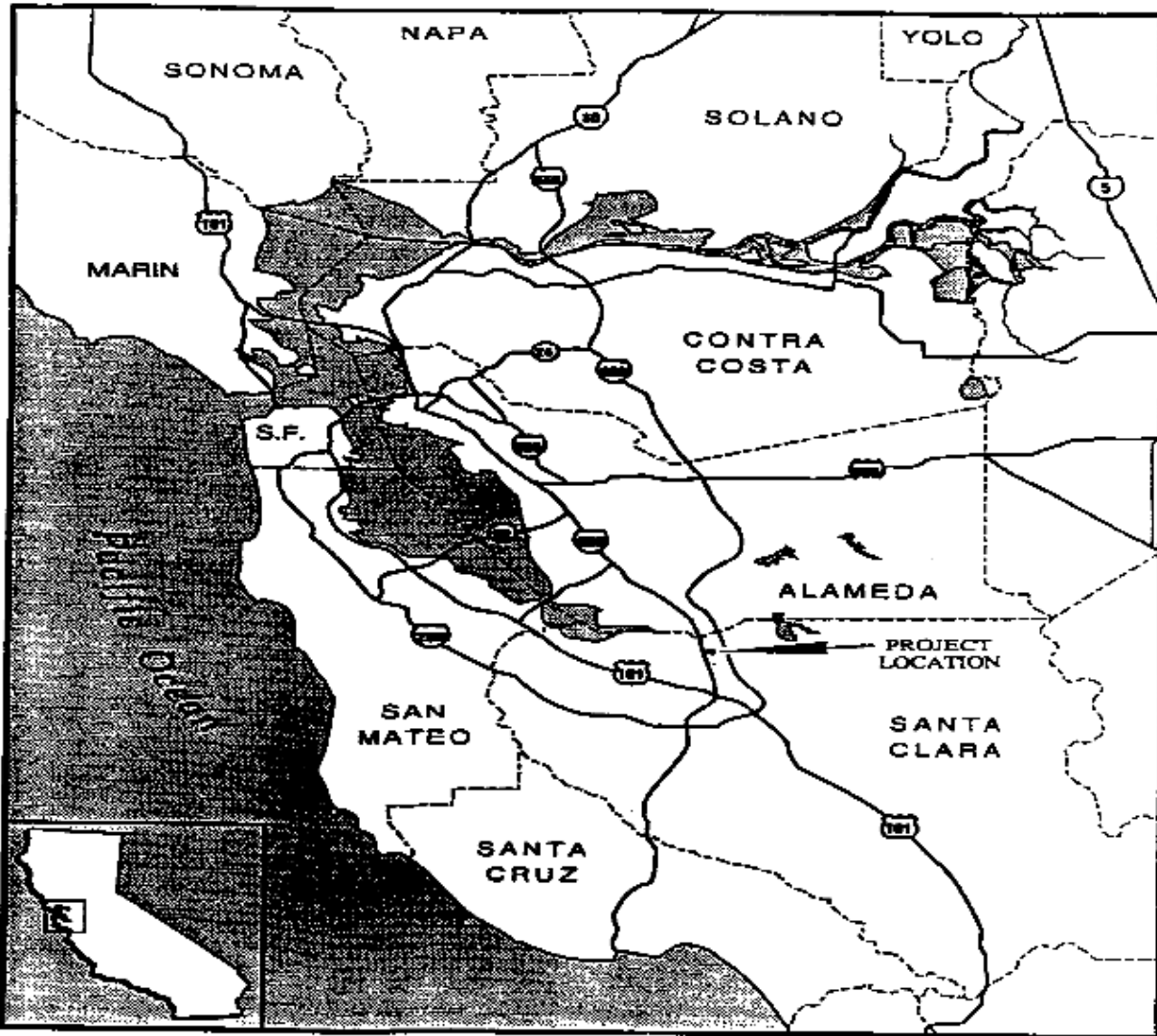
<u>Spec.#</u>	<u>Bur.#</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Type of Burial</u>	<u>Remarks/Pendant Type</u>
N/A	43	Infant	0	primary burial	Assembly Stolen by Pot Hunters
1318	49	Female	35+	primary burial	N6bIII
1319	49	"	"	"	N6bIII
1320	49	"	"	"	N4aI
1322	49	"	"	"	N4aI
1321	49	"	"	"	N5 series
1324	49	"	"	"	N5
1325	49	"	"	"	N5
1323	49	"	"	"	N6aII
1475	65	Male	35+	primary burial	N1bII
1572	79	Infant	1-1.5	cremation	N1bII
1577	79	"	"	"	N1bII
1580	79	"	"	"	N1bII
1582	79	"	"	"	N1bII
1682	83	Infant	0-5	cremation	N5 series
1740a	96	Female	40	primary burial	Distal end
1740b	96	"	"	"	Proximal end
1740f,h	96	"	"	"	(2) N2aII
1740j	96	"	"	"	N1aI
1740k,l,q	96	"	"	"	(3)N1aIII
1740n,o	96	"	"	"	(2) N series
1740p	96	"	"	"	N6aIII
1759	10	Male	45	primary burial	N1a series
2149	172	Male	Adult	redep. cremation	N4aI
2155	172	"	"	"	N2bI
2245	178	Male	35+	redep. cremation	Proximal end
2165	199?	Male	Adult	redep. cremation	N series frag.?
2246	203	Indet.	Adult	cremation	(2) Fragments
2369a,c	226	Male	35+	primary burial	(2) N6aII?
2498d	254	Female	40+	primary burial	N6aII distal end
2498a-c	254	"	"	"	(3) Proximal ends
2507	256	Male	35	primary burial	N4aI

### **Distribution of the Stanford University Effigy Pendants**

<b>Burial #</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Type of Burial</b>	<b># Pendants</b>	<b>Types</b>
22	Infant	0-0.5	primary	1	N1b
48	Indet.	11-13	primary	?	?
54	Infant	5-7	partial cremation	5	N1b
64	Indet.	18	cremation	1	N1b
66	Indet.	13-15	cremation	3	N1b
78	Male	25	primary	4?	?
84	Male	35	primary	2?	?
93	(2) Males	35 & 25	partial cremation	4?	?
99	Infant	5-6	primary	1?	?
105	Indet.	25+	primary	1?	?
130	Male	13-15	primary	2+?	N6 series?

**Table 1:** Kuksu pendants with burial associations found at the Ryan Mound as detailed by SJSU and Stanford University (Leventhal 1993:234-235).

Men, women, and children of various ages are depicted as associated with the ornament, further validating an ascribed status social model rather than an achieved one (Bean & Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993). A total of 26 individuals, or 5.9%, were associated with over 63 Kuksu-related ornaments and fragments, making the Ryan Mound the highest concentration of the artifact at any known site (Leventhal 1993). Noticing this, Leventhal (1993) introduced a cursory analysis of Kuksu pendant distributions in California which has served as the foundational premise of this project report.



**Map 3:** Yukisma Mound project location (Bellifemine 1997: 49).

First recorded in 1952 by C.W. Meighan, the Yukisma Mound is another important site in the Bay Area's repertoire. Between 1981-1988, Archaeological Resource Management (ARM) formally determined that the site was archaeologically sensitive. The site was excavated by the Muwekma Tribe's Ohlone Families Consulting Services (OFCS) in 1993-1994 during the construction of court-mandated barracks at the Elmwood Correctional Facility in Milpitas—a northern area of Santa Clara valley. In total, 244 individuals and over 32,000 beads and artifacts were found at this large, prehistoric earthmound cemetery (Bellifemine 1997). The site was

named 'Yukisma', meaning "Place of the Live Oaks" in the Chochocho language, which was an early recorded place name for the Lower Penitencia Creek, which runs adjacent to the eastern boundary of the site.

Out of the 244 burials found, only seven individuals were associated with Kuksu pendants, or 2.87%.

*Distribution of Banjo Pendants by Burial*

Burial	Sex	# spec/condition	Gifford Type
51	M	1 fragment	?
		1 fragment	N4aI?
64	M	1 complete	N1aII
		1 end missing	?
		1 end missing	N1aII?
		1 end missing	N1aIII?
65	I	1 complete	no equivalent
		1 fragment	N1bI
		1 fragment	N1bII
		1 fragment	?
		1 fragment	N1aI
71	M	1 complete	N6aII
		1 complete	N6bIII
164	M	2 complete	N1aIII
		2 complete	N1bII
189	F	2 complete	N4aI
219	M	1 complete	N2aI

**Table 2:** Effigy pendants with burial associations found at the Yukisma Mound (Bellifemine 1997:191).

The effigy pendants found were temporally diagnostic of Phase 1 and early Phase 2 of the Late Period; the evolution of the artifact changes from a zoomorphic emphasis to an anthropomorphic one (Bellifemine 1997).

## *Banjo Pendant Chronology*

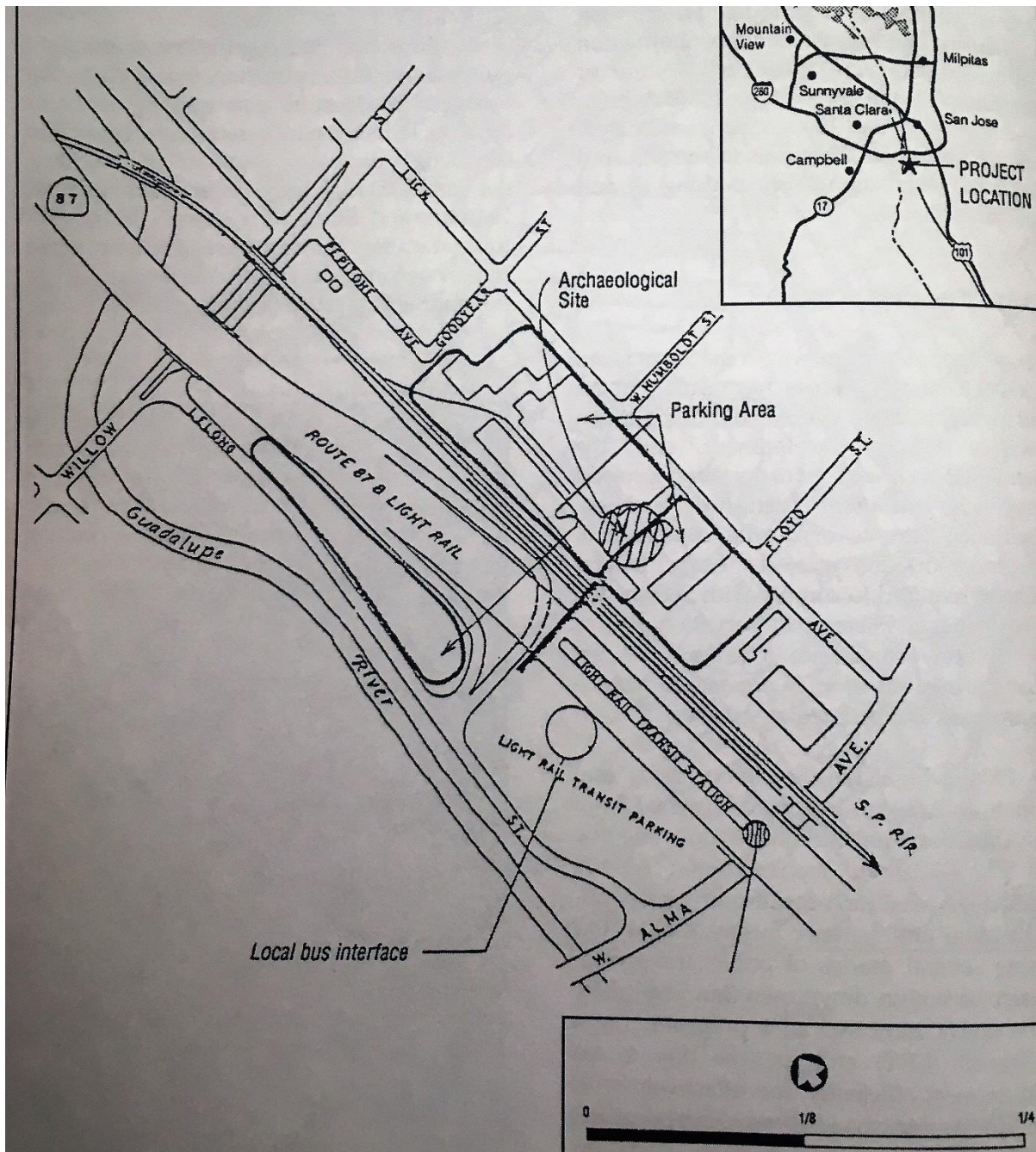
<b>Burial</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Phase</b>
51*	N4aI?	Early 1B
64*	N1aII	Early 1C
	N1aIII?	Early 1C
65	N1bI	Late 1C
	N1bII	Late 1C
	N1aI	Early 1C
71	N6aII	Late 1B
	N6bIII	Late 1B
164	N1aIII	Early 1C
	N1bII	Late 1C
189	N4aI	Early 1B
219	N2aI	Late 1C ?

\* Burials with radiocarbon dating

**Table 3:** Effigy pendant temporal chronology at the Yukisma Mound (Bellifemine 1997:215).

### *Tamien Station; CA-SCL-690*

The California Cannery and Growers Fruit Cannery had stood in San Jose for over 80 years before its demolition in 1992. As the city modernized, Santa Clara County decided to construct a public transportation connecting route for the light rail, Caltrain, local busses and route 87 (Hylkema 2007). However, it was a surprise to all that a substantial archaeological site was beneath the demolition site, which caused a huge pause in construction activities.



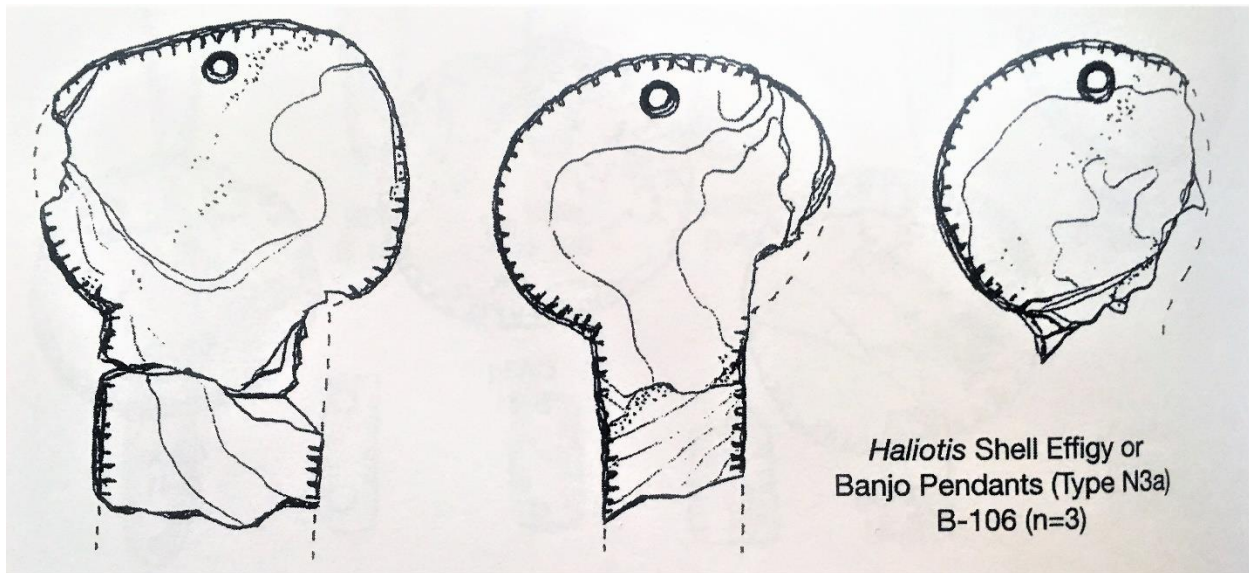
**Map 4:** Tamien Station project location and site plan (Hylkema 2007:2).

Caltrans archaeologists were contracted to work on this site as well as the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, and together they found a total of 125 burials, various rock features, and a plethora of artifacts (Hylkema 2007). The station was originally named Alma Station, but after learning of the archaeological significance of the site, the name was changed to Tamien Station. According



to the 1776 Mission records at the Mission Santa Clara, Tamien (originally spelled *Thámien* by Father Pena) was the name by which the Ohlones called the region surrounding the first Mission and later routinely used to refer to the location at which the Tamien Station site was discovered (Hylkema 2007). All burials were, after comprehensive analysis, reinterred by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe while all artifacts that were not associated with human remains were sent to be curated at the Anthropological Research Center at Sonoma State University (Hylkema 2007).

Radiocarbon dating, obsidian hydration, and temporal diagnostics suggested that the antiquity of the site ranged from AD 800-1300. Among the 125 burials, only one burial was associated with three Kuksu-associated effigy pendants, or 0.8% of the population. Burial 106 was a 23-26-year-old male who was interred with three N4 type effigy pendants.



**Figure 10:** Kuksu pendant illustrations of artifacts associated with Burial 106 at Tamien Station (Hylkema 2007:268).

TYPE	SUBTYPE
N group, banjo or effigy pendants	N3a (N4 using the Gifford 1947 nomenclature) - 3 pendants, single perforation. Rectangular-shaped distal end extension. Base squared on one specimen, two others fragmented midway down the length of the extension. Lightly incised line incisions along portions of the distal end and around circular proximal end.

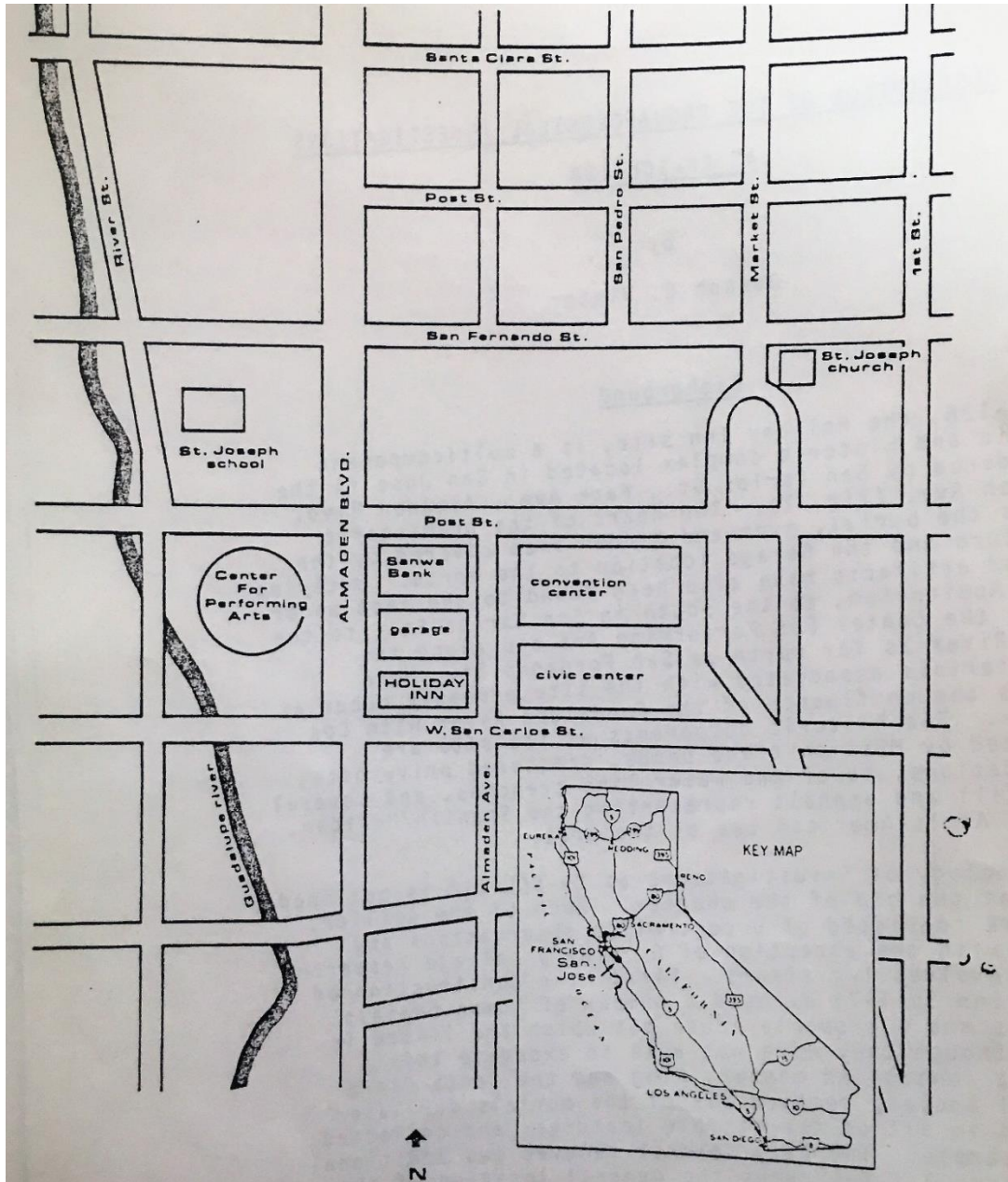
**Figure 11:** Kuksu pendant description associated with Burial 106 at Tamien Station (Hylkema 2007:176).

In concordance with other forms of dating, the N4 pendant is indicative of an earlier phase of effigy manufacture as the pendant is visibly zoomorphic in appearance. Other artifacts included in Burial 106's assemblage were a tubular stone smoking pipe, two antler wedges, and 74 spire-lopped *Olivella* beads (Hylkema 2007). It is clear that this individual represented an elite status among the surrounding community.

### ***The Holiday Inn Site; CA-SCL-128***

The Holiday Inn site is located in downtown San Jose and has been subject to various archaeological investigations. According to Winter (1978), all archaeological work prior to 1977 was uncontrolled, leading to many missing artifacts as well as burials removed out of context. However, Winter (1978) offers two exceptions from 1973 and 1974; both conducted by C. King. The 1973 excavations were not controlled and resulted in the removal of 8 burials that went to various locations, while the 1974 excavations revealed historic features and a prehistoric midden (Winter 1978). The lack of standardization of practices is the reason that the total number of burials at the Holiday Inn Site remains a mystery (Leventhal, personal communication). The

Muwekma renamed the site *Thámien Rúmmeytak* [Thámien (Guadalupe) River Site] after the discovery of an intact female burial in 2012 (Leventhal et al. 2015).



**Map 5:** Project location of the Holiday Inn Site (Winter 1978:2).

The site is multilayered both with prehistoric and historic occupation evidence with habitation beginning around AD 250 and sustaining into the modern era. Much of the prehistoric

evidence is found beneath the hotel and parking garage complex as well as underneath the Civic Auditorium, on San Carlos street, under the Performing Arts Center and San Fernando Street (Map 5) (Winter 1978). Moreover, the site was used most intensively in the prehistoric period and was possibly visited sporadically for food production, consumption and burial practices, rather than permanently occupied.

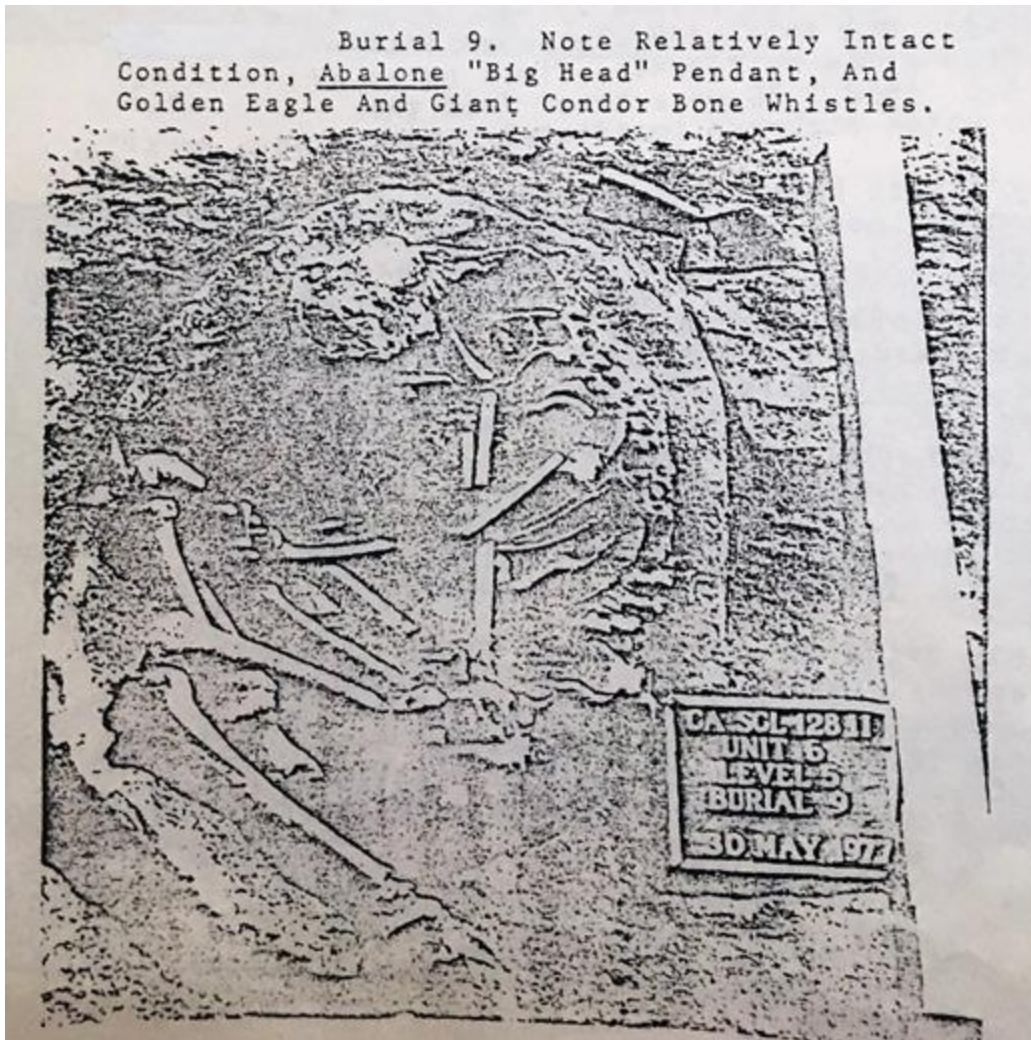
Although the overall number of burials at the Holiday Inn Site is unknown, it is safe to say that the area served as a prehistoric cemetery for the Ohlone Native Americans that utilized it. Among those interred, only one included Kuksu-associated artifacts in their burial assemblage. Burial 9 had three effigy ornaments near the neck that included two N1b types and one N1aIII that appeared to be in the process of being reworked into a N1b (Winter 1978). Additionally, another nineteen effigy pendants were found fragmented in the backdirt; three of which are discernable as N1aIII, while the others are unknown and are thus not represented in Chapter 5 (Table 8).

DISTRIBUTION OF <i>OLIVELLA</i> BEADS AND <i>HALIOTIS</i> ORNAMENTS							
PROVENIENCE	O. Spire Lopped	O. Square Modified	O. Saucers	O. Rectangle	Hal. Type N	Hal. Disc	Hal. Type Z or AF
Burial 1	1	140	1			76	
Burial 2	1					3	
Burial 4	1			1			
Burial 5/6	5						
Burial 7	59						
Burial 8	1	2					1 (AF)
Burial 9	15				3 (N)		
Burial X at coroner's office	6						
Backdirt Pile	130	5	3		19 (N) frags.	1	9 (7)
Other Units	6	1					
TOTALS	225	148	4	1	22	80	10

O. = *Olivella biplicata*  
Hal. = *Haliotis*

**Table 4:** Distribution of *Olivella* Beads and *Haliotis* Ornaments at the Holiday Inn Site; showcases 3 Kusu pendants associated with Burial 9 and 19 fragments found in backdirt (Winter 1978:98).

Burial 9 was a 15-17-year-old female with a C14 date of AD 660+/-110 derived from a sample of surrounding charcoal recovered from the burial pit. This C14 date is most likely indicative of the earlier material used to fill the burial pit rather than the actual antiquity of the individual (Winter 1978). Because of this, the burial was dated based on the type N1b effigy pendants included, with the latest being from Phase 2a of the Late Period, or AD 1500-1700 (Winter 1978). Burial 9 was flexed, lateral right with her face oriented south—a common position found among Ohlone burials. Other grave goods found in the matrix included multiple bird bone whistles, an abundance of *Olivella* shell beads, several cores, flakes, and unifaces (Winter 1978).



**Figure 12:** Poorly imposed image of Burial 9 in-situ (Winter 1978:21).

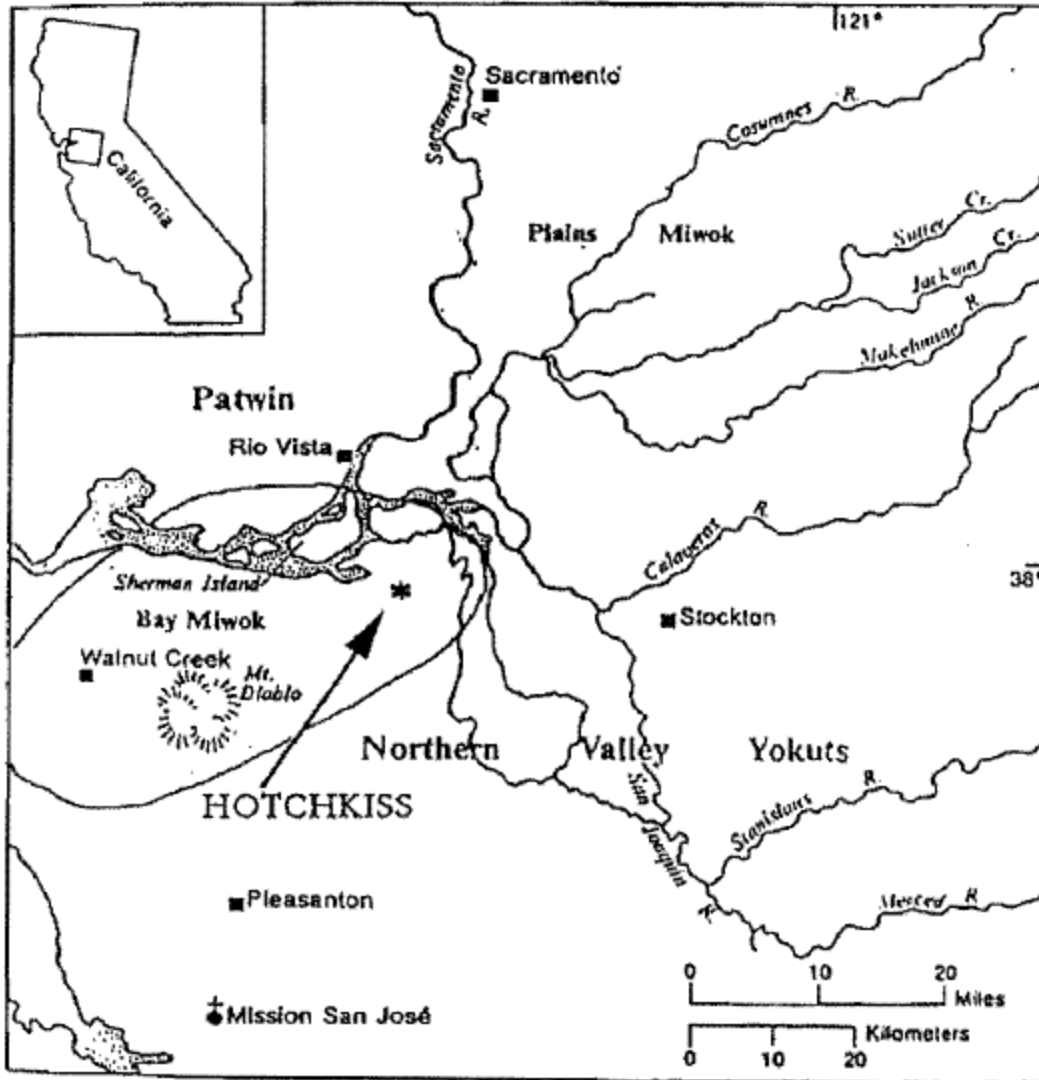
Winter (1978) mentions that zoomorphic pendants were also found at the Emeryville Shell Mound; CA-ALA-309 and a single abstract ornament is reported to be found at CA-ALA-342. Winter (1978) goes on to cite that type N1a effigy ornaments have been found at sites: CA-SOL-234, CA-CCO-138, CA-CCO-241, CA-CCO-229, CA-SAC-6, CA-SAC-21, CA-SJO-43, CA-SJO-86, CA-SJO-91. N1b ornaments have been found at CA-ALA-329, CA-CCO-138, CA-SAC-6, CA-SAC-107, CA-SAC-168, CA-SJO-81, CA-SJO-82, CA-SJO-85 (Winter 1978). These sites would be key inclusions in further research.

Winter (1978) asserts that the effigy ornaments found at the Holiday Inn Site indicate the existence of the Kuksu religion in the southern portion of the Alameda District and Santa Clara Valley. Therefore, important relationships with other culturally distinct archaeological districts (Diablo, Consumnes, Stockton, and Napa) are thus indicated. This notion supports that the ancestral Ohlone populations were participants in the Kuksu religion in relation to the other linguistically distinct-speaking tribal groups that have been accepted as active participants (such as those identified by Loeb).

***The Hotchkiss Mound; CA-CCO-138***

The Hotchkiss Mound is a prehistoric burial mound in Contra Costa County located on the eastern edge of the California delta. The site was utilized for approximately 800 years (700AD+/-200 – 1800AD+/-50) based on the conjunction of artifact assemblages, radiocarbon dating, lack of clamshell disc beads, and the absence of historic-period artifacts (Atchley 1994). During occupation, the site was constructed within a freshwater marsh prone to periodic flooding; predominant flora consisted of freshwater cattail, tule, and sedge.

The site has been associated with the Bay Miwok, however, given its close northern proximity to Muwekma territory (Map 1), the similarity in cultural practices, and the site's influential role in California archaeology, it was essential to include the Hotchkiss Mound in this project report. "The Bay Miwok language is in the Utian language family ... the Utian family is comprised of two languages: Miwokan and Costanoan" (Atchley 1994: 14).



**Map 6:** Hotchkiss Mound project location. Note the proximity to Pleasanton and Mission San Jose. (Atchley 1994: 15).

The Hotchkiss Mound is a Late Period cemetery site that has been the topic of many academic inquiries since the 1930s; it has been excavated many times over both by amateur archaeologists as well as California archaeology's leading practitioners.



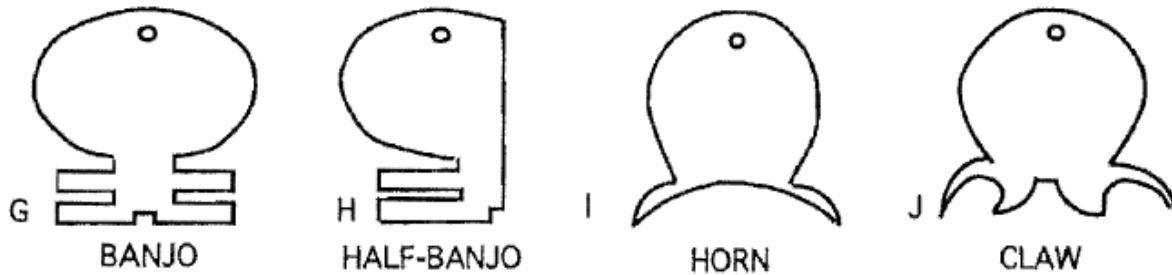
Year	Investigator	Affiliation	Number of Burials*
1936	Johnson	Amature Archaeologist	170
1937	Johnson	Amature Archaeologist	42
1937	Heizer	UC Berkeley	18
1938	Johnson	Amature Archaeologist	37
1938	Heizer	UC Berkeley	98
1939	Johnson	Amature Archaeologist	63
1940	Johnson	Amature Archaeologist	54
1946	Miles	Private Collector	10
1947	Miles	Private Collector	8
1953	Heizer	UC Berkeley	9
1958	Millon	UC Berkeley	23
1966	Clelow	UC Berkeley	71
1967	Bennyhoff	UC Berkeley	16
1968	Bennyhoff	UC Berkeley	41
?	McCown	Propery Owner	1
?	Barnhill	Propery Owner	1
Total Burials			662

**Table 5:** History of excavations at the Hotchkiss Mound (Atchley 1994: 18).

Because of this, the Hotchkiss Mound has the largest assemblage of artifacts under curation at UC Berkley (Atchley 1994). Furthermore, the site contributed to Dr. James Bennyhoff's Phase and Subphase differentiation within the Late Period with artifacts from Hotchkiss influencing the characteristics of the Late Period Phase 1b in the Diablo District (Figure 13). Bennyhoff's illustrations from the Hotchkiss Mound serve as typical representations of California artifacts (Atchley 1994). When all work at the Hotchkiss Mound was consolidated, the overall number of burials was able to be determined; there were 662 documented burials with a MNI of 959 which was determined in the lab based on extra and comingled elements within complete burials—a result of various excavation practices throughout different field seasons and supervisors. Over 30,000 artifacts were also present and, out of 662 burials, only 360 had associated artifacts

(Atchley 1994). Moreover, only 30 burials showcased Kuksu-associated artifacts, or 4.53% of the entire burial sample. A total of 44 effigy pendants were found.

In her thesis, Atchley (1994) was influenced by Bennyhoff's classification and denotes the different types of effigy ornaments as G, H, I, and J.



**Figure 13:** Ornament typology created by Dr. James Bennyhoff and used at the Hotchkiss Mound. Examples shown are those artifacts associated with Kuksu with Types G (N1b) and H (N2b) being anthropomorphic while Types I (N5) and J (N6b) are zoomorphic (Atchley 1994: 42).

In order to keep this project report coherent, I have translated these pendant subtypes into Gifford's (1947) classification with G being N1b, H being N2b, I being N5, and J being N6b. The data extracted from Atchley's (1994) study relative to the Kuksu-associated pendants recovered from the Hotchkiss Mound has been converted and is represented in Chapter 5 (Table 8).

Based upon all the published archaeological reports presented in this study, these Kuksu-associated effigy pendants are not exclusive to males or even adults, further attesting to a society based on ascribed rather than achieved status (Bean & Vane 1978; Leventhal 1993).

Types	Ornament Shape	Male	Female	Children
		Burials with Type	Burials with Type	Burials with Type
G	Banjo	6	5	6
H	Half-Banjo	2	2	1
I	Horn	6	5	3
J	Claw	4	1	3

**Table 6:** Distribution of Kuksu-associated ornament types between Male, Female, and Child burials (Atchley 1994: 60).

The pendants recovered from the Hotchkiss Mound also clearly support the hypothesis of the evolution from zoomorphic (I and J) forms to anthropomorphic (G and H) ones through time.

	Male	Female
<b>Burials with Horns (type I)</b>		
Phase Ia	2	0
Phase Ib	3	5
Phase Ic	0	1
Total	5	6
<b>Burials with Claws (type J)</b>		
Phase Ia	1	0
Phase Ib	3	1
Phase Ic	0	0
Total	4	1
<b>Burials with Banjos (types G &amp; H)</b>		
Phase Ia	2	0
Phase Ib	2	0
Phase Ic	5	4
Phase II	0	1
Total	9	5
Percent with Kuksu	21%	14%
Total with Kuksu	18	12

**Table 7:** Differentiation between Male and Female burials that contained effigy ornaments (Atchley 1994: 58).

Overall, 50% more male burials had Kuksu-associated ornaments than females. While this distribution possibly alludes to a male dominated religion, it does not exclude female participation which is paramount for understanding the societal implications of this elite religious sect in the San Francisco Bay Area. This is especially evident considering the ethnohistorical accounts of high lineage women, known as *mayen* or *maien* who were female chiefs and wives of chiefs. These women were in charge of certain ceremonies in the case of the Coast Miwok of Marin County whom were intermarried with the Northern Ohlone tribal groups (Collier & Thalman 1991).

## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research was to collect Muwekma Ohlone oral histories in order to understand connections to place and conceptions of traditional cosmological stories and juxtapose these results with six archaeological sites that contained Kuksu-associated effigy pendants in their assemblages. By investigating the places current tribal members have strong affinity to and their understanding of traditional origin stories, I had hoped to understand two separate (tangible and intangible) connections to the Kuksu religion. I hypothesized that current Muwekma members would have ties, be it ancestral or contemporary, to or around the Bay Area archaeological sites; this hypothesis was developed based on ethnohistoric and previous genealogical research done by Alan Leventhal over the course of his career. Two primary methods were employed for this research: mapping of significant places and semi-structured oral history interviews with current Muwekma Ohlone members. The mapping of archaeological sites was essential in understanding the spatial relationships between areas that contained effigy pendants as well as served as a datum for the second phase of research—oral history places of significance. While I initially intended to map places important to current Muwekma people and places represented in traditional origin stories, I discovered early on in the interview process that many of the current members were not exposed to these types of stories in their youth, and many did not learn of their Native American heritage until later in life. By mapping both the archaeological sites along with places of cultural significance to the Muwekma Ohlone, I was able to see geographic relationships between tangible and intangible evidence.

The methods of this project are designed to consider the following two research questions:

*1.) How does the spatial distribution of Kuksu pendants relate to Ohlone oral histories and place-based narratives within them?*

2.) *What do these oral histories and related material patterns tell us about Ohlone historical occupations of space/territory?*

In order to answer these questions, this research is broken up into two avenues of data collection in order to create two overall deliverables for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. The first line of research explores places in the Bay Area frequented by indigenous groups through the examination of six archaeological sites as they relate to Kuksu (i.e. presence of N-series abalone pendants in artifact assemblages). The second avenue investigates contemporary oral histories that were collected from six Muwekma tribal members to understand current conceptions of individual and communal identity, knowledge of traditional origin stories, and stance on tribal revitalization and federal recognition.

### **Mapping of Significant Places**

This project report entails a post-processual analysis of Bay Area landscapes associated with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe by assessing archaeological sites detailed in local reports and other academic publications. This research expands upon the cursory geographic distribution of Kuksu-associated pendants as discussed by Leventhal (1993). This foundation has allowed me to explore deeper implications relative to the cultural implications of those pendants relative to the ethnographic record as well as the present-day membership of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. The sites I have chosen to investigate, with the help of longtime tribal archaeologist Alan Leventhal, are the Sunol Water Temple Site, CA-ALA-565/H (Byrd et al. 2019); the Ryan Mound, CA-ALA-329 (Leventhal 1993); the Yukisma Mound, CA-SCL-38 (Bellifemine 1997); Tamien Station, CA-SCL-690 (Hylkema 2007); the Holiday Inn Site, CA-SCL-128 (Winter 1978); and the Hotchkiss Mound, CA-CCO-138 (Atchley 1994). Each of these sites contain at least one

Kuksu-associated pendant in their archaeological assemblage. Information has been extracted from these reports based on their relation to Kuksu-associated material evidence, which is why some site descriptions are longer and/or more comprehensive than others.

Not only is location important, but the context in which these distinctive pendants are found. Burial demographics as well as temporal diagnostics are also considered to assess the populations of those associated with the pendants. The inclusion of this information is paramount in obtaining a more holistic understanding of the religion and those who were permitted to practice it. The information generated from summarizing these site reports has been used to create an interactive map using Google's MyMap online software. This map is a multilayered, interactive map of the California Bay Area that includes archaeologically found Kuksu pendant distributions (the six sites in this study), places of significance found in the six collected oral history transcripts, the three Bay Area Missions (San Jose, Dolores, Santa Clara) associated with the Muwekma Ohlone community, and the boundaries of Muwekma tribal territory. Creating this visual aid has better helped conceptualize the Kuksu region interaction sphere in the Bay Area through the quantitative points (material culture locations) and qualitative points (places of significance to contemporary members). This map constitutes one of the two deliverables I have created for the Muwekma Ohlone tribal leadership.

### **Oral History Interviews with Contemporary Muwekma Tribal Members**

Semi-structured interviews with tribal members constituted the next step of my research. These oral history interviews are important because they represent the modern worldview of the tribe. Not only that, but the interviews have provided me with the end result of centuries of the transmission of oral histories that may have precolonial roots. In order to recruit participants

from the Muwekma tribal leadership, a signup sheet was provided at their tribal council meeting on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018.

Interviews were conducted with six Muwekma tribal leaders in this study over the period of three months. Participants included Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, Councilwoman and Elder; Mary Louisa Cline, Elder; Frank Ruano, Councilman and Elder; Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Councilwoman; Monica V. Arellano, Vice Chairwoman; and Charlene Nijmeh, Chairwoman. All participants were able to determine the time and place of the interview session and were provided with a succinct consent form as a way to inform them of the research objectives and be able to document their written consent (see Appendix C). All respondents were asked to invite any other tribal members along with them and to bring any materials that they felt were reminiscent of their past/think were of value to the study. Additionally, all participants were informed that the interviews were meant to capture oral histories only, and that their information will not be used for any other means.

I divided the interview into three segments: an introductory section about their personal upbringing, traditional origin story questions, and questions relating to federal recognition and the tribe’s future. However, this transcript was not strictly adhered to as narratives changed, situations arose, or tangential information was shared. Every question was developed to understand a particular element in the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe’s collective story through personal narratives. Examples of the intent of these questions include:

- Where were you born?
  - This question was meant to understand where the tribal member’s parents were potentially living at the time and where the interviewee may have grown up.



- How do you identify yourself and what is your ethnic affiliation?
  - It was important to understand how many interviewees saw themselves within the wider context of Native American revitalization.
- What kind of religious or other stories do you remember hearing from your family or friends? What were they about?
  - Here I looked for origin stories and references to moieties such as Coyote and Eagle. Eagle is the manifestation of the god Kuksu on earth, so mention of the eagle was imperative.
  - I also wanted to pay attention to nuanced details such as the landscapes in which these stories took place; unfortunately, I did not get this opportunity.

Each interview was audio recorded using two separate devices to ensure quality, and each session was fully transcribed. These oral history transcripts were sorted through to look for overarching themes. The primary theme category investigated for this research was places of significance, or geographic locales that were important to each participant. In order to establish the places of significance, I chose to include only the places that were mentioned by more than one participant and were of cultural value. Places of cultural value included birth places of participants/family members/ancestors, areas where participants and/or their family have lived, places explicitly deemed as culturally important to the Muwekma by the participant, places of childhood memories, family/communal gatherings, among others. A total of 12 themes (places of significance) were determined and include: Niles, Sunol, San Jose, Pleasanton, Brentwood, Fremont, Livermore, Hayward, Newark, Stockton, Castro Valley and Santa Cruz.

Once these places of significance—or themes—were recorded, I then went through each interview transcript and tallied the amount of times each place was mentioned, paying close attention to context—if a certain place was mentioned by accident or in reference to something unrelated I did not include the mention in the final tally. Other themes were considered as they related to religion, family life, and values, and I incorporated these themes when determining what places of significance were culturally significant. I then mapped the places of significance alongside the distribution of archaeological sites in order to visually conceptualize geographic distributions of both datasets and their relation to one another.

## CHAPTER 5: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS

The first phase of research for this project report constituted the overview of relevant archaeological sites that yielded Kuksu-associated pendants in their assemblages. Each site chosen falls directly within the ethnohistoric Muwekma Ohlone tribal territory or is located adjacently, such as the Hotchkiss Mound within the Bay Miwok-speaking territory (Atchley 1994). Of note, some of the lineages enrolled in the Muwekma Tribe are descended from both a Bay Miwok and Ohlone ancestor (Leventhal, personal communication). Due to the scope and magnitude of this project report, six archaeological sites are represented in this overview. The assemblages from sites, information derived from site reports, and references used to extrapolate data from were chosen with the guidance of longtime Muwekma Tribal Archaeologist Alan Leventhal. Furthermore, this project serves as an expansion of Leventhal's (1993) cursory assessment of the geospatial analysis of the Kuksu-related material assemblages.

The selected sites represented in this project report include: the Sunol Water Temple Site--which the Muwekma named *Síi Túupentak*--CA-ALA-565/H (Byrd et al. 2019); the Ryan Mound, CA-ALA-329 (Leventhal 1993); the Yukisma Mound, CA-SCL-38 (Bellifemine 1997); Tamien Station, CA-SCL-690 (Hylkema 2007); the Holiday Inn Site (*Thámien Rúmmeytak*), CA-SCL-128 (Winter 1978; Leventhal et al. 2015); and the Hotchkiss Mound, CA-CCO-138 (Atchley 1994). Those data gathered from each report varies in length and detailed information as only pertinent and available items were extracted. Identification of other (not all) archaeological sites containing Kuksu-associated pendants are mentioned throughout this study yet are not comprehensively discussed as treated in in the aforementioned six sites; it is my hope that this report will inspire future researchers to expand upon the parameters of this research so

that the tribal and archaeological community may have a greater understanding of the implications of Kuksu and associated assemblages.

### **Gifford's California Shell Typology**

For the purposes of clarity and standardization, I have chosen Gifford's (1947) landmark study California Shell Artifacts typology to organize and present the variations of Kuksu-related, or N-series "banjo" type, ornaments. While there are other reputable typologies in circulation (e.g., Lillard et al. 1939; Heizer 1949; Bennyhoff and Hughes 1987), many of the reports I have reviewed rely on Gifford (1947) as their primary reference in relation to these artifact types.

Gifford (1947) deployed a classification system not unlike those that organize biological species, with reference to Order, Family and Genus. Each primary Order is indexed and corresponds to a particular shell artifact, which is denoted with a letter of the alphabet. For the purposes of this project, the only Order that will be discussed is that of the "banjo" type abalone ornaments, classified as the N series. Within the Order of the N series, there are seven distinct Families and each Family has between one to four separate Genera with various non-metric criteria separating them (Gifford 1947). Not all of the seven Families are represented across the six sites in this study and many were classified as unknown due to their fragmentary state. A total of 135 pendants were identified across all six reports (not including the possibly associated fragments found in various contexts) however, not all were identifiable to a particular subtype. The following table presents the effigy ornament subtypes classified across all sites in this study, totaling to 101 individually identified pendants.

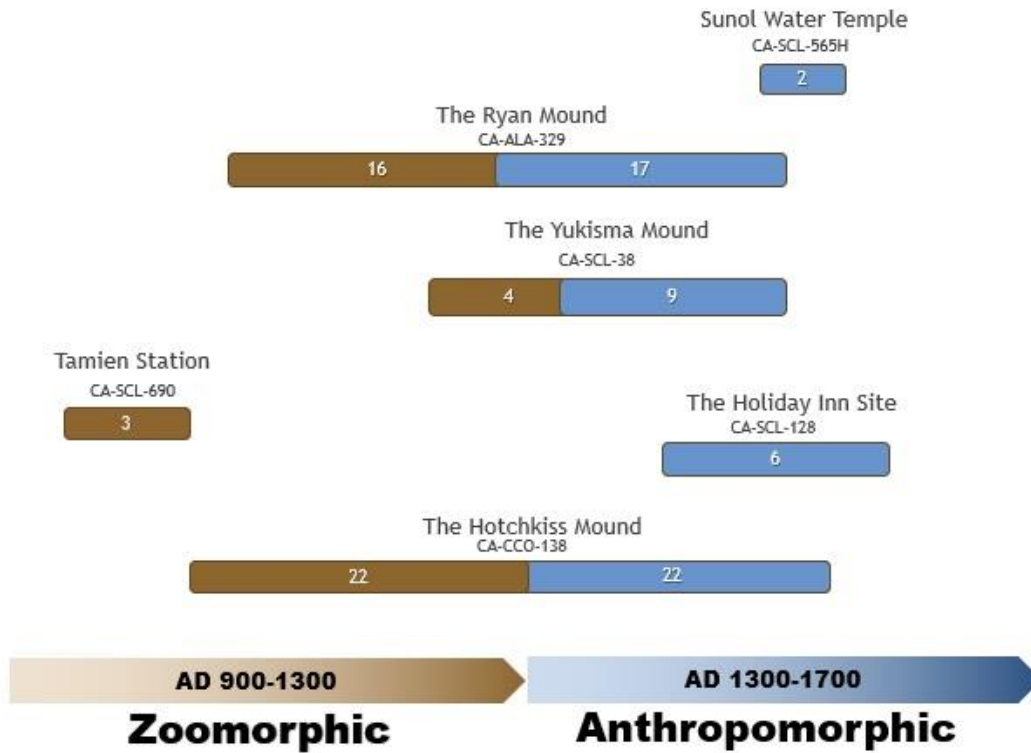
<b>Pendant Inventory</b>				
<u>Order</u>	<u>Family</u>	<u>Genus</u>	<u>Present at Site(s)</u>	<u>Total</u>
N1: Whole ornament with forked end; anthropomorphic.	A: Single lateral projections.		Ryan Mound (1)	1
		I: Plain edge, more than 2 ½ inches long.	Ryan Mound (1), Yukisma Mound (1)	2
		II: Plain edge, less than 2 inches long.	Yukisma Mound (2), Sunol Water Temple (1)	3
		III: Incised edge, more than 1 ½ inches long.	Ryan Mound (3), Yukisma Mound (2), Holiday Inn Site (4), Sunol Water Temple (1)	10
	B: Double lateral projections.		Ryan Mound (4), Holiday Inn Site (2), Hotchkiss Mound (17)	23
		I: Plain edge.	Yukisma Mound (1)	1
		II: Incised edge.	Ryan Mound (5), Yukisma Mound (2)	7
N2: Halved longitudinally; anthropomorphic.	A: One lateral projection, perforation at plain end.	I: Plain edge.	Yukisma Mound (1)	1
		II: Incised edge.	Ryan Mound (2)	2
	B: Two lateral projections, perforation at plain end.		Hotchkiss Mound (5)	5
		I: Plain edge.	Ryan Mound (1)	1

N4: Square-ended, unforked, incised edge; zoomorphic.	A: One perforation.		Tamien Station (3)	3
		I: One perforation at broad end.	Ryan Mound (4), Yukisma Mound (2),	6
N5: Narrow end concave. Incised edge; zoomorphic.			Ryan Mound (4); Hotchkiss Mound (14)	18
N6: Ornament with incurved “horns”; zoomorphic.			Ryan Mound (1)	1
	A: One pair of incurved “horns”.	II: “Horns” made by cutting. Plain edge.	Ryan Mound (4), Yukisma Mound (1)	5
		III: “Horns: made by cutting. Incised edge.	Ryan Mound (1)	1
	B: Two pairs of incurved “horns”.		Hotchkiss Mound (8)	8
		III: Notch between crescents. Incised edge.	Ryan Mound (2), Yukisma Mound (1)	3

**Table 8:** An inventory of all *mentioned and identifiable* pendant types found at the sites observed in this study—fragments are not included. All descriptions were derived from Gifford’s (1947) shell typology.

In Chapter 3, I presented a discussion on the evolution of Kuksu-associated pendant subtypes from zoomorphic to anthropomorphic. The zoomorphic forms have been associated with Phase 1a and 1b of the Late Period (AD 900-1300) while those anthropomorphic pendants appear during Phase 1c and Phase 2a (AD 1300-1700) (Bennyhoff & Hughes 1987). Table 8 presents all of the mentioned and identifiable Kuksu-associated pendant subtypes across the six archaeological sites—this is important as it is indicative of varying site tenures of the ancestral populations in these specific localities. Whether or not these areas were the places of manufacture for these artifacts, their presence is indicative of a particular time period and

possible duration of occupation and use—especially with the inclusion of both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms.



**Figure 14:** Timeline illustration of identifiable Kuksu-associated pendants subtypes at the six archaeological sites.

Figure 14 represents all 101 mentioned and identifiable Kuksu-associated pendant subtypes across the six archaeological sites. Other pendants were mentioned across the reports; however, their subtype was unidentifiable, and thus their form was not able to be determined (e.g. The Ryan Mound had 63 individual effigy pendants, but only 33 had identifiable subtypes). While the pendants alone cannot determine site-use patterns other than burial-related and/or mortuary activities, they are able to contribute to understanding aspects of sociocultural complexity and evolution relative to pre-Contact Period ceremonial and religious belief systems.

While the Sunol Water Temple (CA-ALA-565/H), Tamien Station (CA-SCL-690), and the Holiday Inn Site (CA-SCL-128) represent only one effigy pendant form--and thus a particular time period--the Ryan Mound (CA-ALA-329), Yukisma Mound (CA-SCL-38), and Hotchkiss Mound (CA-CCO-138) represent both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms—and in greater numbers. These mound sites have been sanctioned as burial complexes for high lineage individuals (Leventhal, personal communication), and the inclusion of Kuksu-associated material culture supports this interpretive perspective. Not only that, but the inclusion of both forms suggests substantial long-term land tenure to these places. Other variables could account for the distribution and number of pendants recovered from these sites, such as historic agricultural and other impacts to these mounds, looting by artifact hunters, early archaeological excavation practices, limited investigative tie allotted during controlled excavations (e.g. academic investigations vs salvage archaeology), lack of access to certain areas during construction, etc. Regardless, any and all data recovered from these sites still serve as a significant contribution to the California archaeological record; it appears certain that the ancestral Ohlone and Bay Miwokan populations practiced the Kuksu religion in the greater Bay Area and were engaged in a larger ceremonial and economic interactions sphere (Leventhal 1993; Milliken et al. 2007). Milliken and colleagues (2007) noted that:

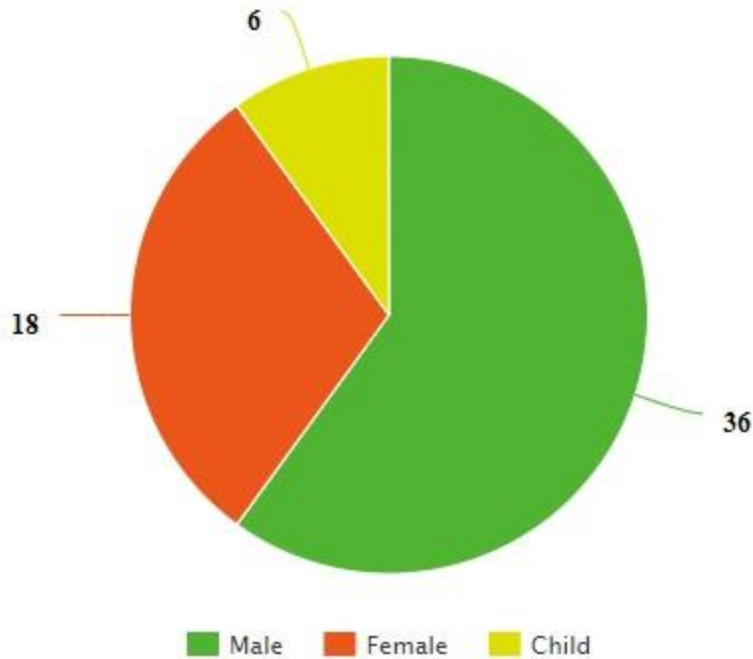
Fredrickson (1974b:66) and Bennyhoff (1994b:70, 72) suggested that the mortuary pattern, including signature *Haliotis* "banjo" effigy ornaments, reflected a new regional ceremonial system that was the precursor of the ethnographic Kuksu cult, a ceremonial system that unified the many language groups around the Bay during Bead Horizon LI [AD 1250 – AD 1550] (Hughes and Milliken 2007:265).



## Archaeological Implications

Each of the six archaeological sites discussed in this study (see Chapter 3) contributes information to the larger endeavor of understanding the societal implications of the Kuksu religion and those who were permitted to practice it. It is clear to see that the religion was indeed exclusive as the associated regalia was only reserved for what appears to be the most elite individuals, especially considering that some of these individuals were interred with other distinctive artifacts of high value. Out of the 1,541 total known burials across the six sites in this report, only 66 included Kuksu-associated effigy pendants in their burial matrices, or 4.28%. This percentage is consistent with the individual site representations of effigy pendant inclusions: 1.54% (Sunol Water Temple), 5.9% (Ryan Mound), 2.87% (Yukisma Mound), 0.8% (Tamien Station), 4.53% (Hotchkiss Mound). Although the Holiday Inn Site has no official MNI, only one individual was associated with Kuksu-associated material, suggesting that this site is in concordance with the others. Moreover, it can be inferred from this dataset that this trend is likely to occur in other archaeological sites containing Kuksu-associated pendants across northern California, especially considering that the Ryan Mound has the highest concentration of the artifact to date (Leventhal 1993).

While some earlier accounts suggest that this was an exclusively male religion (Barrett 1917; Loeb 1932; Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984) the archaeology presented here suggests a different story (Byrd et al. 2019; Leventhal 1993; Bellifemine 1997; Winter 1978; Atchley 1994). Out of the 60 identifiable individuals considered here—as 6 individuals were indeterminate—36 were male (60%), 18 were female (30%), 6 were children (10%).



**Figure 15:** Distribution of Kuksu-associated pendants in burial matrices associated with males, females, and children across the six archaeological sites included in this study.

While there are indeed more males associated with the N series pendant, it appears that females and even children were permitted into the Kuksu religion or inherited these ornaments based upon their lineal affiliation to members of the religious society (e.g. as in the cast of infant burial #79 from the Ryan Mound [Leventhal 1993:234-236]). The roles males and females played in the religion may have greatly differed, and perhaps this is why early anthropologists presumed the religion was exclusively male as that was all they could observe. Not only that, but the fact that children had Kuksu-associated pendant inclusions as grave associations suggests a society based on ascribed rather than achieved status (Bean & Vane 1972; Leventhal 1993).

### Conclusion

The information derived from the six reports included in this study communicate that the ancestral Ohlone and Bay Miwokan populations within the east Bay Area practiced the Kuksu

religion from its earlier manifestations until after colonial contact (AD 1769) and made up the southern nexus of the Kuksu interaction sphere in northern California. It has been observed that the religion was exclusive to high lineage individuals in a society based on ascribed status. Men, women and children were able to access religious knowledge if they were born in powerful and wealthy lineages, and this is suggested by the inclusion of Kuksu-associated regalia present in their burial matrices along with other opulent artifacts.

## **CHAPTER 6: MUWEKMA OHLONE ORAL HISTORY RESULTS**

As an applied anthropology project, an important part of this research was to consider the impacts on contemporary Muwekma tribal membership. To do this, I connected with six Muwekma participants that were willing to share their oral histories with me via a signup sheet presented at a tribal council meeting on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018. The Muwekma oral history participants were Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, Councilwoman and Elder; Mary Louisa Cline, Elder; Frank Ruano, Councilman and Elder; Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Councilwoman; Monica V. Arellano, Vice Chairwoman; and Charlene Nijmeh, Chairwoman. The interviews took place from August 2018 – November 2018 at various locations across the Bay Area and lasted between 45 minutes to 2 hours. The interviews were divided into three main components: individual demography, knowledge of traditional origin stories, and views of contemporary tribal practices. Much of the locality information derived from these interviews come from the individual demography section of interviews. Although genealogical questions were asked for context, this research has not been geared to officially reconstruct participant lineages as this has been done extensively elsewhere. The subsequent sections provide qualitative synopses of each interview conducted and are then followed by a quantitative look (Chapter 7) at patterned themes throughout all six interviews as they pertain to geographic locales, or places of significance.

### **Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira**

The first interview I conducted for this research was with Muwekma Elder and Councilmember Dottie Lameira on August 11<sup>th</sup>, 2018. Dottie and I were able to coordinate a date to meet at her San Jose home through her son, Muwekma Archaeologist Arnold Sanchez, who I worked with at the Sunol Water Temple site CA-ALA-565/H at the time of this research. Arnold wanted to make this a fun and comfortable event, so he decided to barbeque and invite other

family members and friends to join us including his brother Eddie, nephew Danny, and colleagues Brieann DeOrnellas and Alisha Marie Ragland. Both Brieann and Alisha worked with me as archaeological consultants for the Muwekma Ohlone and were alumni of San Jose State University's Anthropology program. Because of this, with Dottie's permission, they participated in our interview and added questions of their own to help enrich the interview—something I am very grateful for.

Dottie was born in Brentwood, California in 1930 to a family with modest means. Her mother, Dolores Marine Galvan, was Native American and her father was from Mexico. Dottie lived with her parents until 1957, when she moved to San Jose to work as a supervisor, distributor and troubleshooter for a dry-cleaning business, a place she worked at for over 20 years. She recollects fond memories of Christmas parties and work get-togethers, and how her work memories were something she cherished. When asked to identify herself, Dottie always says that she is Ohlone Native American, and remarked how “Muwekma” means the same thing as “Ohlone” in Chochenyo, or “people of the coast”. Dottie is a proud Catholic yet does not particularly like going to church as she thinks the church has become more interested in money over the years. Not only that, but she talked about how none of the elders went to church when she was a child yet they all made their children go; she attributed this to the maltreatment of Native Americans at the time.

When I asked Dottie if she or her family had reconstructed their genealogy at all, she said that this had mainly been done verbally. Growing up, Dottie had many aunts, uncles and cousins that may or may not have been related by blood. She remarked how families were often split up in the boarding school system in those days, so you created strong bonds with friends that superseded conceptions of blood relations. Dottie's mother was born and raised in Sunol on the

Alisal Rancheria, and she later lived at Mission San Jose after her husband died with her son who worked at the Mission as a groundskeeper. Recollections of how her mother kept abalone shells whole due to their beauty while her aunts and uncles would craft jewelry out of them came to mind when discussing family. Dottie spoke of how her parents moved to Brentwood as it was a place that was affordable, and although they did not have conveniences such as electricity or plumbing, they always had a lot of fun. She jovially talked about the matriarchal nature of her family; her mother was the “General” of the family and how her father was the “Lieutenant”, always ready to receive orders. On warm evenings her father would gather her and her siblings outside and tell them fables that varied each night. Although Dottie could not remember what any of these stories entailed, she did remember that this was something her father and others routinely did to entertain their children. There were other instances where she and her siblings were not allowed to listen to particular stories, though they snuck an ear in anyway. Dottie discussed how many of the elders spoke of ghosts and apparitions and the experiences each of them had. One story in particular happened in Niles when an elder said he was giving a young hitchhiker a ride, and when they arrived at the destination, she had vanished. Another story was told by her mother and her uncle, and when they were taking a horse and buggy from Niles to Livermore to work on the ranches, they both saw an apparition in an abandoned house. Ghost stories and the spirit realm were topics of importance to Dottie, who told us a few of her own experiences that brought tears to her eyes during the interview.

Regarding knowledge of any traditional origin stories, Dottie said she had once knew of stories, but cannot remember details. She would playfully exclaim, “I can’t recite anything to you, I’m 87!”. Certain moiety icons registered with her, such as Hummingbird and Coyote as well as certain dances such as the Bear Dance and Butterfly/Handkerchief Dance, and she

discussed how many of the dances were imitations of animals. The Butterfly/Handkerchief Dance was performed by women, who danced around in a circle while waving handkerchiefs as a way to impersonate a butterfly. During this phase of the interview, I showed her a photo of the Bighead dancers that have been attributed to Kuksu and, although she did recognize the regalia, she could not extrapolate on any further meaning. Likewise, she had heard the term “Kuksu” in the past but did not remember the significance. Dottie remarked how her mother would have been able to share a lot of information that she did not have or did not remember pertaining to Muwekma Ohlone cosmology.

Dottie listed important places in the Bay Area such as Niles Canyon, which was an important place for social gatherings for Ohlone people. She and her family would frequently visit Niles Canyon for picnics with other families and friends from places such as Sunol, Pleasanton, San Jose, Castro Valley, Newark, and Brentwood. These places were important to her because they are where friends and family lived and where the Alisal Rancheria was. Even though Sunol and Pleasanton were routinely mentioned as places of great significance, Dottie does not believe this would be the most appropriate place for a reservation if the Muwekma were to get federally recognized. Sunol is home to many wealthy people, and the fight to set aside land for the tribe may be a losing battle. Instead, Dottie thinks the Livermore hills would be a fitting location for the establishment for a reservation. When asked what kind of things she would like to see as a result of recognition, she discussed the desire for accessible education programs, health clinics, and affordable housing—she is against the idea of a casino. Finally, Dottie is very fond of the Muwekma tribe’s unique archaeological involvement and has even participated on several excavations herself. She believes education trumps all other endeavors, and any opportunity for her and her tribe to learn more about their ancestors is a blessing.

As my first and eldest interviewee, Dottie opened my eyes to the prior assumptions I had of traditional origin story transmission and mass cultural rupture that segmented and reprioritized life for so many Native Americans in California. When Dottie routinely commented on how she wished her mother could talk to me, it was apparent that perhaps the stories I was searching for may not be relevant to contemporary members in the sense that they did not hear much about them growing up due to different circumstances. I kept this in mind moving forward.

### **Mary Louisa Cline**

I originally met Mary Louisa Cline superficially during the archaeological field work I was contracted to do at the Sunol Water Temple through the tribe. Both Mary Louisa and her sister Rosemary Cambra would come to the site and help us excavate and sift through the residual dirt found within each burial matrix. As my employment progressed, I was sent to another site in San Jose where the Muwekma were monitoring construction activities; Mary Louisa was the primary tribal representative in San Jose at the time. It was the work that we both did at this site that allowed us to get better acquainted and what led to her participation in this project. Since we worked long hours together, Mary Louisa and I were able to conduct our interview during our lunch break on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018 within the confines of our connex storage unit. Mary Louisa is an elder of the Muwekma Ohlone tribe and her sister Rosemary served as the former Chairwoman.

Mary Louisa was born in 1951 to Maria Dolores Sanchez in San Jose and was the youngest of five. Growing up, Mary Louisa discussed how she felt like she was different from the other children, and she believes this was because she was Native American—something that her mother did not tell her until she was older. Although, she did recall an Apache man—whom



she referred to as “grandfather”—would routinely meet with her and sing her songs while she danced as a child, a memory she will not soon forget. Mary Louisa fondly remembers being an active reader in school and taking that ability to create her own stories and fables that she would later entertain her various nieces and nephews with. She is now 67-years-old and has four children, 16 grandchildren, and 9 great grandchildren.

When discussing her mother, Mary Louisa informed me that her grandmother died when her mother was 8-years-old. Shortly thereafter, Maria Dolores Sanchez was sent to live at Mission San Jose where she was raised by Catholic nuns and received her high school diploma. Other family members mentioned were Mary Louisa’s great grandfather (Maria Dolores Sanchez’s grandfather) who was the chief of the Muwekma Ohlone tribe when he was alive and that he was the best horse tamer in the area. Because of this, her family was very wealthy compared to others when they lived in Sunol. Mary Louisa repeatedly told me that she was very young when family events, gatherings and relevant stories were shared, making it hard for her to answer some of my questions. She said that she remembers hearing of trips to Niles but could not recollect any memories of the area.

Despite being too young to remember, Mary Louisa maintains a strong affinity to her Muwekma identity and is incredibly proud of being Native American. She has a strong sense of spirituality which she has merged with her Catholic heritage as well as her conception of traditional lore. “I’m a Catholic woman, but I am a spiritual person. I have faith, I believe in the water, earth, animals.” Mary Louisa explained to me how Catholic nomenclature such as “the Lord” is interchangeable with “the Great Spirit” and “*Oppa*”, all of which refer to one supreme deity. Moreover, she believes that those who conduct archaeological work on burials are called to serve by *Oppa*, just as all other tribal leaders are called to their various positions whether they

be healers, dreamers, or storytellers. When asked about moieties, Mary Louisa said she liked Hummingbird, and that she dreamed of the White Wolf. She had never heard the term Kuksu but did associate the moiety Eagle with a deity that is a strong observer and is always watching the happenings of the world. Her faith and humility are things that she is incredibly proud of.

Mary Louisa asserted that Muwekma culture, as it is understood today, is due in part largely to the efforts of her and other elders who have fought to maintain traditional values. She describes how her family and other Muwekma members reconstructed a Tule Hut at East Bay Park in Castro Valley and reminisces on a time when the tribe was actively expressing their collective identity. Other fond memories included cooking massive meals at the Stanford Powwow, witnessing the dancing of Muwekma people, and annual tribal get-togethers. Mary Louisa believes that continued tribal camaraderie is essential if the Muwekma are to exist as an entity moving forward, something that she desperately desires for the benefit of future generations. Not only that, but continued solidarity will help the tribe in their struggles to regain federal recognition—something that Mary Louisa would like to see in her lifetime. When I asked her how federal recognition would impact her, she simply said that justice would have been served and that she would be happy. Moreover, she thinks that Sunol would be the most appropriate place for a reservation if the tribe was granted one as many of the lineages trace back to the Alisal Rancheria.

### **Frank Ruano**

On September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2018 I drove to Fremont to meet with Frank Ruano, a Muwekma elder and councilmember and his wife Carrie at their home. Upon arrival, I was immediately greeted with a hug by Carrie and offered an array of cheese and crackers. Frank and Carrie have

been married for 54 years and it showed; they had a back-and-forth that was second nature and they were able to finish each other's sentences with ease. Both Frank and Carrie sat down with me during the interview, and Carrie was able to supplement information that Frank either forgot or didn't think to mention.

Born in 1943, Frank was raised in Fremont and remembers when the area was separated into five distinct towns, which all joined together to create Fremont 25 years ago. He has fond memories of his family trips to Niles Canyon where they would park on the side of the road to access the park areas. Frank remarked how the creek ran from Fremont to Sunol and that he and other children would always love to play in the water while some ate clay from the creek, including Frank's sister. Not only was Niles Canyon a place of leisure, but it also served a utilitarian purpose for Frank's family as his father would routinely visit the area to collect watercress for various meals. Gathering fruits and vegetables came naturally to the Ruano family as Frank's mother, Trina Marine, had the children work in the fields during the summertime where they would pick apricots, tomatoes, cherries, prunes, cauliflower, strawberries, and anything else the farm companies were growing that year. He remarked how his mother was essentially in charge of the other workers as she was able to translate the day's instructions from English to Spanish. Not only did Trina have an authoritative role at work, but she was the leader of the home as well. Frank jokingly compared his matriarchal upbringing to the dynamic him and Carrie share, and Carrie lovingly agreed that she usually has the final say-so.

Trina Marine was born in 1902 in Sunol at the Alisal Rancheria. By the time she was 13 years old, both of her parents had passed away due to illness. Carrie remarks how doctors were few and far between in those days, especially if you were a Native American seeking care. Being the youngest of nine, Trina was sent to live at the orphanage at Mission San Jose—she was the

only one of her siblings that ended up here. As she grew older, she was able to get in contact with two of her older brothers who were sent to an all-boys boarding school up north. These are the only two uncles Frank met, and he referred to them as Uncle Dario and Uncle Lucas. Uncle Dario lived in Niles close to Frank's house, and he recalls cutting apricots at his orchard. Carrie knew Frank and his family growing up, although she did not know that they were Native American at first. "You wouldn't go around telling people you're an Indian" she said; it was something that was highly stigmatized. Frank remarks that growing up he and his family maintained a tacit sense that they were second-class citizens compared to white people, even when they only disclosed their Mexican heritage. However, Trina never hid from her children the fact that they were Native American, a contrast to some of her contemporaries. In fact, Trina was part of a news broadcast at Coyote Hills State Park during an annual Gathering of Ohlone Peoples discussing native culture. Frank remarked how racist sentiments have grown softer over the years but recognizes it's still there.

Being young and able-bodied in the 1960s, Frank was drafted into the military during the Vietnam War. He used this opportunity to take advantage of the job training programs available to soldiers and learned how to be a metal polisher, a career he eventually retired from later in life. A baptized Catholic, Frank only went to church when it was necessary growing up and never remembered his parents going. After Frank and Carrie were married in 1965, they began going to church every Sunday and brought up their four children to be Catholic. When I asked Frank if his family had ever shared any traditional stories with him, he replied that he had never heard any growing up. However, he had heard plenty of ghost stories, and that his mom routinely saw apparitions. Frank identifies as both Native American and Mexican, and only heard many of the Muwekma stories after officially joining the tribe. Other members of his family have tried to

reconnect with their native heritage as well; Frank's nephews work at Mission Dolores and oversee the Ohlone Cemetery in Fremont.

Frank and Carrie were active in tribal life by attending the annual gatherings, preparing meals at the Stanford Powwow, and encouraging their children and grandchildren to get involved. However, as they got older and communal functions became less frequent, their involvement slightly declined, although Frank maintains a seat on the tribal council. Carrie discussed how they would use family vacations as opportunities to educate their children about Native Americans and have visited almost all of the Missions in California. Their grandson even worked in Washington State for a summer with a professor analyzing ancient DNA from several archaeological sites—something he was very proud of. When asked about federal recognition, Frank said he would love to see it in his lifetime but hopes that the opportunity will at least present itself to his children. Something that he said repeatedly was that he wanted a physical card issued by the United States government that said he was a federally recognized Native American so that he could prove it in any circumstance. Frank and Carrie also said that they would like to see education programs for children and healthcare clinics for the elderly. As far as a reservation, Frank believes anywhere in the Bay Area will do, as long as it is placed practically near resources and modern conveniences.

### **Sheila Guzman-Schmidt**

Two weeks after I travelled to Fremont to speak with Frank and Carrie, I got in my car and drove to meet Sheila Guzman-Schmidt in Manteca on September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018. Sheila currently lives in Turlock, so Manteca was a way for us to meet halfway, have lunch, and conduct our interview. Sheila was born in Stockton in 1965 to her father Frank Guzman and mother Sue

Green, with whom she lived until their premature passing. At the age of 17, Sheila moved to Tracy to live with relatives on her mother's side until she was able to move out on her own and go to college. With the help of her high school counselor, Sheila applied for a scholarship to attend Stanislaus State University where she later graduated with a Bachelor's in Speech Pathology; she now works as a speech pathologist at a hospital in Turlock.

Growing up, Sheila had no knowledge of her Native American ancestry and believed she was Hispanic and European. Her Native American heritage comes from her father's side of the family while her European ancestry is from her mother's. Sheila told me that her father kept it a secret that he was Native American--perhaps even from her mother--and the only way she found out was from her own investigative research. The first clue she found was from her father's birth certificate, where her grandfather had a racial designation of "red"—this was just the tip of the iceberg for Sheila. She continued to do research and contact various tribes throughout the area to see if anyone could help her and eventually befriended someone that routinely did research at the archives in Washington DC. Sheila gave her maiden name, Guzman, to her friend and they returned from the archives with a census from Niles that listed Jose Guzman.

With a geographic locale and a name in hand, Sheila was able to narrow her search, and this led to her connection to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. Eventually, Sheila was referred to the tribe's ethnohistorian Alan Leventhal and the former tribal administrator Norma Sanchez, who were able to tell her that Jose Guzman was her great-grandfather. They spoke of his involvement with the tribe, interviews with J.P. Harrington, and the fact that he was among the last speakers of the Chochenyo language. Sheila also mentioned how Jose Guzman and his father were constantly moving around the Bay Area to teach dances and songs to other tribes. Not only that, but Jose Guzman's wife, Sheila's great-grandmother, was a direct descendant of the last *capitan*

of the Muwekma—an elite role in tribal society--and had a brother named Modesto, whom she believes the town is named after. For Sheila, this was an overwhelming discovery which brought tears to her eyes during our interview. Not only did she learn of the importance of her heritage, but she was able to learn about her father as well.

Frank Guzman was born in 1926 and baptized Catholic in Pleasanton. He continued to live in the Pleasanton/Sunol/Niles/Centerville area working as a farmhand until his deployment for WWII. Sheila remembers stories her father used to tell her about the war and his involvement in heavy combat, and how she always thought of him as a survivor. This aspect was applicable to other parts of his life, especially the parts he kept hidden. When delving deeper into their research, Sheila and Alan discovered that Frank abruptly stopped identifying himself as Native American on all written documentation, which Alan attributes to the heavily racist sentiments of the time. Sheila believes he did this to protect himself and his family and has come to understand why she was never introduced to any of her father's family members. However, Sheila also discovered that, although Frank was keen on keeping his Native American background a secret, he still remained in contact with family in Pleasanton. Trina Marine (Frank Ruano's mother) took on the role of Frank's Godmother, and it appears that Frank would routinely visit her and others during his life. When Sheila was welcomed and enrolled into the tribe, Trina Marine's daughter Faye gave her a set of military dog tags that had belonged to her father, a surprising and welcomed gift. "As a young man, my dad would [go] home (referring to Sunol). They all stayed connected. There were things that separated them, but I believe it wasn't by choice."

Tribal revitalization is something that is extremely important to Sheila for her own sense of self and for the tribe's collective identity, and she commends her fellow councilmember who recently opened a popup restaurant that features indigenous Ohlone foods in Berkeley.

Moreover, Sheila thinks that the tribe's archaeological involvement is vital and believes that the collaboration with archaeologists and tribal members is essential; the archaeologist provides the expertise and the tribal member provides the sensitivity and spiritual well-being. Regarding federal recognition, Sheila would like access to valuable resources such as education programs, healthcare, and housing—she is not particularly fond of the idea of a casino as large amounts of money can be something that divides people. She believes that one of the reasons the tribe has not regained federal recognition is due to politics and the fact that their ancestral homeland is located in a wealthy part of the Bay Area. Nonetheless, Sheila thinks that if they were granted a reservation, the most appropriate place for it would be in the Sunol/Pleasanton/Livermore area.

Sheila is a victim of the mass cultural rupture experienced by the Muwekma people and others but is also one of the biggest advocates for tribal revitalization. After discovering her heritage in 1999, Sheila had her children enrolled in the tribe and made sure they actively participated in activities and gatherings. Today, both her children are in their mid-20s and are extremely proud of their Native American heritage. She has also been a crucial part of the Chochenyo language revitalization process and currently sits on the tribal council. When asked to identify herself, she says she is a California Indian with a strong personal relationship with God. Sheila was baptized Catholic and remembers attending church regularly with her father on Sundays—her mother did not attend because she was a Baptist. Now, Sheila visits congregations of any denomination and believes that everyone's spirituality is their own business. Although Sheila has what she called a “unique” background story and thought she would not be of any help in this project, I reassured her that the lack of tribal involvement growing up is an important story in its own right and speaks to the oppressive marginalization faced by Native Americans.



## **Monica V. Arellano**

My relationship with Monica V. Arellano began in late 2017 on the first day I began working for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe out at Sunol Water Temple. She was there to greet me and explain what was expected of me as well as explain the importance of the work being done. Since then, Monica and I have kept in contact regarding contractual work I have done for the tribe and to discuss the outcomes of this research. The Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is my community partner for this project report, and Monica has been my primary contact and an avid supporter throughout. On October 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018 I met Monica in downtown Pleasanton at a café to go over my project and conduct our interview—the setting could not have been more fitting for the topics discussed.

Born 1972 in Hayward, Monica has spent all her life in the Bay Area. She currently lives in Castro Valley with her young son. Monica identifies as half Mexican from her mother's side and half Muwekma Ohlone from her father's. Growing up, Monica remembers the warm Yerba Buena tea her mother, Virginia used to brew and the eclectic variety of fruit her father, Joel used to grow in their backyard. Growing food came naturally to Joel as he worked in a nursery as a young man. Monica explained to me that she officially identifies herself as the daughter of Joel Arellano, granddaughter of Albert Marine Arellano, and great-granddaughter of Mercedes Marine, and that she is a representative of the Marine lineage. Both Monica's parents and grandparents live(d) in Hayward, which used to be called Russell City. She relayed to me how her father would tell her stories about him and his siblings playing at Niles Canyon, which is illustrated on an old black and white photo—something that is sacred to their family. As a child, Monica always knew she was an Ohlone Native American, but it wouldn't be until her mid-20s when she would identify as Muwekma. Monica's family is heavily involved in the Apostolic

Assembly with her uncles being pastors and other prominent positions in the church. During a church service, her uncle Milo had a chance meeting with former Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra, where they both learned that the other was of Ohlone decent. Rosemary connected Milo--and later Joel—to Alan Leventhal to help reconstruct their genealogy. After that, the Arellano family was invited into the Muwekma tribe.

Although Monica did not start identifying as Muwekma Ohlone until 1998, she is very informed about important localities, significant tribal leaders, and other cultural information. This is due in part to her various roles within the organization. After graduating from Cal State Hayward with her MBA, Monica was invited to hold the Vice Chairwoman position within the tribal organization; this was around the time the tribe was petitioning for federal recognition. As a way to educate herself and others, she developed a series of educational workshops for tribal members about what it meant to be Muwekma. These workshops spanned a series of topics including Missionization, indigenous foodways, and genealogy. Shortly thereafter, Monica and other tribal members worked with academics to develop a lexicon from the Harrington notes of the Chochenyo language which led to its revitalization in 2002—Monica still serves as the co-Chairwoman of the language committee.

When I asked Monica about significant places in the Bay Area, she told me that all of San Francisco Bay is important to the Muwekma people, but Pleasanton, Sunol, and Niles in particular, since that is where all lineages converge. Not only that, but the Sunol Wilderness Reserve has been host to the tribe's campouts and family gatherings which include various cultural activities such as basketry, making elderberry clapper sticks, working with abalone, harvesting, gathering, and preparing food. These cultural activities were done to better understand and connect with their ancestors on their aboriginal homeland. Moreover, Monica is

hoping that a Roundhouse will be constructed at the Sunol Water Temple's interpretive center so the tribe can have access to a space that will allow them to revitalize their traditional dances in an important place.

Monica is familiar with Kuksu through what she has learned as a member of the tribe, so I was not surprised when she shared how hadn't been exposed to any traditional creation stories as a child. In fact, Monica was familiar with how N-series pendants were representations of the Bighead dancers and that the religion is often associated with males. As someone who is at the forefront of educating tribal members about their heritage and cultural history, Monica is well versed in the Harrington notes and told me that many of the cultural attributes Muwekma people practice today were derived from the transcripts Harrington made with Jose Guzman and Angela Colos. Interestingly, she shared with me that she has heard the Kuksu dance be referred to as the "devil dance" because that's what the Padres designated the practice. In the Harrington notes, Angela Colos alludes to this by calling Kuksu a "demon". Monica discusses how she had heard stories from the Mount Diablo region that mention Eagle, Coyote and Hawk; she was not able to name specifics but does refer to the fact that there were different versions. Topics like Kuksu interest Monica and she is looking forward to learning more about them when she starts to study the Harrington notes, a project she will be taking on in the near future.

Considering tribal revitalization, Monica told me that it has become a life goal for her. Developing programs and workshops for tribal members is something she is constantly working on, and she wants to get more members speaking the Chochenyo language moving forward. Abalone is something that remains of great value to the Muwekma tribe, and Monica wants to facilitate jewelry-making workshops using the material. Recently, her and other representatives from the Muwekma tribe welcomed another tribe from Hawaii by gifting them handmade

abalone necklaces, something that was customary for high status individuals. Moreover, the tribe held a demonstration at the American Indian Heritage Celebration teaching others to make abalone necklaces. She talks about the importance of tribal involvement in archaeological projects associated with the tribe, and that these jobs give Muwekma members the opportunity to both physically and spiritually connect with their ancestors as well as learn how the archaeological process works. This line of work not only gives those involved invaluable experience working in the field, but also bestows a greater sense of tribal agency as they are able to have their voices heard in the decision-making process regarding their ancestral dead.

Appealing the tribe's Final Determination verdict for federal recognition is something that Monica and the rest of the tribal council are currently considering. Monica laments how the standards of recognition do not consider the fact that California Native Americans had a different set of circumstances than their east coast counterparts; many Native Americans had to go into hiding or shield their identity for sheer survival. The process will be a momentous one, but neither Monica nor the rest of the tribe are willing to give up the fight. When I asked Monica where she would like the reservation to be, she agreed with other participants by stating that she would like it close to where the Alisal Rancheria stood.

### **Charlene Nijmeh**

The final interview I conducted was with Charlene Nijmeh, the recently elected Chairwoman of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe; her and I sat down at a coffee shop in Gilroy on November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2018 to have our interview. Charlene is the second tribal Chair of the Muwekma with their first being her mother, Rosemary Cambra who held the position for over 30 years. Born in 1973 in Mountain View, Charlene has many memories regarding tribal life growing up.

She talked about how her mother chauffeured her all over the Bay Area to experience other tribe's dance ceremonies, gatherings, and spiritual life. A story that resonates in Charlene's mind was an instance where her, her cousin, aunt and mother visited spiritual leaders from the Wintu tribe at a cemetery up north. The purpose of this meeting was to help put their Wintu ancestors to sleep by burning sage and smudging each burial. The Wintu elders told their Muwekma participants not to be surprised if they abruptly fell asleep themselves following the ceremony. To Charlene's amazement, her and her family spontaneously fell asleep in their van two hours later. This memory, among others of her volunteering at the Stanford Powwow and helping on archaeological sites since the 1980s are cemented in Charlene's concept of personal identity.

When asked about her ethnic affiliation, Charlene tells people she is a Native American who belongs to a tribe as well as part Portuguese. Recently, she has become more interested in her Portuguese heritage and hopes to visit the Azores soon. However, most of Charlene's childhood memories circled around a tribal identity where her mother worked hard to instill a strong sense of self in her while her grandmother, Dolores Sanchez, emphasized communal get-togethers and the importance of family. Charlene remembers the constant smell of burning mugwort and sage as they sat in abalone shells as a way to cleanse the areas in which they were. She also talked about how her grandmother was always in the kitchen cooking fresh tortillas and nopales for everyone and that, although she was strong and reserved, she loved having a lot of people around. Likewise, Charlene affectionately described her mother as "ruling with an iron fist" when she was a child and how her mother was a strong matriarch.

Important places to Charlene included a cactus patch at Sunol which, according to her mother, was a very sacred place. Although she had never visited herself, Charlene is aware of the importance Niles Canyon has had on other tribal members. Overall, she believes that the entire

San Francisco Bay Area is a place of reverence as the aboriginal homeland of her people. When I asked her about the importance of religion in her life, she shared that she was raised Catholic but now claims no affinity to organized religion and instead believes in a higher power. She also shared that she was not exposed to any traditional origin stories growing up but did overhear her mother and grandmother discussing Kuksu and the Ghost Dance and saw photos of the Bighead dancers. Today, Charlene is very interested in studying moiety systems and creation stories affiliated with the tribe and shared with me how one of their councilmembers has taken on the task of transcribing the Harrington notes as they pertain to Muwekma.

Charlene had a unique upbringing being the daughter of the former Chairwoman in that she was exposed to the importance of tribal revitalization, solidarity, and political activism at a very young age. Rosemary Cambra is a California legend and political icon for tribal rights; she led the fight of burial repatriation in the 1980s which Charlene and others have said influenced the famous national 1990 Native American Graves Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) legislation requiring the repatriation of human remains and associated cultural materials to descendant communities. This victory did not come without setbacks, and the tribe has experienced many roadblocks in their political and personal lives. Contemporaneous with burial activism, the tribe was going through a lawsuit with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), a battle that the tribe eventually lost. Charlene passionately describes how her mother was able prove 99.9% of current Muwekma membership were direct descendants of the previously recognized Verona Band of Alameda. Not only that, but the BIA issued a document confirming this and granted the designation of “previously recognized” for the Muwekma tribe—something that they stopped doing for other tribes immediately afterward. When the presiding judge questioned this by asking why the Muwekma were not federally recognized if they are able to fulfill all Seven Criteria of

Federal Acknowledgement and were previously recognized, the BIA responded with “they withered away”. This response resonated with the Muwekma leadership and threatened their very identity as a tribal body as well as personal conceptions of self, as it must have done to those who were disenfranchised in 1927 under the influence of Kroeber’s proclamation of extinction.

Since this lawsuit, the tribe has been working to appeal their final determination and are taking all aspects into consideration. Charlene knows it will be an uphill battle, but she asserted, regardless if they receive federal recognition or not, the Muwekma people are still a legitimate tribe and that sanctions from the government, while they would be beneficial, are not in charge of their self-worth and identity. Charlene is passionate about tribal revitalization as it is able to connect current membership to their ancestors and facilitate unbounded camaraderie between members and with other tribes. If the tribe were to receive recognition—which Charlene is adamant about making happen—she believes that Sunol would be the best place for a reservation as this land served their ancestors well and would, in turn, do the same for their descendants.

### **Conclusion**

Through the course of these interviews, it became apparent to me that the data I was seeking pertaining to knowledge of traditional origin stories was different than what I had anticipated. However, the lack of specific knowledge pertaining to traditional origin stories is valuable data in its own right as it alludes to the numerous cultural ruptures experienced by the Muwekma Ohlone. These ruptures include relocation from traditional lands to Mission settings, genocides of entire populations during the Gold Rush, and forced secrecy due to racial stigmatization (e.g. having children believe they are of solely of Hispanic heritage), among

others. Participants mentioned these aspects as well when discussing how they were not exposed to particular Native American elements or did not learn of their heritage until later in life.

Important designations were made pertaining to places of cultural significance to Muwekma members with many cities and towns being mentioned specifically, especially Niles, Sunol, San Jose and Pleasanton. These areas served primarily as locations where participants recall familial gatherings, places where their parents and ancestors lived, and areas where tribal members believe a reservation should be if one were allotted to them. These places of significance represent personal and cultural relationships to place in the broader context of Muwekma collective memory.



## **CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION**

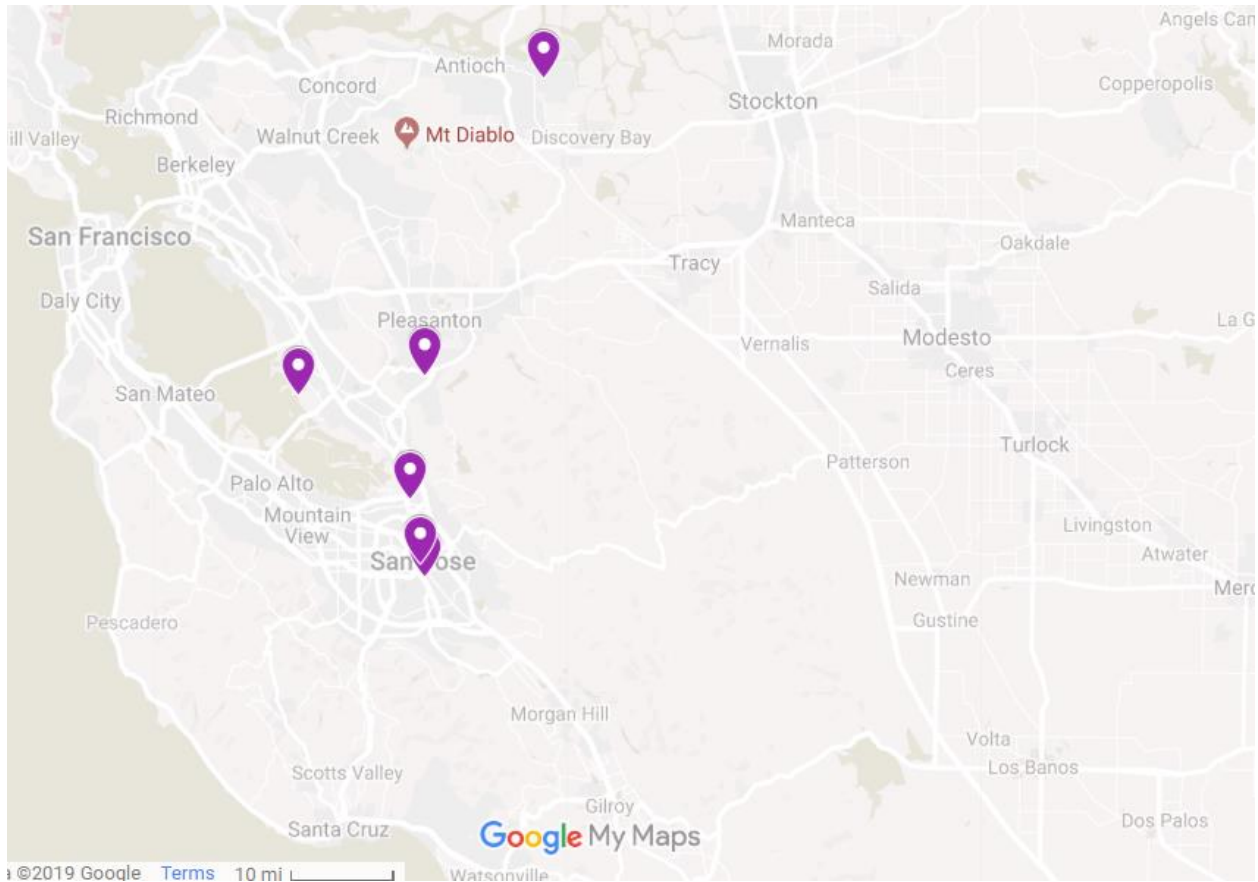
This project report has brought together two distinct datasets, quantitative and qualitative, to understand how contemporary Muwekma membership relates to precolonial Kuksu practices and associated material culture. Six documented archaeological sites have been assessed by extracting all relevant information as it pertains to Kuksu by inventorying effigy pendant subtypes to assess antiquity and considering the context in which the pendants were discovered. The locations of these sites have been mapped to understand their geographic disposition in the greater Bay Area and serve as a datum for the second dataset.

Oral history interviews with six contemporary Muwekma Ohlone members were conducted to understand relationships to place. Out of these six interviews, 12 dominant themes—or places of significance—were recorded and tallied across each transcript. The places with the most mentions include Niles, Sunol, San Jose, and Pleasanton. Not only did these areas have profound impacts on the interview participants, but they served as places of great historical significance as well (e.g. the Mission in San Jose, Alisal Rancheria in Pleasanton, etc.). Each place of significance was mapped to visualize their geographic relationship to one another as well as relative to the six archaeological sites. This section considers each dataset separately, and then brings both archaeological sites and places of significance together to triangulate results.

### **Analysis of Archaeological Site Reports**

For this dataset, I wanted to be able to conceptualize the geographic distribution of Kuksu-associated archaeological sites in relation to one another as well as additional variables in order to triangulate Muwekma Ohlone connections to Kuksu. The emphasis on the geolocation of these sites have been emphasized because, unlike the places of significance in oral histories,

they are static, making them a necessary datum in this research. All archaeological sites in the report contained at least one Kuksu-associated pendant in their artifact assemblage. The sites discussed include the Sunol Water Temple Site, CA-ALA-565/H; the Ryan Mound, CA-ALA-329; the Yukisma Mound, CA-SCL-38; Tamien Station, CA-SCL-690; the Holiday Inn Site, CA-SCL-128; and the Hotchkiss Mound, CA-CCO-138. Each of these sites (with the exclusion of the Hotchkiss Mound which is situated within the neighboring Bay Miwok-linguistic territory) have been within the boundaries of Muwekma Ohlone territory. As noted in Chapter 3, the Hotchkiss Mound has been an imperative archaeological site in deciphering California history and has even contributed to the chronological diagnostics of Kuksu-associated pendants (Atchley 2004). Even though this site has been associated with the Bay Miwok, it remains an important consideration when assessing the distribution of Kuksu-associated artifacts and religion in relation to the Muwekma. Moreover, due to its close proximity and the fact that Miwokan and Costanoan both constitute the Utian language family (Atchley 2004), I believe that these sites are closely related.



**Map 7:** Geographic distribution of the six archaeological sites containing Kuksu-associated pendants discussed in this study.

As previously mentioned in Chapters 3 and 5, the evolution of Kuksu-associated pendant forms has been from zoomorphic to anthropomorphic. The accepted time span lies between AD 900-1700, although active manufacture and circulation seems to be between AD 1100-1600 (Cambra et al 2014). Zoomorphic pendants appear from AD 900-1300 while anthropomorphic ones appear AD 1300-1700 (Winter 1978). This end date suggests that the religion went into decline as the Spanish settlers began arriving and shows that both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic pendants characterize precolonial material culture. The sites represented in this study have a total of 101 individually identified pendants, with 56 being anthropomorphic and 45 taking zoomorphic forms. While both of these forms are precolonial (prior to Spanish contact), the fact that 44.5% of the pendants in this study are zoomorphic suggests prominent religious

longevity and therefore suggests a major presence of the Kuksu religion in the San Francisco Bay Area. Furthermore, the fact that zoomorphic pendants are almost equal in number to anthropomorphic ones and coexist within archaeological sites indicates that the populations utilizing these sites were in living memory of the tribal communities over many generations, who maintained long term occupation of burying their important people, and frequently returned for such mortuary activities. This fact can be seen in stratigraphic soil evidence as well as the transition of pendant forms—this is especially evident at the Holiday Inn Site, where one of the pendants found appears to have been reworked from a zoomorphic form to an anthropomorphic one (Winter 1978). It is evident that the Kuksu-associated material culture was being used in these areas by the tribal groups that occupied this territory and therefore suggests that the Kuksu religion was active and thriving in San Francisco Bay Area prior to European contact.

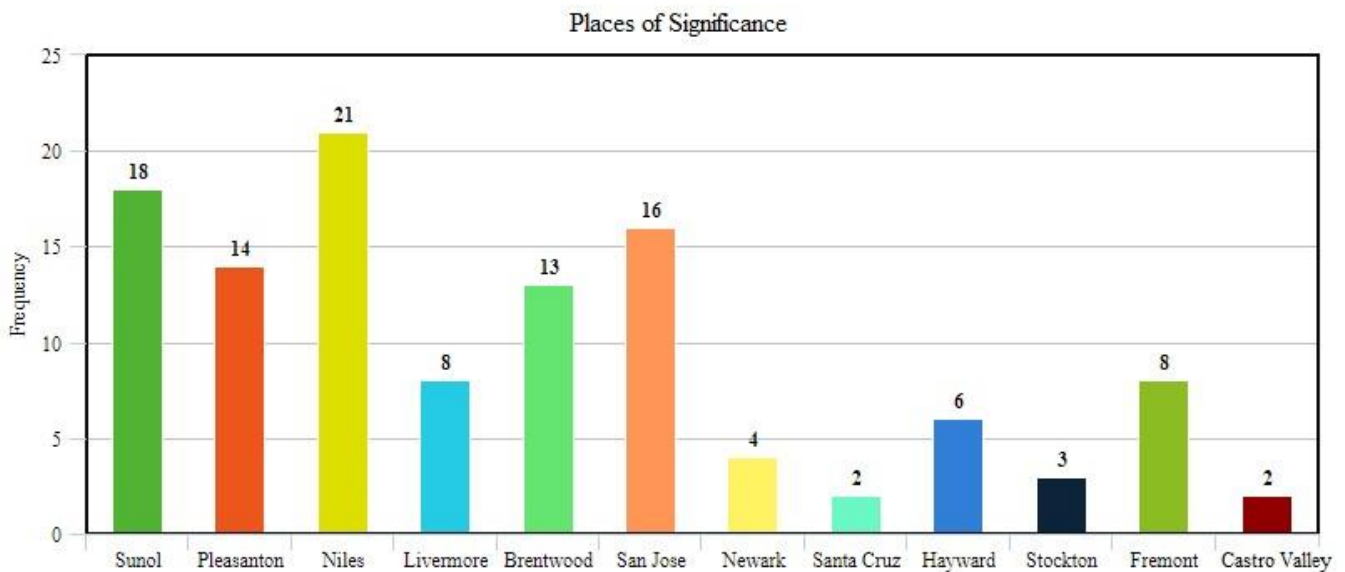
### **Analysis of Oral Histories**

The second dataset considered in this project report were the oral histories of current Muwekma membership. I conducted six interviews over a period of three months with participants ranging in age from 45-87. The Muwekma Ohlone tribal members who participated in this study are Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, Councilwoman and Elder; Mary Louisa Cline, Elder; Frank Ruano, Councilman and Elder; Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Councilwoman; Monica V. Arellano, Vice Chairwoman; and Charlene Nijmeh, Chairwoman. I formulated the interview questions with Muwekma ethnohistorian and tribal archaeologist Alan Leventhal to understand individual conceptions of identity, modern knowledge of ceremonies such as Kuksu, and contemporary thoughts on tribal revitalization and federal recognition. I formulated a research strategy to address themes related both to geographic places of significance and evidence of Kuksu or other creation stories presented to me by the participants. However, I

learned early in the interview process that none of the interview participants grew up with the knowledge of creation stories that have been associated with Kuksu or other forms. The only exception to this is Charlene Nijmeh whose mother is the former Chairwoman of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and who had dedicated her life to getting the tribe federally recognized and facilitating a platform for cultural revitalization. Charlene was the only participant who had heard the name Kuksu and seen photographs of the Bighead dancers growing up, albeit in passing.

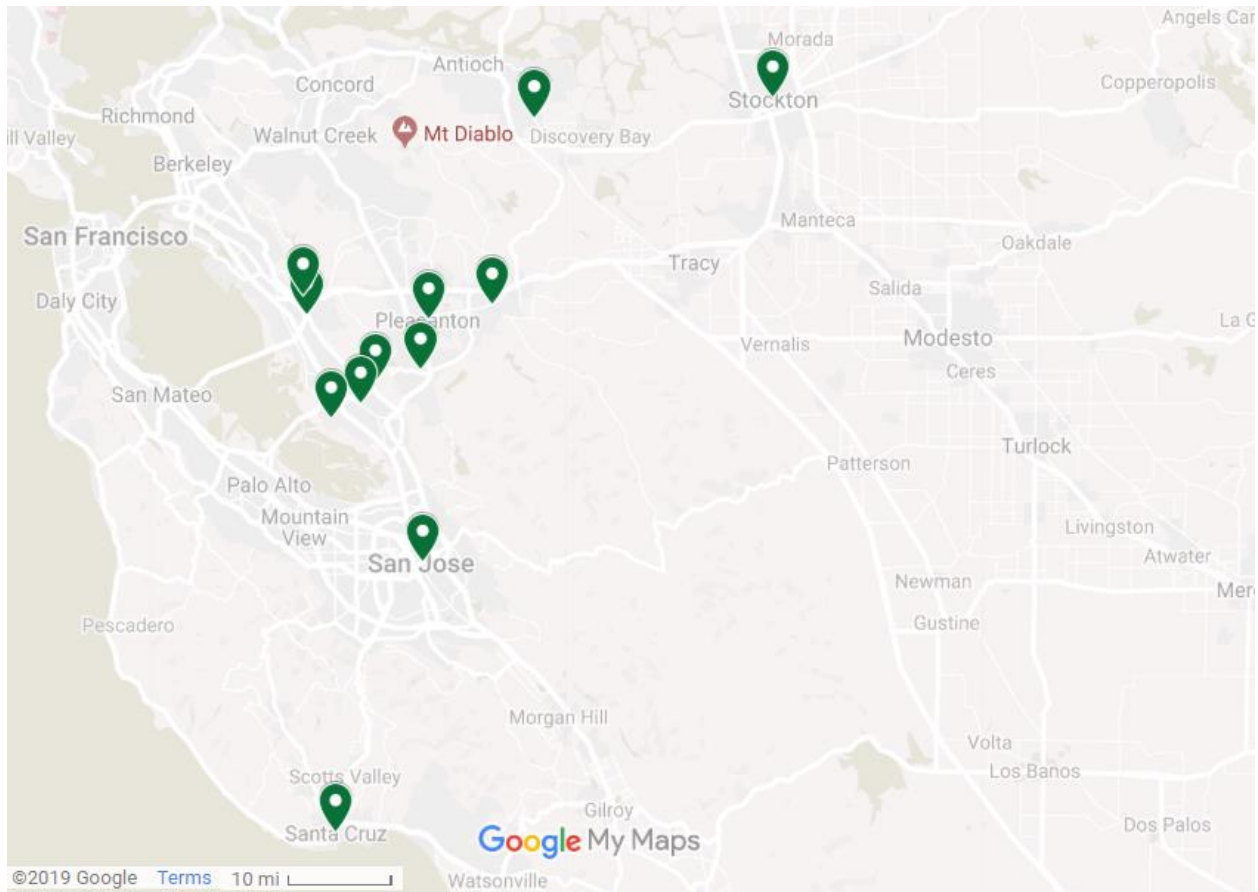
My first interview was with Dolores “Dottie” Galvan Lameira, and she had mentioned multiple times how she wished her mother was able to talk to me about Ohlone creation stories and conceptions of Kuksu as these topics were never shared with her growing up. I kept this in mind, and during the course of the rest of my interviews I found that the lack of overt cultural knowledge was a dominant theme; some participants did not know they were of Native American decent until they were older; while others were aware, it was not a focal point of their upbringing. My interview with Sheila Guzman-Schmidt enlightened me to the fact that many Native Americans were afraid of racial discrimination prior to the 1970s, and this is why many people kept it a secret and claimed exclusive Hispanic descent. Frank and Carrie Ruano echoed this sentiment by emphasizing how bad Native American stigmatization was and that it is a different environment compared to today. Dottie, Mary Louisa, and Sheila all shared the fact that they were unaware of their Native American heritage until an older age, while Frank was aware of his heritage, but was not inclined to tell others in his youth. Monica and Charlene were both aware of their Native American heritage growing up, which may communicate a generational shift and progressive social climate seeing as how Monica and Charlene were the youngest participants in this study.

The majority of interview participants were raised and baptized Catholic with the exception of Monica who was raised in the Apostolic Assembly—a different sect of Christianity. Every participant discussed how their mothers were the dominant voice in the house, with names like “the General”, “the Warden”, or “ruling with an iron fist”. The emphasis of mothers as being the head of the household may communicate inherit matriarchal roles that were practiced by their grandparents and beyond. Because I quickly discovered that none of the participants had been exposed to traditional origin stories growing up, I was unable to obtain either overt or nuanced information pertaining to certain spaces. Instead, I resolved to ask participants about important places in the Bay Area and why. These localities represented places where they were born, where their ancestors were born, places they would frequently go growing up, and more. From these, I compiled a list of all places mentioned in each interview and tallied how many times they were mentioned throughout all six interviews. I decided that if a certain place was mentioned by at least two participants, then it was culturally significant.



**Figure 16:** Oral history places of significance and their frequency across six interviews.

It should be noted that these places were chosen based on the context in which they were shared; if someone casually mentioned a city without context, it was not included. In total, 12 places were represented as places of cultural significance across the six interviews.



**Map 8:** Geographic distribution of significant places mentioned in Muwekma oral histories collected during this research.

## Convergence

The purpose of employing these two distinct datasets was to attempt to triangulate Muwekma Ohlone precolonial connections to places in the Bay Area. The first dataset using archaeological site reports was more quantitative in nature and was used as a static datum to understand the distribution of Kuksu-associated material culture in the San Francisco Bay Area. The second dataset of contemporary tribal oral histories was used both qualitatively and

quantitatively by first extracting information that pertained to Muwekma identity and affinity to places and then itemizing those places and analyzing their geographic distribution. However, neither of these datasets are useful without the other in fully understanding Muwekma precolonial connections to place through Kuksu. By bringing these two distinct datasets together, we are able address the research questions posed in the beginning.



**Map 9:** Geographic distribution of archaeological sites (purple), places of significance (green), Bay Area Missions (blue crosses) in relation to the boundaries of Muwekma associated territory in the Bay Area (shaded grey).



As shown in Map 9, many of the places of significance (green) either overlap with the archaeological sites (purple) or are in close proximity to them. Also included are the three Bay Area Missions (blue crosses) to which all contemporary Muwekma claim their ancestors are from as well as the outlined Muwekma tribal boundary (outlined and shaded grey) for greater context. The most important finding in Map 9 is the strong nexus of activity between San Jose to Pleasanton, which is currently a center of activity for the Muwekma as they continue to participate in archaeological projects in these areas as well host their annual gatherings. Moreover, Sunol, Pleasanton, Niles, and San Jose were the most mentioned places of significance across the six interviews. These localities were places that participants grew up, had family living in, attended tribal gatherings, or where their ancestors resided. Furthermore, the Alisal Rancheria was located in Pleasanton and was the home to the previously federally recognized Verona Band of Alameda, the tribe that 99.9% of all Muwekma are decedents of (Charlene Nijmeh, personal communication).

Coinciding with these places of significance are five out of the six archaeological sites discussed in this study. One of these sites is the Ryan Mound, which contained the highest concentration of Kuksu-associated material culture in California, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic alike (Leventhal 1993). It is clear to see that Kuksu-associated material culture was adorned and circulated in precolonial San Francisco Bay Area. While this fact has been generally accepted prior to this project report, what this research has aimed to do is connect the presence of these pendants to the places of significance as they relate to Muwekma in order to understand land tenure. Many of the interview participants discussed how their parents and relatives were sent to Mission San Jose from the Alisal Rancheria in Pleasanton through either force or because they had been orphaned. Descendants of those whose relatives had lived at Mission San Jose

and/or the Alisal Rancheria that participated in this study have ascribed meaning and continued to maintain residence in close proximity to these two locations, expressing continued land tenure.

As previously mentioned, the fact that zoomorphic pendants were found in the archaeological sites associated with the Muwekma indicates longer land tenure than if only anthropomorphic ones were found. Conceptions of the religion were also not long ago silenced, as prominent tribal leaders Jose Guzman and Angela Colos shared their knowledge pertaining to Kuksu with 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologist J.P. Harrington in Pleasanton. Jose Guzman was Sheila Guzman-Schmidt's great-grandfather and one of the last native speakers of the Chochenyo language. In his interview with Harrington, Guzman describes Kuksu as a healer adorning a large headdress who plays the song of night on his whistle (Becks 2018). Guzman mentions in his song that Kusku is walking to Mission Peak, a summit located in Fremont and within the nexus of activity described above.

“The Kuksu went dancing in the hill and said hu hu.  
He had a big head dress of the tip wing feathers of the auron.  
The Indians called it Kuksui but the Spanish Californios said *Cúcsui*.  
He makes the land shudder. He knows that well.  
He also heard that Kuksu comes in the day and cures the sick man.  
Kuksu brings a very large whistle and he whistles the song of the night on it.”

From José Guzman:

“Here I am to walk this day to Hifu  
Here I am to walk to my cousin  
Here I am to walk to Mission Peak  
Here I am to walk to Mission Peak  
Here I am to walk to Hifu  
Here I am to walk

Ja ja.” (Harrington Field Notes 1925-1934).

Angela Colos also discusses Kuksu with Harrington but refers to him as demon (devil) with a large head and that white people would come to visit the dance ceremonies held in the round house at Pleasanton (Becks 2018). Colos’ description of Kuksu as a demon can be indicative of a different access to knowledge based on gender or her distrust of outsiders asking about secret religious practices that were not meant to be shared with outsiders (Becks 2018; Leventhal, personal communication). Colos described to Harrington that Kuksuy was performed in relationship to a doctoring song. Harrington records the song as follows:

“A song of the diablos. I understood [Angela] to say that she used to hear a certain girl singing this song all the time.

*Woko’ oj wokoj*

*‘ehe wokoj*

A song of the devils. I understood Angela to say that she used to hear a certain girl singing this song all the time.

*Woko’ oj wokoj*

*‘ehe wokoj*

*‘atumlele kuksui* (an animal that resembles fish-*del-mar* [of the sea])

*‘ehe*

*‘ehe woko’o*

*Woko’oi wokoi*

*Jája...*

*Kúksúi, es el diablo mas grande cabéson.*

White people used to come from far and wide to see this song.

Was sung in the sweathouse

*‘atumlele kuksui*

*‘ehe*

*‘ehe woko’o*

*Woko'oi wokoi*

*Jája...*

Kuksu is the devil with a very big head. White people used to come far and wide to see this song. It was sung in the sweathouse.” (Harrington Field Notes 1925-1934).

During my interview with Monica V. Arellano, she mentioned how the Padres would classify indigenous dance rituals as devil worship, and perhaps this is why Colos answered the way that she did. Overall, it is apparent that the nexus of activity outline in Map 9 has been and continues to be an area of great cultural significance to Muwekma people and has impacted their collective and individual conceptions of identity.

It is clear to see that, in some manifestation, the Kuksu religion was active and thriving in the precolonial San Francisco Bay Area based on the archaeological record as well as the early mentions of the religion by 16th century European sea voyagers and 20th century anthropologists. Moreover, the fact that half of the sites in this study contained both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic forms of the pendant suggest land tenure over longer periods of time and through ideological shifts. It appears that the Bay Area made up the southern boundary of the Kuksu-religious interaction sphere. Likewise, interviews with Muwekma members conducted in 1924 by anthropologist J.P. Harrington recounted Kuksu songs and stories, describing the deity as having a “big head” and being a prominent religious figure. While this research is unable to prove continuous bloodlines prior the written record, it suggests that the descendants that claim ties to these precolonial populations have expressed continued land tenure and have ascribed cultural meaning to places in the Bay Area.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this project report was to investigate place-based narratives from contemporary Muwekma people and juxtapose them to precolonial material evidence in the form of N-series, or Kuksu, pendants. Through the convergence of results, it is clear to see a geographic overlap of the precolonial archaeological sites with the designated places of significance represented in the oral history interviews. While this research aimed to explore covert continuations of traditional origin stories through the expression of modern values, it became apparent that this would not be possible due to the cultural ruptures evident throughout Muwekma history in the forms of initial missionization, boarding schools, and outright stigmatization of Native American culture. This research has shown the generational shift evident between participants; Mary-Louisa Cline, born in 1951, discusses how she had no idea of her Native American heritage when she was younger, while Charlene Nijmeh, born in 1973, had a strong sense of native identity growing up. This is due in part to the American Indian Movement of the 1970s as well as the iconic Muwekma activism spearheaded by former Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra.

Today, the Muwekma Ohone Tribe has two main goals moving forward: the first is to continue to appeal their final determination verdict and fight for their federal recognition. The second is to focus on tribal revitalization and cultural workshops for current and younger membership. Monica V. Arellano and Sheila Guzman-Schmidt--along with fellow councilmembers Gloria E. Arellano Gomez and Vincent Medina--are at the forefront of this as they continue to teach Muwekma youth their native language of Chochenyo, while Charlene Nijmeh discusses how they want to facilitate workshops that teach basketry and shell jewelry-making. The Muwekma tribal leadership believes that by hosting tribal gatherings and cultural

workshops, members are able to learn and be empowered by their relation to their ancestors, which enforces a strong individual and communal identity. This research was done in collaboration with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe and was not only done to satiate curiosity about the Kuksu religion in general, but to learn how precolonial cultural forms relate to their ancestors and, in turn, themselves, as a way to investigate their precolonial connection to the San Francisco Bay Area and regain their federal recognition. Thus, this research study helps both the Muwekma Tribe and anthropological scientific communities open a dialogue and a collective learning curve about the meaningful insights and complex interrelationship between the past and contemporary prehistory, history and heritage of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area.

### **Project Deliverables**

The deliverables derived from this project report for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe included a succinct report and an interactive map. The report avoided academic prose and jargon in order to be accessible to all interested Muwekma or community members. The map showcased the six archaeological sites and places of significance relative to the three Bay Area Missions all within the boundaries of the Muwekma Ohlone tribal territory and has an interactive feature where viewers can click on certain points to learn more about an area. Monica V. Arellano and I discussed and agreed on the above deliverables that came out of this project report with the possibility of presenting this research at a future date to the Muwekma Tribal Council or at a communal tribal gathering. Both of these deliverables have been formatted to be displayed on their website at <http://www.muwekma.org> if the tribe so chooses to in the future. The deliverables have been included here as Appendix A.

## **Limitations**

The limitations of this research lie primarily in the small sample sizes of both datasets. I chose the six archaeological sites based on the first-hand knowledge of professional archaeologists. I found that the only way to locate archaeological site reports that contain particular artifacts is by them being referenced in other reports or publications and by first-hand knowledge of professional archaeologists; there is no database that lists archaeological sites by their contents that I found. It would have been beneficial to include other site reports from the area of interest that contained Kuksu-associated pendants in their assemblages. Like the archaeological reports, I was able to recruit six participants to participate in oral history interviews. Although more people had expressed interest in contributing to this research, schedules either could not be worked out or potential participants became too busy. It would have been advantageous to include more Muwekma voices in this research, especially from the younger generation as my youngest participant was 44.

## **Future Research**

It would be very interesting to see the geographic distribution of all California sites that contain Kuksu-associated pendants and other material culture and how they relate to one another. Likewise, I believe an important inclusion would be to replicate oral history collection done in this report and apply it to the tribes in which other archaeological sites lie, and then search for patterns on an intertribal level. In our interview, Charlene Nijmeh shared with me how one of the Muwekma councilmembers is planning on transcribing all Harrington notes as they pertain to Muwekma. I believe this would be an incredibly important contribution to both the academic community as well as the Muwekma tribe. The Harrington notes are highly calligraphic and

difficult to decipher because they are noted in three languages (English, Spanish, and Chochenyo); if these were to be typed out, not only would they be easy to read but easily accessible as well. Monica shared with me that many of the revitalization programs and cultural attributes the Muwekma know about are those that have been derived from the Harrington notes, and to make these more widely accessible would open the doors for more research opportunities.



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## APPENDIX A: DELIVERABLES TO THE MUWEKMA OHLONE TRIBE

### Deliverable 1



WHAT IS THE KUKSU  
RELIGION AND HOW DOES IT  
RELATE TO THE MUWEKMA  
OHLONE TRIBE?

A report prepared for the  
Muwekma Ohlone Tribe

By:  
Alicia Hedges, M.A.

During my first year of graduate school at San Jose State University in 2017, I was invited to Sunol by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's leadership to assist as a field archaeologist in the excavation and documentation of their ancestral remains. Senior Muwekma Tribal Archaeologist and Ethnohistorian Alan Leventhal referred me to the Tribe as an able-bodied field technician available to work on the recovery process. The ancestral heritage site was aerially expansive and in the shadow of an unfortunately placed colonial monument, otherwise known as the Sunol Water Temple. I was employed by the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe as an archaeological consultant and worked alongside Muwekma tribal members and two Cultural Resource Management (CRM) companies: Far Western Anthropological Research Group and Albion Environmental; we were all contracted by the San Francisco Public Utilities Commission (SFPUC) to remove over 70 burials as well as associated grave offerings and artifacts from non-associated contexts. The Sunol Water Temple site designated as CA-ALA-565/H--later named *Sii Túupentak* by the Muwekma Tribe's Language committee--was undergoing excavation for an interpretive center dedicated to the evolution of the landscape, and its significance to various peoples as well as a complement to the Sunol Water Temple where three water sources converge under the monument. This educational center seems appropriately placed as routine school busses bring in elementary school children to learn about the history of the Water Temple and surrounding region's geography. As a result of the Tribe's stewardship over the site, the scope of the interpretive center expanded to include a major interior and exterior educational information on the history and heritage of the Muwekma Ohlone who historically resided immediately up the road at Sunol Corners and at the Alisal Rancheria located approximately three miles to the north of the site.

The ancestral population from this site appeared quite wealthy based upon the associated artifact assemblages and preservation of the recovered burials. Burial 59, for example, is a multiple burial of note as it was comprised of three males and was named on site as the Fallen Warriors Grave. The Fallen Warriors Grave included many shell beads and five beautifully preserved obsidian projectile points which, in all likelihood, was the primary cause of their deaths.

Mortars and pestles of enormous size were scattered throughout the site indicating a series of mortuary-related rituals over time and the labor required to manufacture these grave goods



(one large flower-pot shaped “show” mortar would take over 126-man hours to complete) showcases the socioeconomic investment of the time to manufacture such finished products by craft specialists. Another example was Burial 56 who was interred with a show mortar, pestle, and stone pipe. Burial 56 was sitting upright rather than lying on his side—as all the other burials had been. The Tribe believes that this person (Burial 56), based upon the presence of a *toreepa* (stone tobacco pipe) may have had a shamanistic doctoring/ceremonial religious role in the society.

There were other important discoveries made at the site; one of which served as the stimulus for this present study on the Kuksu religion and abalone ornaments. The discovery of Burial 36 had two “Big Head” Kuksu-associated abalone pendants, a distinctive stylized artifact which suggests that this individual had an elite class status and who in all likelihood was a participant in the Kuksu religion and ceremonial dance cycle. Throughout the greater Bay Area Kuksu pendants tend to be extremely rare type of artifact, and it was exciting to have discovered two in relation to this interior valley site. Out of 70+ burials, only one had such Kuksu ornaments in direct association, representing only 1.54% of the population.



**Figure 1:** Two Kuksu-associated pendants found with Burial 36 at *Sii Túupentak* (CA-ALA-565/H). Photo courtesy of Far Western Anthropological Resource Group and the Muwekma Tribal Council.

The discovery of these pendants sparked my curiosity about the ancestral Kuksu religion and who was indoctrinated to practice it in these central California Native societies. I spoke with Alan Leventhal, former Tribal Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra and Tribal Vice Chairwoman Monica V. Arellano about the prospect of conducting this research for my Master's project, and all agreed this would be something they would be interested in me researching. The first step was to try

and understand what exactly the Kuksu religion was as a religious belief system and in which geographical regions and ethnohistorical territories it was practiced in California.

## **What is the Kuksu religion?**

What little we know today about the Kuksu religion is based upon early 20<sup>th</sup> century ethnographic information conducted by early anthropologists who interviewed knowledgeable elders from California indigenous groups as well as from the various archaeological sites where these “Big Head” pendants were found. By understanding both of these ethnographic and archaeological contexts together, we can develop a better idea of how and where the religion was practiced between AD 1100 – 1600s and during the post-contact colonial period.

### ***Ethnographic Information***

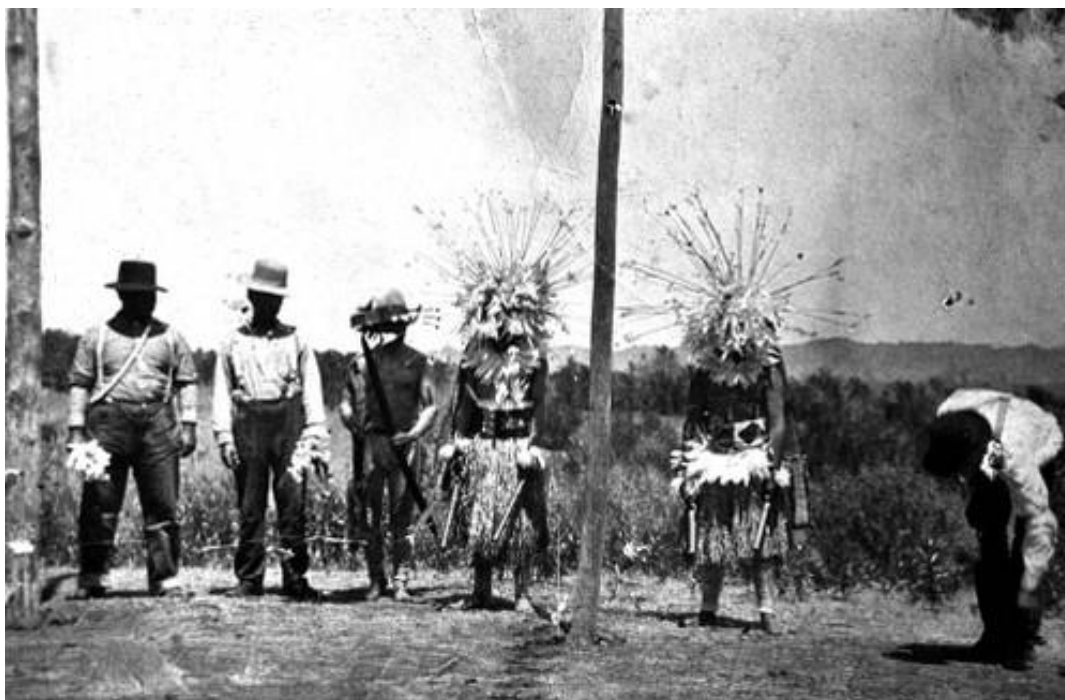
One of the earliest and most comprehensive studies and analyses of the Kuksu religion was undertaken by anthropologist E.M. Loeb in the early 20th century. In his 1932 publication *The Western Kuksu Cult*, Loeb attempted to reconstruct the ceremonies associated with the Kuksu religion as it was practiced throughout the Northern Pomo, Kato (Cahto), Coast Yuki, Huchnom, Yuki, Wailaki, Southern Pomo, Wappo, Coast Miwok, Lake Miwork, and the Southeastern Pomo, with additional considerations of the Costanoan and Salinian tribes (Loeb 1932).

## Native California Tribes



Figure 2: Map of Native California tribes with emphasis on E.M. Loeb's area of study.

In his study, Loeb (1932) details the parallels and patterns of creation stories expressed to him and other early anthropologists, such as Samuel Barrett (1917), Alfred Kroeber (1925) and E.W. Gifford (1926; 1927). Relating to Kuksu, the Northern Pomo did not consider Coyote the creator of the world, but Kuksu (referred to here as *Dasan*) and his father *Makila*. Loeb goes on to say that *Makila* made man and left Kuksu behind to tend to humanity and is depicted as a feathered "big head" figure below.



**Figure 3:** Big head dancers at Stony Ford Rancheria c. 1914-17. Northeastern Pomo and Patwin.

The Wappo tribal community believed that the creator of the world was Chicken Hawk, Coyote's grandson and that the original world was destroyed by a great flood and was then rebuilt by Coyote. For the Wappo, Kuksu is associated with the moon and gave Coyote the ability to make man functional. The Kuksu Ceremony was performed once a year during the summer if illness besieged the village, and the Southern Pomo and Wappo used the same song in the Kuksu Ceremony (Loeb 1932).

The Coast Miwok (whose culture and belief systems were shared with the northern Ohlone tribal groups) believed that Coyote was the creator of mankind and that his brother was Chicken Hawk and his wife was Frog. Prior to the creation of humanity, a bird race populated the planet, however, Coyote orchestrated a massive flood causing all to perish, and after the flood, Coyote created mankind. Hummingbird also appears and is responsible for introducing fire to the world. Kuksu does not seem to have an official role in the Coast Miwok creation mythology but is represented in dances done to heal the sick (Loeb 1932).

The Lake Miwok believed that Coyote created the world and was married to Frog and that Coyote put out a great fire on the earth with a flood that exterminated the first animal race.

Additionally, the Lake Miwok had no official Kuksu Ceremony, but instead relied on the neighboring Pomo to initiate their young men into the religion (Loeb 1932).

The Southeastern Pomo's name for Kuksu is *Skoykyo*, and in their interpretation two Kuksu brothers cured Coyote from an ailment. The leader of the Southeastern Pomo's secret society conducted the Ghost Ceremony, the Kuksu Ceremony, and the Bear Ceremony. From all of these creation stories, it is easy to see that overarching themes and distinct patterns existed in this California region. Kuksu has been represented in bird form, as a medicine man, a shaman, and a spirit among the water. Kuksu was identified with the moon among the Kato, Huchnom, Yuki, and Wappo. Loeb believed that Kuksu was related to the sun, and that the elaborate headdresses represent the sun's rays and that the ceremonies took place in tandem with the winter solstice.

Although Loeb does not go into great detail about any tribes south of the Coast Miwok, he does make special note of the lack of information pertaining to the Costanoan (Ohlone) relationship with Kuksu, and quotes Alfred Kroeber (1925) in saying that there was indeed a winter solstice dance at Mission San Jose, though they could not be sure that it was related to Kuksu. This seeming uncertainty of whether or not Kuksu was practiced in Costanoan regions of California is not unprecedented, and the ignorance regarding the expansion of the religion can be attributed to Kroeber's lasting legacy of extinction pronounced on many coastal California tribes for "all practical purposes" (Field 2003). However, the fact that many of the tribes interviewed by E.W. Gifford in the 1920s credit Pleasanton as the central ceremonial interaction sphere of northern California and as the teachers of the dances shows that the tribes living in Pleasanton/Niles/Mission San Jose played a major role in the Kuksu religion. We now know that the tribes residing at Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara continued the Kuksu tradition and shared parallel creation stories with their northern neighbors (Becks 2018; Lightfoot 2005).

After the secularization of the Missions in 1836, Missionized Native Americans had only a handful of options, and many remained on Mission land (until pushed out by newly arrived American settlers), retreated into the dense forests in the interior, or sought wage-labor jobs such as domestic servants or ranch hands. Many Ohlone and other tribes from Bay Area Missions

ventured to Pleasanton to live on the Alisal Rancheria (Verona station) which was made available to them by Agostin Bernal (Lightfoot 2005). “Here residents performed a plethora of ceremonies, combining the 1870s resurgence of the Ghost Dance with other traditional central California rites such as the Kuksu Dance...the Ohlone-speaking people also occupied...the towns of Niles and Sunol” (Lightfoot 2005:220). The ceremonies performed and tribal revitalization experienced are discussed in the early 20th century interviews of Angela Colos and Jose Guzman which were conducted by various anthropologists including Smithsonian ethnologist J.P. Harrington in Pleasanton in the early 20th century. (Becks 2018; Field & Leventhal 2003). In her recent doctoral dissertation, Fanya Becks includes an excerpt from the Harrington notes of Kuksu shared by Jose Guzman which explains how Kuksu was a healer with a big head—a pattern observed all over northern California. Likewise, Colos shared her knowledge of Kuksu with Harrington and also described Kuksu as having a big head but was a demon (devil?). Becks thinks the discrepancy between the healer role and the devil role may be due to different modes of access to knowledge about Kuksu based on gender, or that religious entities were taboo to discuss with whites and were therefore changed. From these accounts, it is clear that the tribes at Pleasanton not only practiced the Kuksu religion but were partly responsible for the spreading of the belief system all over central California.

### ***Archaeological Evidence***

After researching the ethnographic side of the Kuksu religion, I was interested to see where there was physical evidence in the archaeological record in northern California of the religion. Because the Kuksu religion has been continuously associated with the “big head” ceremonial dancers, many scholars believe that the archaeologically recovered “banjo-shaped” abalone shell pendants represent the “big head” dancers and are the important emblems of ceremonial regalia that belonged to those who were the most revered in the religion.



**Figure 4:** Kuksu-associated pendants found at a one of the Bay Area “Shellmound” Mortuary sites (The Ryan Mound; CA-ALA-329) associated with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. Photo courtesy of the Tribe.

Discussing this research strategy with Alan Leventhal, we chose six archaeological sites that contained Kuksu-associated pendant assemblages within the greater Bay Area. Five of these sites were within Muwekma Ohlone territory which included the Sunol Water Temple Site (*Sii Túupentak*) CA-ALA-565/H; the Ryan Mound, CA-ALA-329; the Yukisma Mound, CA-SCL-38; Tamien Station, CA-SCL-690; and the Holiday Inn Site (*Thámien Rúmmeytak*), CA-SCL-128. The sixth site in this study is the Hotchkiss Mound, CA-CCO-138 which was located within the Bay Miwok-linguistic territory. Even though the last site has been associated with the Bay Miwok, it remains an important consideration when assessing the distribution of Kuksu-associated artifacts and religion in relation to the Muwekma Ohlone who are also directly descended from Bay Miwok ancestors. Moreover, due to its close proximity and the fact that the Miwokan and Costanoan languages are very closely related (both constitute the Utian linguistic family), I believe that these sites are closely related as part of a far-flung ceremonial interaction-sphere.



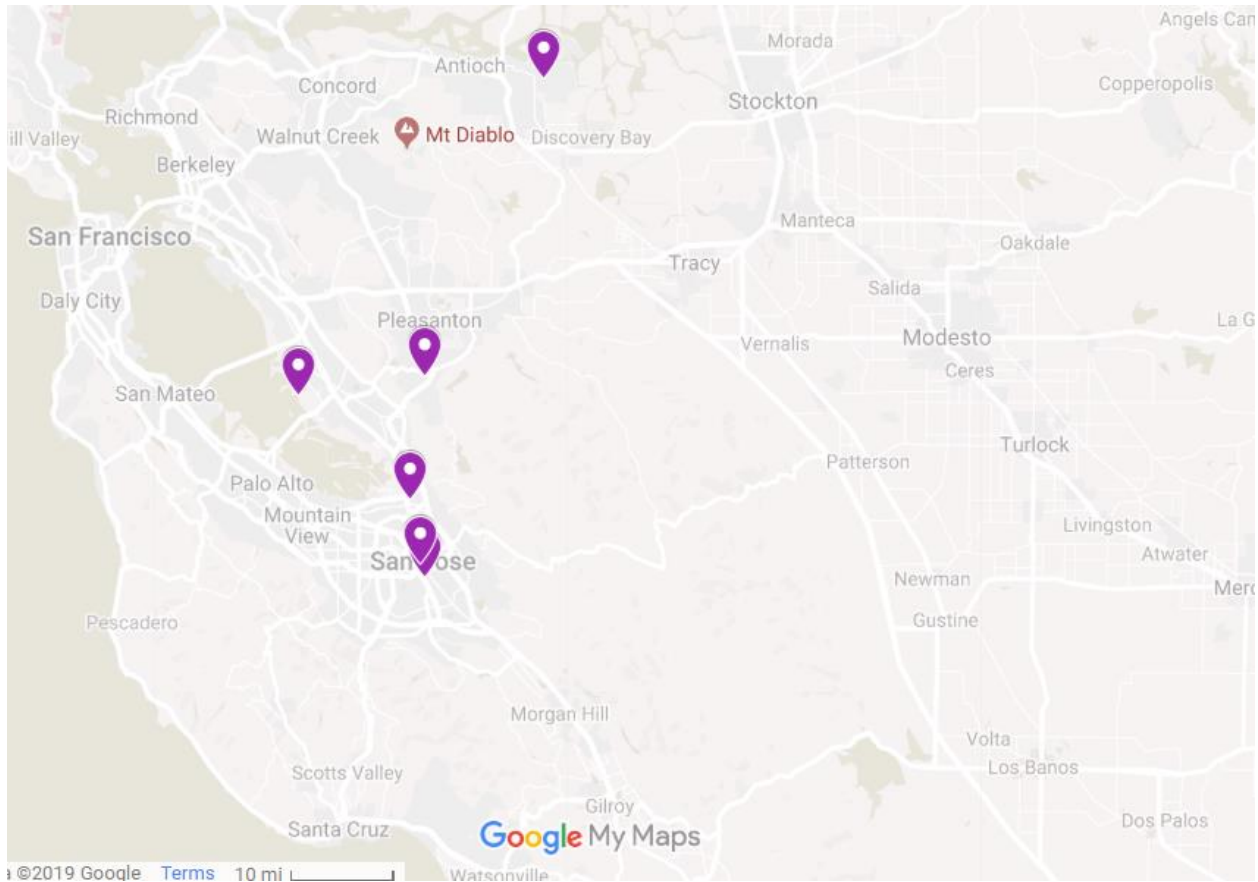


Figure 5: Map of the six archaeological sites researched in this study.

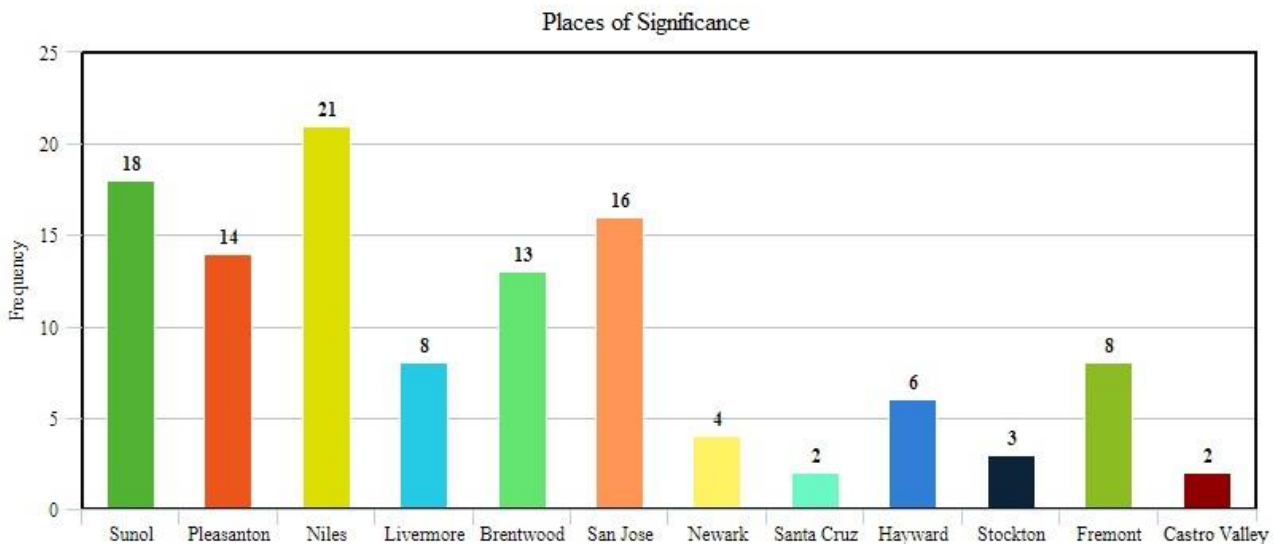
Understanding where these ancestral heritage mortuary sites were established within the Bay Area helped me visualize the interaction between village communities and helped me plan the next phase of research.

## How Does Kuksu Relate to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe?

After I completed a comprehensive review of the available archaeological and ethnographic literature and mapped out some of the locations where Kuksu-associated artifacts have been discovered in the Bay Area, I began connecting with current Muwekma Tribal members to conduct oral history interviews. I wanted to understand how each member related to different places in the Bay Area and if they had ever been exposed to any traditional creation stories growing up. I was able to connect with six Muwekma Tribal members that were interested in being interviewed for this research. These participants were Dolores “Dottie”

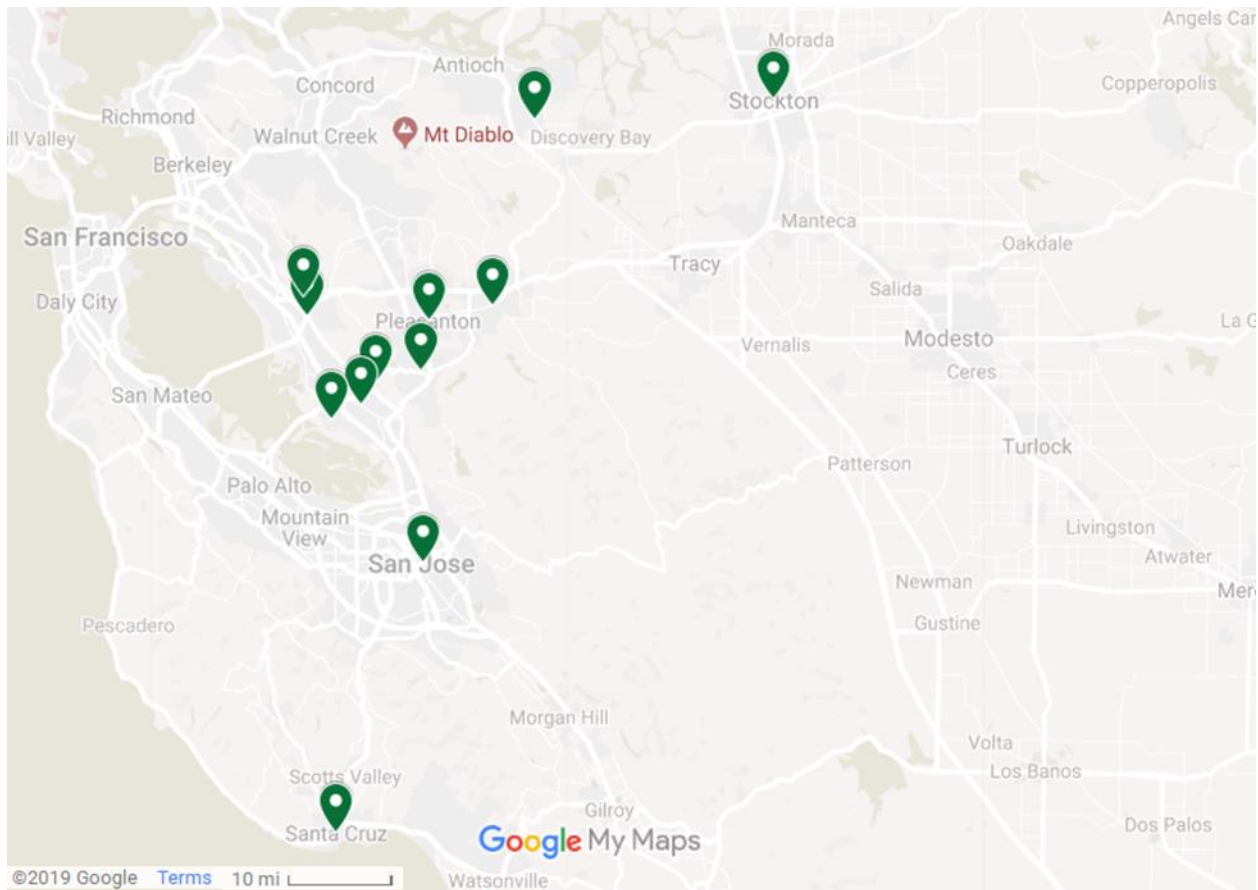
Galvan Lameira, Councilwoman and Elder; Mary Louisa Cline, Elder; Frank Ruano, Councilman and Elder and his wife Carrie Ruano; Sheila Guzman-Schmidt, Councilwoman; Monica V. Arellano, Vice Chairwoman; and Charlene Nijmeh, Chairwoman. These interviews took place from August 2018 – November 2018 at various locations across the Bay Area and lasted between 45 minutes to 2 hours.

After a comprehensive analysis of the interview transcripts, I found that there were patterns among the participants when discussing important places to them in the Bay Area. I decided that if more than one participant mentioned that a certain place had cultural significance to them, I would note it as important and tallied mentions of each place across the six interviews.



**Figure 6:** Oral history places of significance and their frequency across six interviews.

These places of significance included birthplaces, places where they or their family grew up, places gone to for family gatherings, etc.

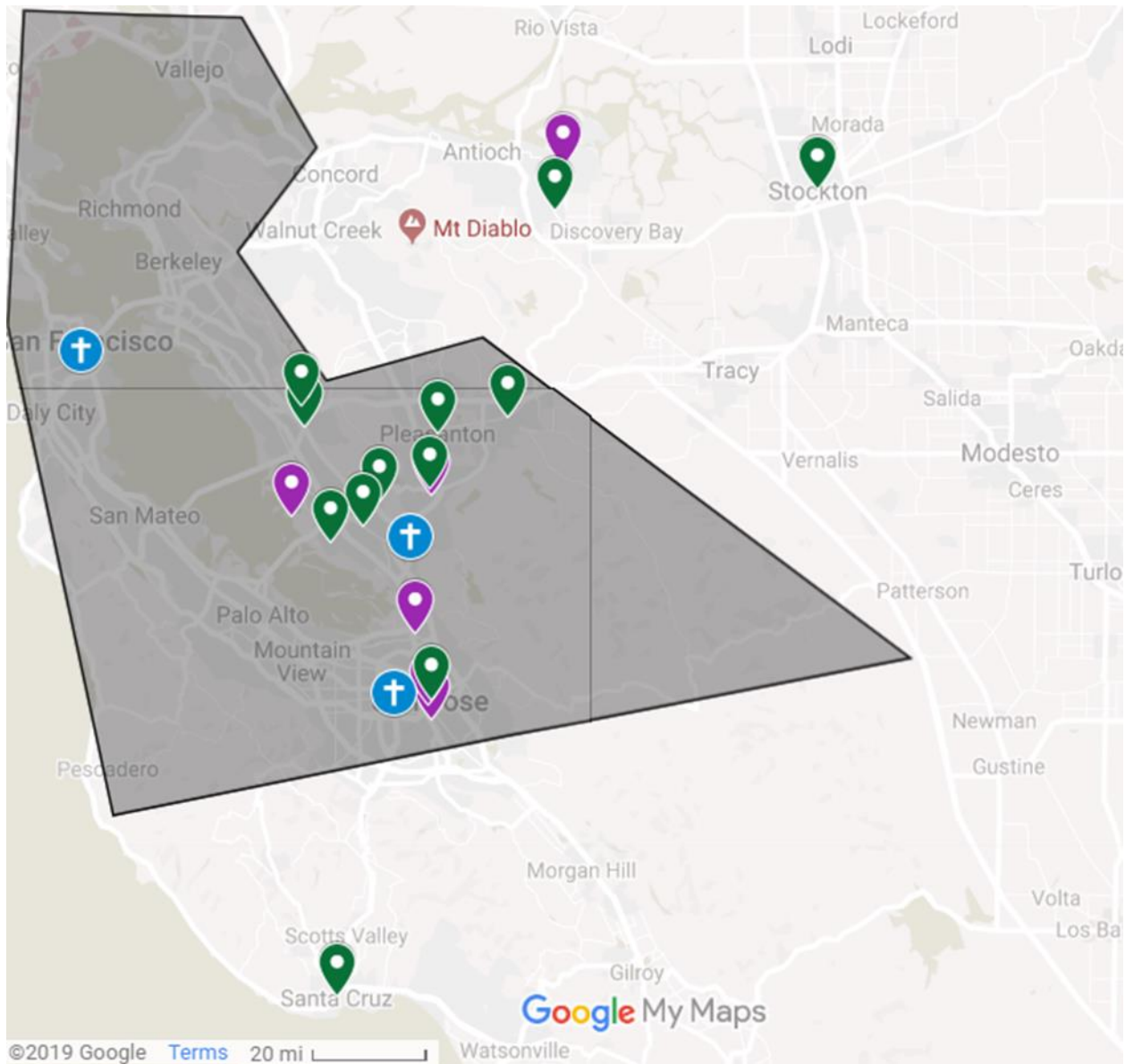


**Figure 7:** Distribution of significant places mentioned in Muwekma oral histories collected during this research.

It was important for me to understand where each member felt a strong connection to in order to see their relation to the areas where Kuksu-associated pendant assemblages were found, which would be the final step to this research.

### **Results**

In order to understand what the Kuksu religion was and how it relates to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, I had to do extensive background research on the early ethnographies of the northern California tribes, study the six archaeological reports that contained Kuksu-associated pendants, and carry out six interviews with current Muwekma Ohlone Tribal members. All of this research has been condensed on the following map showing the spatial relationship between the archaeological sites and the places of significance discussed in the oral history interviews.



**Figure 8:** Distribution of archaeological sites (purple), places of significance (green), Bay Area Missions (blue crosses) in relation to the boundaries of Muwekma associated territory in the Bay Area (shaded grey).

Figure 8 depicts the six archaeological sites (purple) with CA-SCL-128 and CA-SCL-690 being geographically close to each other, the six places of significance mentioned in the Muwekma oral history interviews (green), and the three Bay Area Missions (blue crosses). The shaded grey area represents the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's territory within the San Francisco Bay Area.

As presented in Figure 8, many of the places of significance either overlap with the archaeological sites or are in close proximity to them. Also included are the three Bay Area

Missions to which all Muwekma tribal members claim their ancestors were Missionized into as well as the outlined tribal boundary for greater context. The most important finding in Figure 8 is the strong cluster of activity between San Jose to Pleasanton, which has remained a center of activity for the Muwekma as they continue to oversee and participate, as stewards of their ancestral heritage sites, in archaeological projects in these areas as well where they host their annual gatherings. Moreover, Sunol, Pleasanton, Niles, and San Jose were the most mentioned places of significance across the six interviews. These localities were places that participants grew up, had family living in, attended tribal gatherings, or where their ancestors resided. Furthermore, the Alisal Rancheria was located in Pleasanton and was the home to the previously federally recognized Verona Band of Alameda, the tribe that 99.9% of all Muwekma are either living members and/or decedents of.

Coinciding with these places of significance are five out of the six archaeological sites discussed in this study. One of these sites is the Ryan Mound (CA-ALA-329) located in the Coyote Hills near the Town of Newark, which contained the highest concentration of Kuksu-associated abalone ornaments in California (Leventhal 1993). It is clear to see that Kuksu-associated pendants were worn and circulated in the precolonial (prior to AD 1769) San Francisco Bay Area. While this fact has been generally accepted prior to this report, what this research has aimed to do is connect the presence of these pendant regalia to the places of significance as they relate to the present-day Muwekma Ohlone Tribe in order to understand and map aboriginal presence. Many of the interviewed participants discussed how their parents, relatives and ancestors were sent to Mission San Jose from the Alisal Rancheria in Pleasanton through either force or because they had been orphaned. Descendants of those whose relatives had lived at Mission San Jose and/or the Alisal/Niles Rancherias that participated in this study have ascribed meaning and continued to maintain residence in close proximity to these two locations.

Conceptions of the religion were not long ago silenced, as prominent Muwekma tribal leaders such as Jose Guzman and Angela Colos shared their knowledge pertaining to Kuksu with 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologist J.P. Harrington in Pleasanton. Jose Guzman was Sheila Guzman-Schmidt's great-grandfather and one of the last native speakers of the Chochenyo language. In his interview with Harrington, Guzman describes Kuksu as a healer adorning a large headdress

who plays the song of night on his whistle (Becks 2018). Guzman mentions in his song that Kusku is walking to Mission Peak, a summit located in Fremont and within the cluster of activity described above.

“The Kusku went dancing in the hill and said hu hu.  
He had a big head dress of the tip wing feathers of the auron.  
The Indians called it Kuskui but the Spanish Californios said *Cúcsui*.  
He makes the land shudder. He knows that well.  
He also heard that Kusku comes in the day and cures the sick man.  
Kusku brings a very large whistle and he whistles the song of the night on it.”

From José Guzman:  
“Here I am to walk this day to Hifu  
Here I am to walk to my cousin  
Here I am to walk to Mission Peak  
Here I am to walk to Mission Peak  
Here I am to walk to Hifu  
Here I am to walk  
Ja ja.” (Harrington Field Notes 1925-1934)

Angela Colos also discusses Kusku with Harrington but refers to him as a demon (devil) with a large head and that white people would come to visit the dance ceremonies held in the round house at Pleasanton (Becks 2018). Colos’ description of Kusku as a demon can be indicative of a different access to knowledge based on gender or her distrust of outsiders asking about secret religious practices that were not meant to be shared with non-initiated tribal members who have witnessed such ceremonies as well as outsiders (Becks 2018; Leventhal, personal communication). Angela Colos described to Harrington that Kuskuy was performed in relationship to a doctoring song. Harrington records the song as follows:

“A song of the *diablos*. I understood [Angela] to say that she used to hear a certain girl singing this song all the time.  
*Woko’ oj wokoj*  
*’ehe wokoj*

A song of the devils. I understood Angela to say that she used to hear a certain girl singing this song all the time.

*Woko' oj wokoj*  
*'ehe wokoj*  
*'atumlele kuksui (an animal that resembles fish-del-mar [of the sea])*  
*'ehe*  
*'ehe woko'o*  
*Woko'oi wokoi*  
*Jája...*

*Kúksúi, es el diablo mas grande cabéson.*  
White people used to come from far and wide to see this song.  
Was sung in the sweathouse  
*'atumlele kuksui*  
*'ehe*  
*'ehe woko'o*  
*Woko'oi wokoi*  
*Jája...*

Kuksu is the devil with a very big head. White people used to come far and wide to see this song. It was sung in the sweathouse.” (Harrington Field Notes 1925-1934)

During my interview with Monica V. Arellano, she mentioned how the Padres would classify indigenous dance rituals as devil-worshiping, and perhaps this is why Colos answered the way that she did. Overall, it is apparent that the cluster of activity outlined in Figure 8 has been and continues to be an area of great cultural significance to Muwekma Ohlone people.

In the 1813-1815 *Preguntas y Respuetas* (Questionnaires and Replies) published by Geiger and Meighan (1976) in As the Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscan Missionaries 1813-1815 in response to question number 10 about Native Superstitions the fathers at Mission Santa Clara provided the following response:

The Indians are very superstitious. They worship the devils offering them seeds and they fast and dance in their honor in order to placate them. They practice vain observances. By using certain herbs, roots, and feathers and other items they believe they can free themselves from their enemies and from illness. They practice witchcraft by means of herbs, thorns, and other enchantments by means of which they attempt to injure others

and obtain revenge. Finally, they believe all they dream about. To destroy such an accumulation of evil we know of no methods more

### ***Conclusion***

The overall scope of this research was to investigate place-based narratives from contemporary Muwekma people in relation to archaeological sites containing Kuksu-associated pendant assemblages. After looking at the results, it is clear to see that there is an overlap of the precolonial archaeological sites with the designated places of significance identified in the oral history interviews. While this research aimed to include information of traditional origin stories as they are told today, it became apparent that this would not be possible due to the cultural ruptures evident throughout Muwekma history in the forms of initial Missionization, 19<sup>th</sup> century village dislocation, deaths and epidemics, decimation of traditional belief systems, having no centralized residential land-base, attendance in boarding schools, outright stigmatization of Native American culture, marginalization of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Muwekma tribal community, and sentences of extinction by prominent anthropologists and other scholars. This research has demonstrated the generational shift evident between participants; Mary-Louisa Cline, born in 1951 (whose mother enrolled in the BIA under the 1928 California Indian Jurisdictional Act), discusses how she had no idea of her Native American heritage when she was younger, while Charlene Nijmeh, born in 1973, had a strong sense of Native identity growing up. This is due in part to the American Indian Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s as well as the iconic Muwekma activism spearheaded by former Chairwoman Rosemary Cambra.

Today, the Muwekma Ohone Tribe has two main goals moving forward: the first is to continue to appeal their final determination verdict and fight to regain their federal recognition. The second is to focus on tribal revitalization and cultural workshops for current and younger membership. Monica V. Arellano and Sheila Guzman-Schmidt--along with fellow councilmembers Gloria E. Arellano Gomez and Vincent Medina--are at the forefront of this as they continue to teach Muwekma youth their native Chochenyo language, while Charlene Nijmeh discusses how they want to facilitate workshops that teach basketry and shell ornament making.



The Muwekma tribal leadership believes that by hosting tribal gatherings and cultural workshops, members are able to learn and be empowered by their relation to their ancestors, which reinforces a strong individual and communal identity. This research was conducted with the blessings of and for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe; and was not only to satiate curiosity about the Kuksu religion in general, but to learn how their ancestors related to the religion and, in turn, themselves, as a way to help solidify their aboriginal presence within their ancestral homelands of the San Francisco Bay Area, as well as regain their federally acknowledged status. Thus, this research study is a contribution to both the Muwekma Tribe and anthropological scientific communities as well as opens a dialogue and an investigative collective learning curve about the meaningful insights and complex interrelationship between the pre-contact past and contemporary history and heritage of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe of the San Francisco Bay Area.

### ***For More Information***

If you are interested in learning more about the Kuksu religion and how it relates to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, please visit the interactive map that discusses the six archaeological sites in greater depth, represents the places of significance, Bay Area Missions, and Muwekma territory at

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=13YhG0oIYshZsnzI-o6mV4GRBu5LL26oc&usp=sharing>

If you would like to read the full project report, please visit San Jose State University's Department of Anthropology's website. The report can be found under the MA Project Report and Thesis Archive for the year of 2019 and is entitled Recognition through Remembrance: A Consideration of Muwekma Ohlone Oral Histories with Kuksu-Associated Material Culture to Infer Precolonial Connections to Place:

[http://www.sjsu.edu/anthropology/grad\\_degree/gradarchive/index.html](http://www.sjsu.edu/anthropology/grad_degree/gradarchive/index.html)

If you want to learn more about the history and heritage of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe please visit the tribe's website at <http://www.muwekma.org> and their Facebook page at:

<https://www.facebook.com/muwekma>

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## **Deliverable 2**

The second deliverable to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe is an interactive map that allows viewers to click on a particular point to learn more about the archaeological sites discussed in this report, links to the three Bay Area Missions' websites, and showcases the distribution of the places of significance mentioned in the oral histories. This map is able to be embedded on the tribe's website if they so choose. The map is accessible via the following link:

<https://drive.google.com/open?id=13YhG0oIYshZsnzI-o6mV4GRBu5LL26oc&usp=sharing>

## APPENDIX B: MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

### Memorandum of Understanding (MOU):

*Between* Alicia Hedges, Applied Anthropology graduate student at San Jose State University (SJSU) *and* the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, as represented by Tribal Vice Chairwoman Monica V. Arellano

This MOU is intended to facilitate cooperative research and education between San Jose State University, the Department of Anthropology and the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. This Master's Project aims to respect and engage the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's interest in the Kuksu religion as it appears both archaeologically and ethnographically across northern California and how it may be represented in the modern Muwekma identity and interpretation through oral histories and heritage material culture in the form of distinctive abalone ornaments. These contemporary interviews are meant to support and showcase Muwekma connections to places such as Sunol, Coyote Hills and other Bay Area locations. The ultimate goal of this research is that it will be of cultural and historical benefit to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe as a way to further understand what life was like before and after the Hispano-European invasion. Furthermore, this research aims to address the fact that Kuksu-related ornaments, and where they are discovered archaeologically, represent ancestral Muwekma occupation that predates colonialism as a way to illuminate the significance of rarely explored California Native American history and traditions. The disenfranchisement of the Tribe by both imperialistic colonial systems and the present-day dominant society is at the center of this project, and I hope that the end result of this research will expose and educate the public and academics about the continuous process of erasure by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and federal recognition process. I welcome open and honest communication and collaboration by the Muwekma tribal leadership and members throughout this research process. The major phases of the project and code of conduct are described below.

#### I. ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

A major focus of this project relies on the collection of oral histories of contemporary Muwekma Ohlone Tribal members. The information obtained from this study is meant to discover elements of Muwekma Ohlone Tribal history, perspectives relative to the greater precolonial Californian history, as well as contemporary sentiment of members. This research has the possibility to help reinforce conceptions of Muwekma Ohlone's aboriginal presence in the San Francisco Bay Area and can potentially contribute to the Tribe's political efforts of regaining federal recognition.

- a.) **Interviews will be conducted with volunteers** from the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe who have indicated interest in participating in this study to anthropology lecturer and tribal archaeologist Alan Leventhal. Volunteers have been encouraged to ask family members or friends that are enrolled in the Muwekma Tribe if they would like to participate as well. Interviews will be conducted at a location of the

volunteer's choosing. If the volunteer does not specify a destination, then I will arrange for a convenient meeting place.

- b.) **During the oral history interview process**, volunteers will be presented with a consent form that describes the project's goals in its entirety. If I have access to the volunteer's e-mail address, I will send them a copy of the consent form along with the questions I plan to ask before our meeting so that they have an opportunity to become familiar with the project prior to the interview. The consent form details the project's purpose, procedures, and potential risks and benefits. Due to the nature of this project, confidentiality is not meant to be maintained as its sole purpose to understand contemporary conceptions of Tribal identity. However, if at any time participants feel uncomfortable having their names listed in the report, I will replace their name with a pseudonym upon request. I will not ask any sensitive questions, and if sensitive information is shared, I will strike those comments from the record. Volunteers will be informed that their participation is completely voluntary, and that they may withdraw their participation at any time.

## II. PROJECT DELIVERABLES

An important part of this project is to ensure that the research proposed will be mutually beneficial to both SJSU's Anthropology Department as well as the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe. Because this project is designed to fulfill the partial requirements of a Master of Arts degree, the primary product will be formatted to the specifications set by SJSU's Anthropology Department. This full report will be published on the Anthropology Department's website. From this research I plan on creating two documents for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe that concisely and clearly explains the findings of this research. I encourage any feedback the Tribal leadership and its members may have regarding the deliverables of this research and warmly welcome any suggestions or changes you would like to see implemented.

- a.) **The first deliverable** will be a nonacademic report discussing the findings of the project in a clear and accessible manner. This report will convey the main points of the project along with key findings, and what these findings mean in relation to the cultural, historical and political issues that the Tribe faces today. This report will be formatted both in print copy as well as in an accessibly PDF document which the Tribe can do with as they wish.
- b.) **The second deliverable** will consist of a multilayered map that showcases the archaeological sites around the San Francisco Bay Area that have Kuksu-related ornaments in their assemblages and that are associated with the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's ancestral heritage. This map will be a visual representation of the Tribe's aboriginal land tenure to the Bay Area and further communicate their aboriginal presence to the area.

## III. PUBLICATION

As part of my professional responsibility as an anthropology graduate student, publication on SJSU's Anthropology Department's website will be certain. Further

publications in the form of peer-reviewed articles or conference papers may be undertaken from this project.

- a.) **All publications will be made in good faith to respect the cultural and religious information of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe.** To this end, publications specifically concerning Muwekma oral histories will be sent to the Tribe for review prior to publication. It is my hope that this step will help me avoid dissemination of sensitive, inaccurate or misleading information.
- b.) **Any future publications** derived from this research beyond the partial fulfilment of my Master's Degree (that will be published on the Anthropology Department's website) will consider the co-authorship of the Tribal leadership. If there is interest, it would be rewarding to coauthor presentations at professional meetings as well as publications in Native American-related journals that would also serve the goals of the tribal community. If such collaborations are not of interest, the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe will still be acknowledged for their contributions to the success of the project in all publications.

IV. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY

While this project is being overseen by and has been approved by SJSU's Anthropology Department, all responsibility for oral history data and research dissemination is solely the responsibility of Alicia Hedges. SJSU's Anthropology Department is not responsible in any way for this project. Hedges has entered into an agreement regarding the oral history collection and dissemination, and does not speak for, nor represent the university.

This draft is recommended by Alicia Hedges to the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Vice Chairwoman for subsequent approval and signing.

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Alicia Hedges – Researcher (signature)

Date

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Monica V. Arellano - Tribal Vice Chairwoman (signature)

Date

## **APPENDIX C: ORAL HISTORY CONSENT FORM**

### **REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH**

#### **TITLE OF THE STUDY**

Recognition through Remembrance: A Consideration of Muwekma Ohlone Oral Histories with Kuksu-Associated Material Culture to Infer Precolonial Connections to Place

#### **NAME OF THE RESEARCHER**

Alicia Hedges, San Jose State University graduate student

Faculty Sponsors: Marco Meniketti PhD, Charlotte Sunseri, PhD, Alan Leventhal, MA

#### **PURPOSE**

The purpose of this research project is to investigate place-based narratives/oral histories of Muwekma Ohlone people from the greater Bay Area to understand pre-Columbian settlement and territorial patterns. This study is a complement to other archaeological efforts to assess Muwekma Ohlone claims related to the tribe's narrative of aboriginal and historical ethno-geographic ties to the San Francisco Bay Area, descent from three Bay Area Missions, as well as their efforts to regain federal recognition. The oral histories collected in this study will be juxtaposed with pre-European contact evidence that includes the distribution of N-series "Bighead/Kuksu" pendants found in specific Bay Area archaeological sites. The scope of analysis will include assessments of Muwekma Ohlone identity, kinship and experience by understanding concepts of narrative and collective memory in order to contribute to current federal recognitions efforts as well as support aspects of historical multivocality.

#### **PROCEDURES**

This study only requires the collection of oral histories and personal narratives. No sensitive information will be asked. Participants will be asked to be interviewed in a place of their choosing. If participants prefer not to choose an interview location (such as their homes), the researcher will organize to have a private room reserved at the Dr. Martin Luther King Library located at: 150 East San Fernando Street, San Jose, CA 95112. Dates and times will be decided between participants and the researcher. Instruments that will be used will be two audio recording devices and note taking done by the researcher. Participants are encouraged to bring material objects and/or photographs with them that represent their childhood, ideas of tribal history, and cosmological identity. If participants do bring objects for the interview, then the researcher will bring one camera to document the items during the interview process. The entire interview is estimated to be 45 minutes in length.



## **POTENTIAL RISKS**

The purpose of this study is to collect oral histories of modern Muwekma Ohlone tribal members that will later be used to understand tribal longevity to the San Francisco Bay Area. Therefore, oral histories are meant to be made public, and the end report will be published on San Jose State University's website as well as any other platform the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Council sees fit. If at any time participants feel uncomfortable with being named in the study, the researcher will supplement their identity with a pseudonym. However, the researcher will not alter any other details pertaining to oral histories as this information is pertinent to the project. Let it be clear that no sensitive questions will be asked, and if during the interview sensitive information is shared, the researcher will strike those comments from the record to ensure the privacy of the participant. All recorded material will be stored on a password protected computer that the researcher alone knows the password to.

## **POTENTIAL BENEFITS**

The information obtained from this study is meant to discover elements of Muwekma Ohlone tribal history as well as the greater precolonial Californian history. This research has the possibility to help reinforce conceptions of Muwekma Ohlone's aboriginal presence in the San Francisco Bay Area and can potentially contribute to the tribe's political efforts of regaining federal recognition.

## **COMPENSATION**

There is no compensation for participation.

## **CONFIDENTIALITY**

This study is not designed to maintain participant confidentiality as its sole purpose is to collect oral histories and personal narratives. However, if at any time participants feel uncomfortable having their names listed in the report, the researcher will supplement their name with a pseudonym. No other information be altered. No sensitive questions will be asked by the researcher. If sensitive information is shared, the researcher will strike those comments from the record. All data will be stored on a password protected computer that the researcher alone knows the password to.

## **PARTICIPANT RIGHTS**

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can refuse to participate in the entire study or any part of the study without any negative effect on your relations with San Jose State University or the Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Council. You also have the right to skip any question you do not wish to answer. This consent form is not a contract. It is a written explanation of what will happen during the study if you decide to participate. You will not waive any rights if you choose not to participate, and there is no penalty for stopping your participation in the study.

**QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS**

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

- For further information about the study, please contact Alicia Hedges, alicia.hedges@sjsu.edu
- Complaints about the research may be presented to Marco Meniketti, marco.meniketti@sjsu.edu
- For questions about participants’ rights or if you feel you have been harmed in any way by your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Pamela Stacks, Associate Vice President of the Office of Research, San Jose State University, at 408-924-2479.

**SIGNATURES**

Your signature indicates that you voluntarily agree to be a part of the study, that the details of the study have been explained to you, that you have been given time to read this document, and that your questions have been answered. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your records.

**Participant Signature**

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Participant’s Name (printed)	Participant’s Signature	Date
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**Researcher Statement**

I certify that the participant has been given adequate time to learn about the study and ask questions. It is my opinion that the participant understands his/her rights and the purpose, risks, benefits, and procedures of the research and has voluntarily agreed to participate.

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Signature of Person Obtaining Informed Consent	Date
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## APPENDIX D: ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

### *Intro Questions*

- 1.) Where were you born?
  - a. Where do you currently reside?
  - b. How old are you?
  - c. What year were you born?
- 2.) What places in the Bay Area were/are important to you and/or your family?
  - a. Did your family have any connection with:
    - i. Niles Canyon
    - ii. “the Rocks” at Almaden Reservoir
    - iii. Eating, tasting, or using clay from the creek?
    - iv. Types of plants
    - v. Abalone Shells
- 3.) How do you identify yourself?
  - a. What is your ethnic affiliation?
- 4.) Have you genealogically reconstructed your descent from your Muwekma ancestors?
  - a. If yes, how have you done so?
  - b. If no, is this something that interests you? Why or why not?
  - c. Who were your parents and where were they born?
- 5.) How important is religion in your life?
  - a. What kind of religion do you practice?
- 6.) What is your opinion on “hard work”? Was it emphasized growing up?
- 7.) Do you and/or your family recall important Ohlone leaders such as:
  - a. Jose Guzman
  - b. Maggie Juarez
  - c. Dolores Marine Alvarez Galvan
  - d. Dario Marine
  - e. Trina Marine Elston Thompson Ruano

- f. Dolores Sanchez
- g. Rosemary Cambra
- h. Faye Thompson Frei
- i. Mary Munoz Mora Ramos Medina Archuleta

*Traditional Origin Story Questions*

- 8.) Growing up, were you exposed to traditional Ohlone creation stories?
  - a. If so, could you tell me what kinds of creation stories and other religious or cultural stories you remember hearing from your family, friends, and/or other Tribal members?
- 9.) Can you explain the significance of moieties such as:
  - a. Eagle
  - b. Coyote
  - c. Hummingbird
  - d. Duckhawk (Kaknu)?
  - e. White Wolf?
  - f. Why are these important and what do they signify in traditional belief?
- 10.) Can you explain who Kuksu is and their importance?
  - a. Who were the big head dancers and what do they represent?
- 11.) Are there any local landmarks (SF Bay Area) that are represented in any traditional stories?
- 12.) Did you or family members attend dances? If so, where and what were they about?

*Contemporary Tribal Member Questions*

- 13.) How important is Muwekma Tribal Revitalization to you, personally?
- 14.) What is your opinion about the Muwekma's unique archaeological involvement?
  - a. Do you feel personally invested in this endeavor?
- 15.) If the Tribe were to regain Federal Recognition, how do you think that would affect your life and other Tribal members' lives?
  - a. If the Tribe was allotted land, where do you think the best place would be?