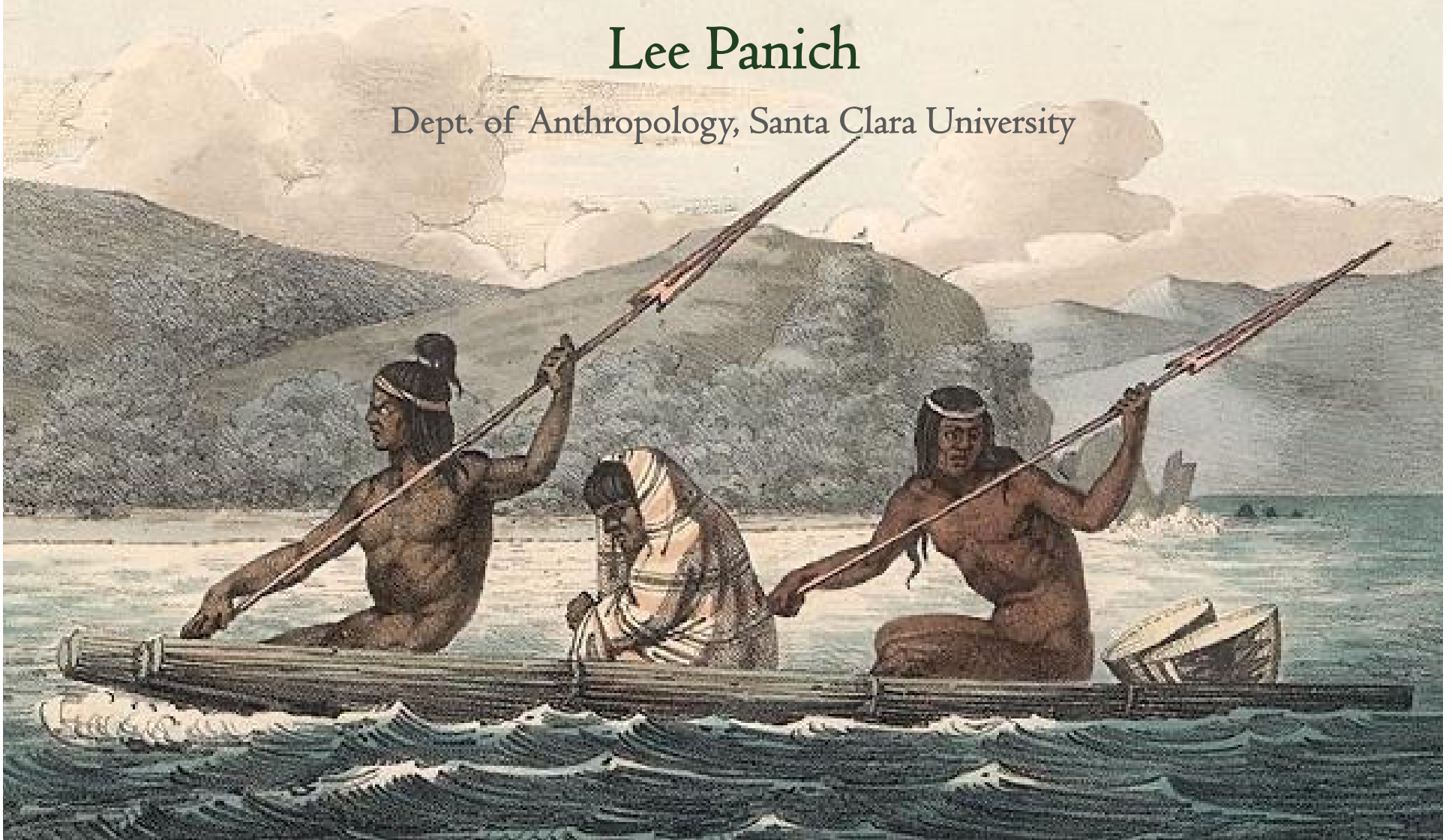


Erasure and Resistance:

The Historical Context for Muwekma Federal Recognition

Lee Panich

Dept. of Anthropology, Santa Clara University

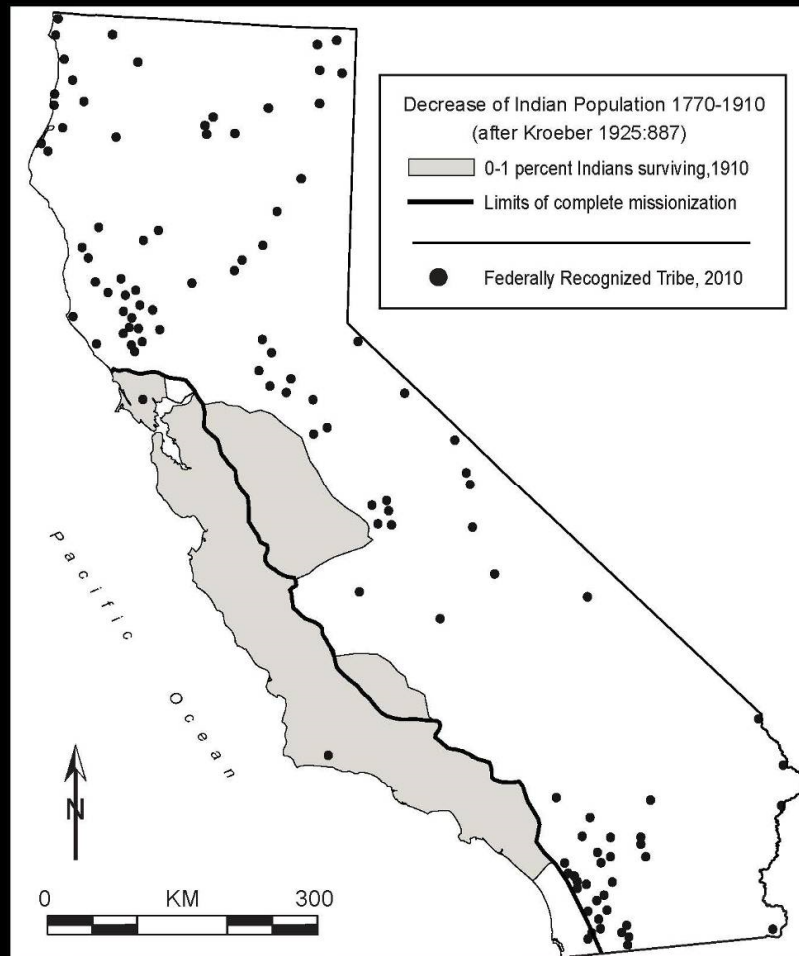


I. Erasure

What is the historical context for the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe's lack of federal recognition today?

Federal Recognition in California

Patterns of Erasure



Federally recognized tribes and extent of missionization

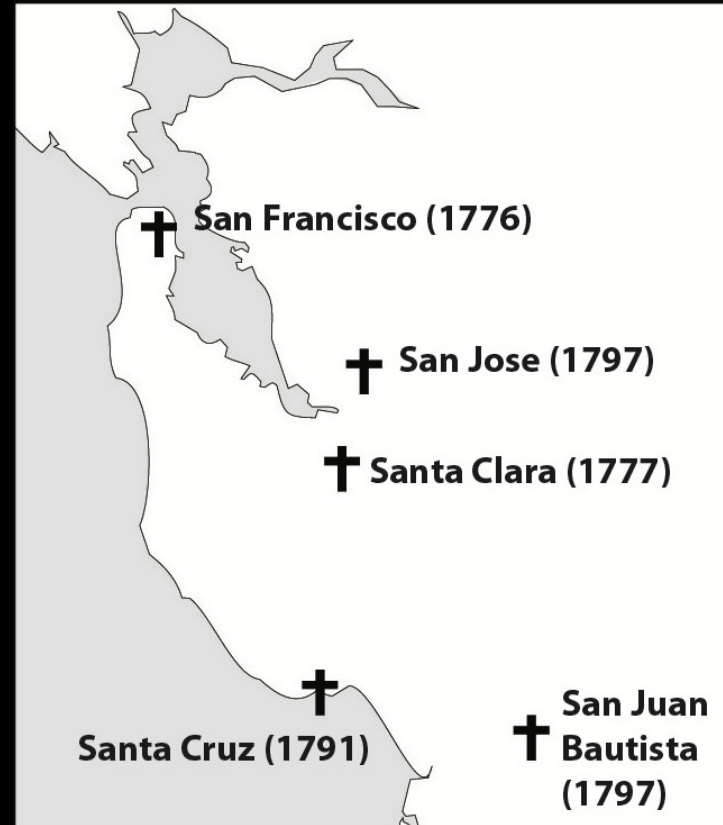
“The tribes that were completely devoted to mission life are gone”
-Alfred Kroeber 1925

Severed Connections

Relocation of Native Communities to Mission Establishments



Bay Area tribal territories, 1775



Missions of the greater Bay Area, 1810

By 1810, "all the villages in the southern and central portions of the San Francisco Bay region had been emptied" – Randall Milliken 1995

Severed Connections

Loss of Land in Mexican and American California

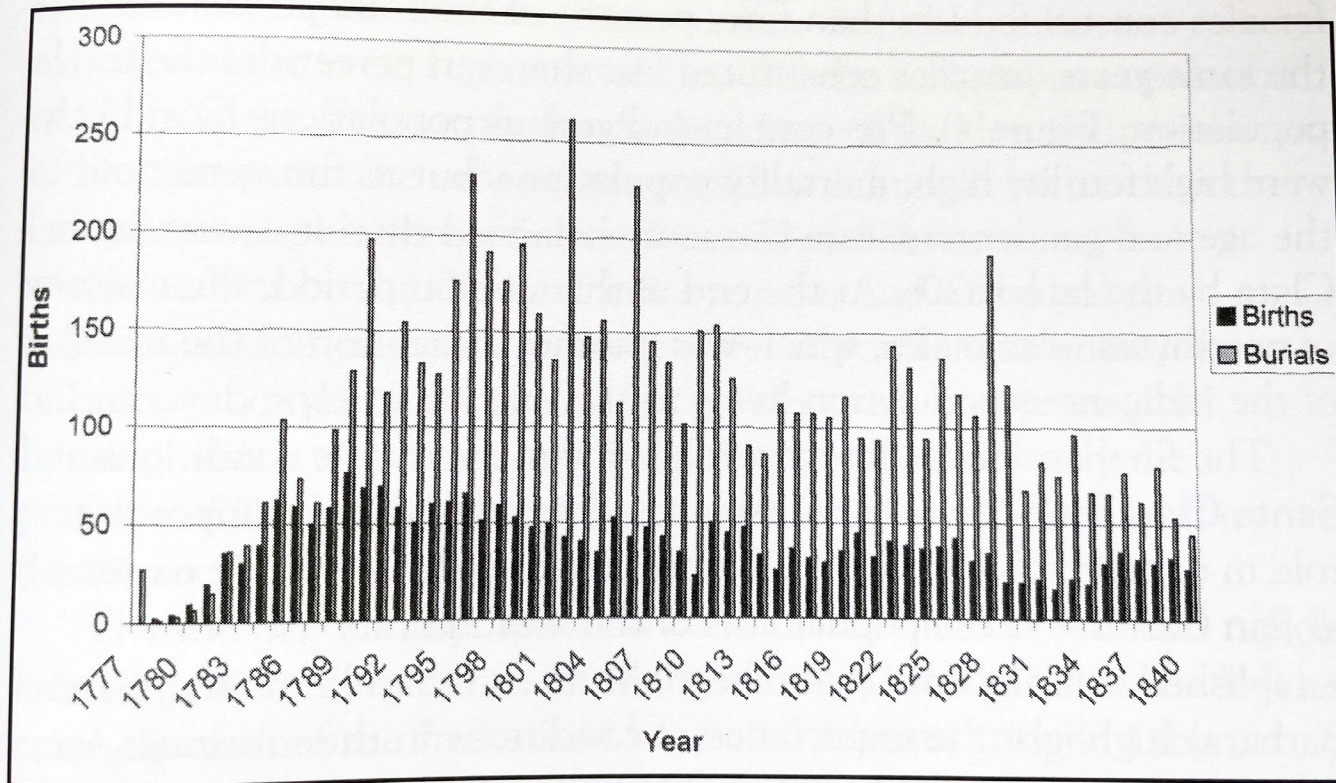


By the mid-1840s, Mexican elites had been granted almost 55,000 acres in Santa Clara County alone. Most land grants were in American hands less than a decade later.

Communities in Crisis

Demographic Collapse During the Mission Period

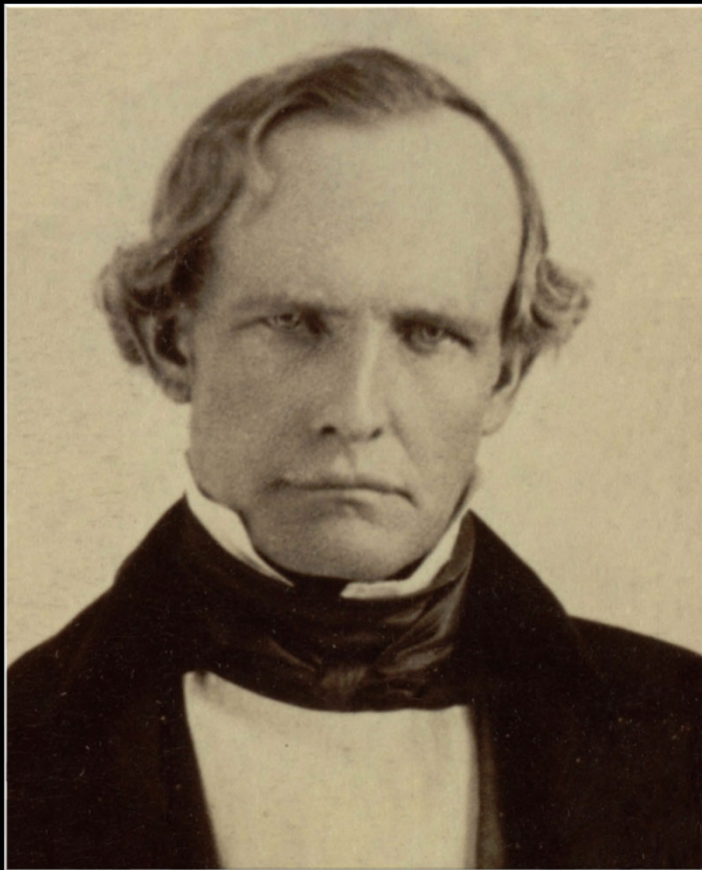
FIGURE 3: Births and burials recorded at Santa Clara Mission, 1777-1840



“The group response of the natives to the mission environment was ... a very marked decline in numbers.” – Sherburne Cook 1947

Continuing Threats

Genocidal Policies of the United States, 1840s-1860s



“That a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct must be expected.”

Gov. Peter H. Burnett, 1851

Peter H. Burnett, California's first American governor and founding member of the Santa Clara College Board of Trustees

Reverberating Impacts

Governmental and Scholarly Erasure in the 1920s

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR-BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
THIRTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1910-INDIAN POPULATION

STATE: California COUNTY: Colusa TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY: Pleasanton

NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE: Pleasanton

NAME OF INDIAN RESERVATION: None

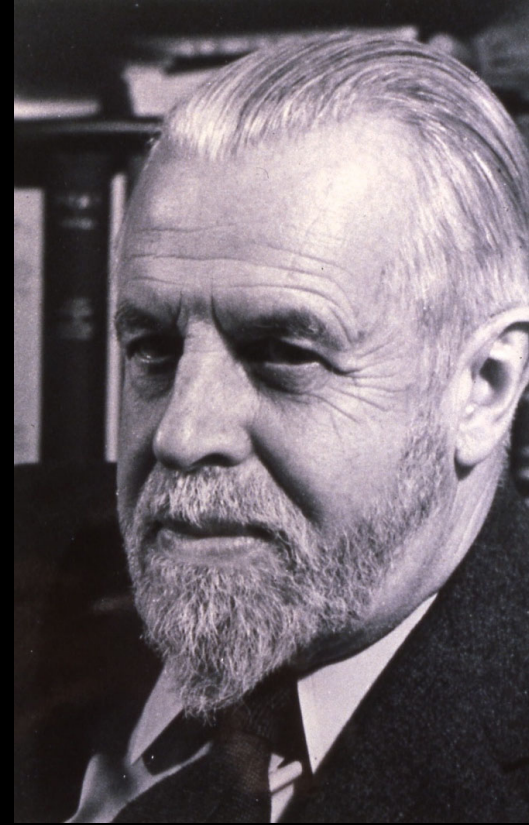
WARD OF CITY: Pleasanton

ENumerated BY ME ON THE: 1910 DAY OF: 1910

LINE NO.	NAME	RELATION	PERSONAL DESCRIPTION	NATIVITY			OCCUPATION	EDUCATION		PROPERTY	
				Place of birth of father	Place of birth of mother	Place of birth of self		Years of school	Years of college	Value of real estate	Value of personal property
1	John Boyd	Head	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
2	Anna Boyd	Wife	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
3	William Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
4	Martha Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
5	William Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
6	Thomas Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
7	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
8	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
9	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
10	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
11	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
12	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
13	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
14	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
15	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
16	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
17	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
18	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
19	John Boyd	Son	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500
20	Anna Boyd	Daughter	W. 57, ad	California	California	California	Farmer	12	4	1000	500

Page from 1910 Special Indian Census

Despite Ohlone presence on official censuses and maps dating to the early 1900s, anthropologists and the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs effectively wrote them off in the 1920s



Alfred Kroeber in 1925: "The Costanoan [Ohlone] group is extinct so far as all practical purposes are concerned."

A Double Coloniality

The Erasure of Contemporary Ohlone People in the Bay Area

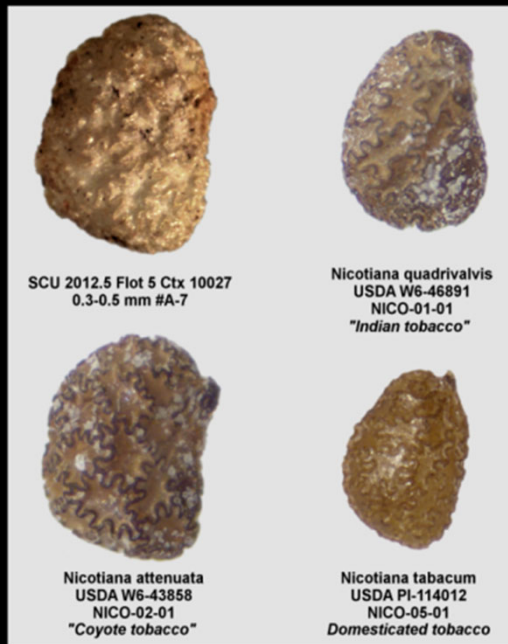


II. Resistance

*How did Muwekma Ohlone ancestors
and other Native people resist the
politics of erasure?*

Cultural Persistence

Rethinking Bay Area Mission Sites



Tobacco seeds



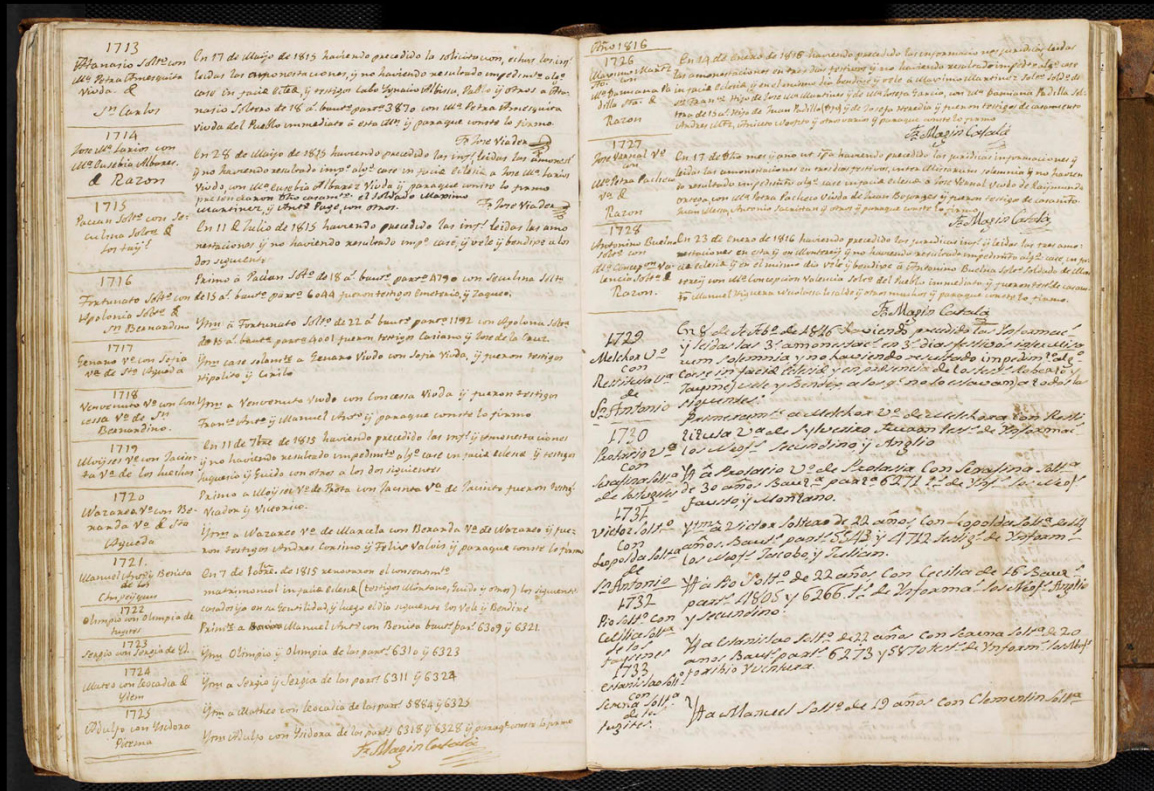
Shell beads (top) & raptor talon

Evidence from the mission *rancherías* shows how Native people maintained traditions over time

Communities of Survival

Contextualizing Demographic Patterns

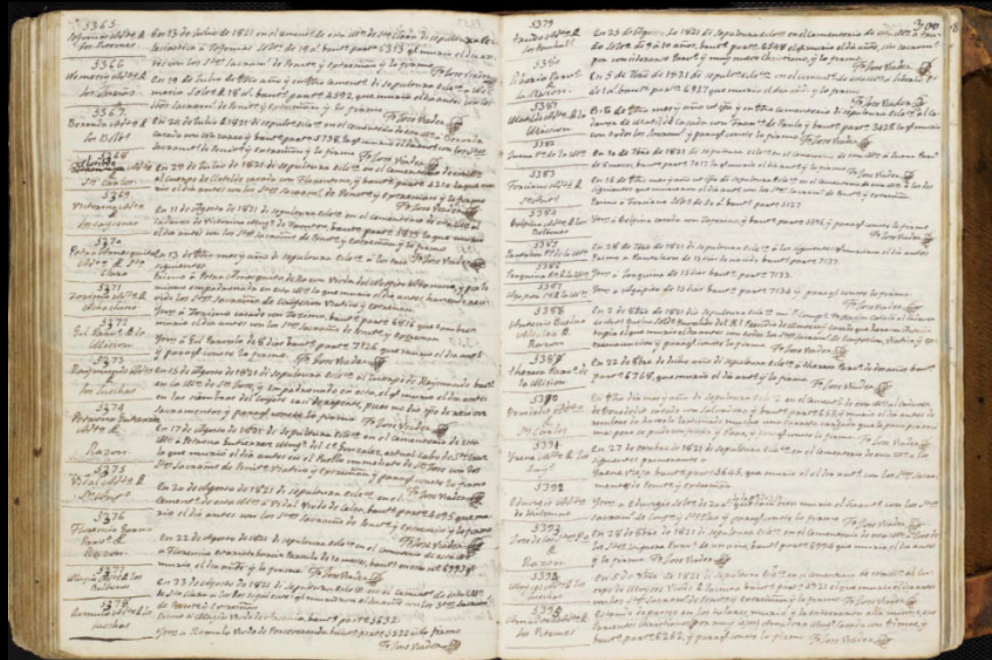
- Bay Area missions were multiethnic communities
- Traditional marriage patterns continued with some modifications



Marriage records from Mission Santa Clara manuscript collection

Maintaining Connections

Long-Term Engagement with the Broader Landscape



Mission Santa Clara's death records indicate that nearly 9% of Native residents died outside of the mission, many in their ancestral villages.



Obsidian tools and shell beads can be linked to mission-era Native exchange networks

Native Resistance

Active Rebellions Against the Bay Area Missions



Pomponio (1823-1824) – led raids against several Bay Area missions

Estanislao & Cipriano (1827-1829) – led a massive revolt against Missions San José and Santa Clara

Yozcolo (1839) – led a rebellion against Mission Santa Clara

Reclaiming Territory

Enduring Connections to Homelands after the Missions

Name of Land Grant	Date	Acres	Grantee(s)	Ethnic Affiliation	Baptismal Mission
La Purísima Concepcion	1840	4439	José Gorgonio and José Ramon	Ohlone	Santa Clara
Posolmi	1844	3042	Lope Inigo	Ohlone	Santa Clara
Los Coches	1844	2219	Roberto	Ohlone	Santa Clara
Rincon del Alisal	1844	~600	Juan Santos & sons	Ohlone	Santa Clara
Ulistac	1845	2277	Marcelo, Pio, and Cristobal	Ohlone	Santa Clara

Land grants to Native residents of Mission Santa Clara



All five grants were geographically centered the grantees' ancestral lands

Cultural and Community Persistence

Alisal and Neighboring Rancherías



- Site of cultural revitalization from the mid-19th century onward
- Home to Chochenyo speakers, José Guzman and Angela Colos (left)
- Documented by anthropologists including J.P. Harrington



mu^w'ékma, la gente

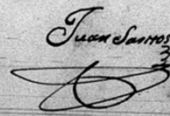
Detail of Harrington's field notes from Alisal

III. Justice

*What can we learn from the struggles
of the past?*

Seeking Justice After the Missions

Sr. Prefecto del N.^o de Indio. 27 Julio 1839.
 N.^o 1560
 de Indio S. Antonio de Papat 4/8.
 Petición por sus hijos por la misa
 p. Santa Clara

Juan Santos, Negro y vecino de la Mis.^o de Santa Clara
 Su estado Casado es hijo legítimo y natural de la Mis.^o que
 tiene cinco hijos uno emancipado. Con la mayor aten-
 ción y respeto q. debe ante V.^o se presenta y dice q. por su
 hijo el menor se alto en el pueblo de S.^o José trabajando
 en la hobra de la iglesia, y quiere trabajar en ella como ve-
 cino del pueblo, no como nativo de la Mis.^o pues en el
 pueblo es donde solicita su educación. Con su familia q.
 por lo que le queda m.^o suplica al honor y bondad de V.^o
 se le haga la Gracia y Concederle subsistencia, para
 salir libre con la familia q.^o agosar de aquella libertad.
 sibil q. la ley prohíbe a todos los ciudadanos, en este
 pueblo de S.^o José, quien solicita la Gracia y merced
 promete por raras como tal ciudadano. Gracia y merced
 q. espere su honor y Caridad Corazon. al q. a V.^o
 Rendida m.^o suplica se le atiende con equidad.
 Pueblo de S.^o José Julio 27 de 1839.
 Juan Santos


Therefore we ask your Excellency to grant
 as the favors which we solicit, from which
 we will receive justice, swearing to what
 may be necessary.
 Monterey March 21, 1844,
 Marcelo +
 Pio +
 Cristoval +

Above: Early translation of a petition for the Ulistac
 land grant by three Ohlone men from Mission
 Santa Clara: Marcelo, Pio, and Cristoval. 1844.

Left: Emancipation petition by Juan Santos,
 Ohlone resident of Mission Santa Clara, 1839.

Revolt at Mission San José, 1842



- A group of Native men plotted to remove José Jesús Vallejo, the civilian administrator
- 17 men were arrested and interrogated, including:
 - Zenon
 - Habencio
 - Leopardo
 - Liberato

In their testimonies, the Native men stated repeatedly that they were motivated by the theft of land by local colonists

Connecting Past and Present

Zenon Patcha – Baptized at Mission San Rafael in 1821 (Bapt# 558). Married at Mission Santa Clara in 1838. Daughter baptized there in 1844. Father of Angela Colos (b. 1839).



Habencio Zapais – Baptized at Mission San Jose in 1817 (Bapt# 3629). Had a son baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1848. Father of Jose Guzman (b. 1853).

José Liberato Doniso – Baptized at Mission San Jose in 1819 (Bapt# 4084) and lived into the 1900s. Son of Liberato Culpecse (Jalquin Ohlone), a key ancestor in the Marine family lineage of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe.

Leopardo – Baptized at Mission San Jose in 1817 (Bapt# 3573). Was the father of José Antonio, who was the leader of the Alisal rancheria in the late 19th century. Part of the Tribe's Marine family lineage.

Concluding Thoughts



The disparities of federal recognition in California are directly tied to the realities of the Spanish mission system and have been exacerbated by the structures of U.S. settler colonialism.

But the evidence is clear: The ancestors of the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe – like other Native Californians—never left and they never gave up.

Thank You