



Summer 2019

La Peninsula

The Journal of the San Mateo County Historical Association, Volume xlvii, No. 1



The Aramai

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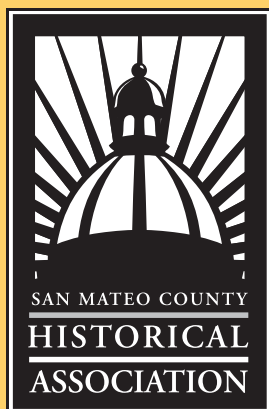


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Cover: Section of *Pruristac Village*, Amy Hosa and Linda Yamane, 2019. The painting was created for a mural in the upcoming Sanchez Adobe Interpretive Center.

The Aramai

by Jonathan Cordero, PhD



Section of *Pruristac Village*, Amy Hosa and Linda Yamane, 2019.

About the Author

Jonathan Cordero is a native Californian of Ramaytush Ohlone, Bay Miwok, and Chumash descent. He is Founder and Chairperson of the Association of Ramaytush Ohlone and Assistant Professor of Sociology at California Lutheran University. Dr. Cordero has written several articles on California Indians, including two related the Ramaytush Ohlone and Mission Dolores in San Francisco: "Native Persistence: Marriage, Social Structure, Political Leadership, and Intertribal Relations at Mission Dolores, 1777-1800." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 35(1), 2015 and "California's Hidden Sacred Mural: The History of the Painted Adobe Reredos at Mission Dolores." *Journal of the West*, 57(4), 2018, the latter with co-author Ben Wood.

In 2005, Jonathan Cordero discovered that he was a descendant of the *Aramai* tribe near present-day Pacifica. Living descendants of the Ramaytush Ohlone originate from the *Aramai* village at *Timigtac*, located along Calera Creek in the city of Pacifica, San Mateo County that was headed by Ygnacio *Utchús* and Geronima *Muchiâte*. Their lineage was carried forward through their great-granddaughter, Leandra Ventura Ramos, whose children account for four branches of the family that produced living descendants. Dr. Cordero tracked down the other living descendants from the four branches of the family identified above and started the Association of Ramaytush Ohlone that is dedicated to researching, revitalizing, and preserving *Ramaytush* Ohlone history and culture.¹ The following article is based on both his professional research and family history.

The Aramai

In the San Pedro Valley and surrounding area once lived the *Aramai* tribe who spoke the *Ramaytush* dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. The *Aramai* and its territory are historically significant for a number of reasons: the most influential political leader of the *Ramaytush* Ohlone, the original peoples of the San Francisco Peninsula, resided at the *Aramai* village of *Pruristac* in the San Pedro Valley; the historical site of the Spanish discovery of the San Francisco Bay is located within *Aramai* territory along Sweeney Ridge just east of the *Aramai* villages of *Pruristac* and *Timigtac*; the *asistencia* for Mission Dolores and the historic Sanchez Adobe were located near the village of *Pruristac*; and the only known surviving lineage of the original peoples of the entire San Francisco Peninsula originate from the *Aramai*. For these and other reasons, the *Aramai* remain of critical importance to the history of the San Francisco Bay Area.

While other publications, like *A Time of Little Choice* (Milliken, 1995) and "Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today" (Milliken et al., 2009) provide a wealth of information on the indigenous population of the San Francisco Peninsula, this paper focuses on the *Aramai* tribe and more specifically on the incorporation of the *Aramai* into Mission Dolores, on the high-status families of the *Aramai*, and on the four branches of the only known surviving lineage of the *Ramaytush* Ohlone.

Notes on Terminology

Some lack of clarity persists regarding the choice of terminology used to identify the Costanoan-speaking peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area and the original peoples of the San Francisco Peninsula. Inaccurate terminology, like the use of Muwekma Ohlone to identify the original peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area, still linger in various public venues and documents. The following provides basic information and guidelines

regarding the language used to identify the Costanoan-speaking peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area in general and of the *Ramaytush* Ohlone in particular.

As far as we know, the original peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area did not have names for themselves as distinct groups of people, but our present need for identifiers has created a number of terms used to refer to historical and contemporary Bay Area native peoples. Like most California natives, contemporary Ohlone peoples use linguistic boundaries instead of local tribal boundaries to define their respective territories. Because there are so few living descendants of the original peoples of California, surviving descendants from local tribes tend to represent the interests of their linguistic areas.

For example, descendants of the village of *Timigtac* in *Aramai* territory tend to identify as *Ramaytush* in order to represent the ancestors of the local tribes along the San Francisco Peninsula, all of whom intermarried, shared a common culture, and spoke the same dialect of the Costanoan language. Since the lineage from *Timigtac* is the only known surviving lineage within *Ramaytush* territory, their descendants speak on behalf of all *Ramaytush* peoples. That practice is common across California and derives from an understanding of indigenous identity based on substantial documented evidence of lineal descent from a California native. As such, one's ancestral homeland refers not only to the geographic boundaries of their ancestral tribe of origin but to the broader ethnic or linguistic territory within which their ancestral tribe of origin is located.

Since honoring one's ancestor remains an important objective of all California natives, respect for another's ancestors and territories remains a critical component of indigenous protocol and should be upheld by non-native agencies and organizations as well. At minimum non-local indigenous persons and groups should acknowledge one another's territory when visiting and should ask permission to conduct ceremony or other native activities. Additionally, natives and non-natives should acknowledge territory properly and should strive

for historical accuracy so as to avoid the disharmony that often results from violations of protocol and to avoid misinforming the broader public.

Costanoan

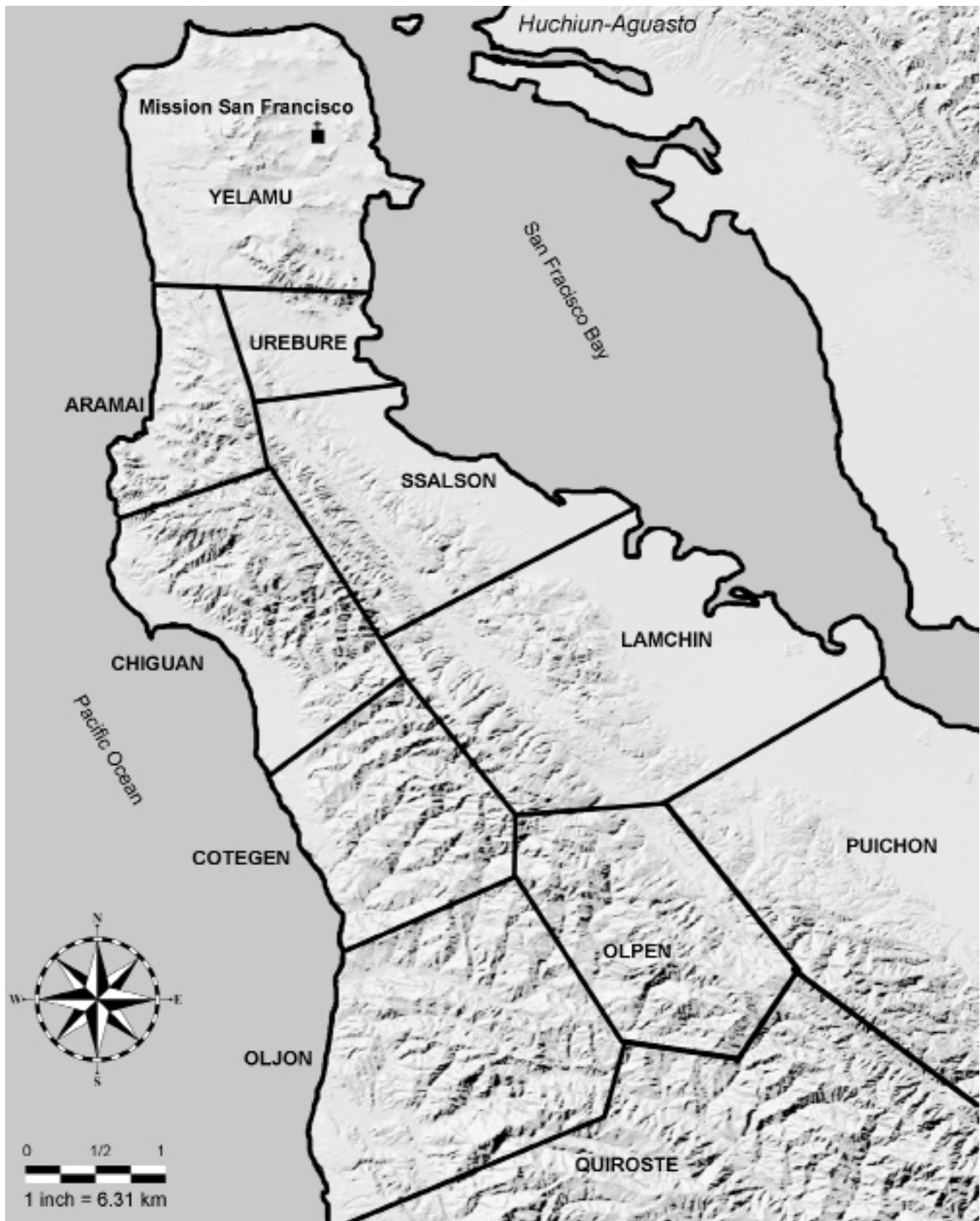
The term Costanoan derives from the Spanish *costaños*, which means "coastal people"; it is a linguistic term used to designate a particular "language family."² The Costanoan language family consists of six distinct languages: *Karkin*, *Awaswas*, *Mutsun*, *Rumsen*, *Chalon*, and the San Francisco Bay Language that contains three dialects spoken in the San Francisco Bay Area: *Chochenyo* in the east, *Tamyen* in the southeast, and *Ramaytush* along the San Francisco Peninsula.³ According to Levy, "the Costanoan-speaking people lived in approximately 50 separate and politically autonomous nations or tribes" at the time of contact.⁴

Ohlone

The term Ohlone resulted from a misspelling of *Oljon*, a tribe within *Ramaytush* territory along the Pacific Coast. The switch from "*Oljon*" to "Ohlone" first occurred in 1853 and was repeated thereafter in other publications.⁵ It rose to prominence as substitute an identifier especially among East Bay *Chochenyo* descendants in the early 1900s. Today it is broadly accepted as an identifier for all Costanoan-speaking peoples from the San Francisco Bay Area to Big Sur, although some persons and groups, like the Amah Mutsun, resist using Ohlone as an identifier altogether.

Ramaytush

The term *Ramaytush* (pronounced "rah-my-toosh") is commonly used as a designation for a dialect of the Costanoan language that was spoken by the original peoples of the San Francisco Peninsula (see map, page 5). Richard Levy first used the term in 1978, but his usage derives J.P. Harrington's interviews with *Chochenyo* speakers Angela Colos and Jose Guzman. Harrington's notes that *rámai* refers to the San Francisco side of the San Francisco Bay and *-tush* is the



The *Ramaytush* triblets of the San Francisco Peninsula. Most members of the *Olpen* and *Puichon* tribes were baptized at Mission Santa Clara, while the remaining 8 had the majority of their members incorporated into Mission Dolores.

Chochenyo suffix for people. Thus, *rámáitush* referred to the people of the San Francisco Peninsula.⁶ Most descendants of the Costanoan-speaking groups of the San Francisco Bay Area, however, refer to themselves as Ohlone, hence the phrase, *Ramaytush* Ohlone.

The entire San Francisco Peninsula is *Ramaytush* Ohlone territory. All persons indigenous to the San Francisco Peninsula should be identified either as *Ramaytush* or by their local tribal name. The local tribes whose members spoke the *Ramaytush* dialect include the *Aramai*, *Chiguan*, *Cotegen*, *Lamchin*, *Oljon*, *Olpen*, *Puichon*, *Ssalson*, *Urebure*, and *Yelamu*.

Aramai

The designation of village and tribal names by the Spanish missionaries provided scholars and California natives with some basis for assigning names to tribes. Missing, incomplete, or contradictory information poses problems for proper identification, although anthropologists, linguists and others have settled on tribal names for the purposes of research. Most tribal groups did not have names for themselves as a distinct people, and so the names used by scholars and often adopted by later California natives may be not be historically accurate even though they may well be based on historical information. Such is the case with the *Aramai*. A review of existing evidence shows that “*Aramai*” was used to designate a location, an area, and a tribe.⁷

As a location, the term *Aramai* derives from the San Francisco Bay Costanoan word “*ramai*,” which is a locative term that means “west.” In *Chochenyo* “*Ramm*” was one of the cardinal directions and the locative “*rammatk*” referred to the west.⁸ While no directional terms remain from the *Ramaytush* dialect, they no doubt shared similar terms with corresponding dialectical variations.

As an area, “*Aramai*” refers to the place of origin of two persons born in the villages of *Timigtac* at Calera Creek and *Pruristac* in the San Pedro Valley as indicated by a review of the baptismal records at Mission Dolores.

In the two 1781 records, one in June and the other in July, the parents’ place of origin is listed as the villages of either *Timigtac* or *Pruristac* “en Aramay.” For example, the baptismal record for Ferdinanda (SFD-B:232) listed her father’s origin as the “rancheria de *Pruristac* en Aramay.”⁹ She was the granddaughter of Ygnacio *Utchús*, who was the head of the village at *Timigtac*. In this instance “aramay” appears to refer to the general location of the village vis-à-vis its relation to Mission Dolores. Over the years *Aramai* has been used by scholars to designate the tribe that includes the villages of *Timigtac* and *Pruristac* and that is located on the west coast of the San Francisco Peninsula near present-day Pacifica.

None of the members of the *Aramai* villages from *Timigtac* and *Pruristac* were referred to as members of the *Aramai* tribe as might be indicated by reference to family or nation. Pedro Alcantara, who provided the only list of *Ramaytush* words and phrases, offered the only real hint that the term “*Aramai*” was the actual name of a tribe. The vocabulary provided by Alcantara is without question derived from a native speaker of what we now refer to as the *Ramaytush* dialect of the Costanoan language. Alcantara’s parentage, from the *Cotegen* and *Yelamu* tribes place him at both ends and opposite coasts of *Ramaytush* territory. The *Cotegen* tribe of his father was located south of *Ramaytush* territory along the Pacific coast, and the *Yelamu* tribe of his mother was located at the northern portion of the San Francisco Peninsula.

In his interview with Adam Johnson, Alcantara identified the five larger *Ramaytush* tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula:

The tribes of Indians upon the Bay of San Francisco, and who were, after its establishment, under the supervision of the mission of Dolores, were five in number: the *Ah-wash-tees*, *Ol-hones*, (called, in Spanish, *Costanos*, or Indians of the Coast,) *Al-tah-mos*, *Ro-mo-nans*, and *Tu-lo-mos*. There were, in addition to these, a few small tribes, but all

upon the land extending from the entrance to the head of San Francisco Bay, spoke the same language.¹⁰

According to Johnson, Pedro Alcantara “was a native of the *Romonan* tribe.”¹¹ Most likely, the tribal name, *Romonan*, is derived from the Costanoan term “*ramai*.”

Alcantara’s claim to being a member of the *Romonan* tribe appears suspicious, given that his father was *Cotegen* and his mother was *Yelamu*; however, an analysis of baptismal records shows that Alcantara’s older brother was born at the *Aramai* village of *Timigtac* before Alcantara was born at the *Cotegen* village of *Ssalaime*. Alcantara’s younger brother was baptized at the *asistencia* in the San Pedro Valley, which implies that the family was living at a nearby village. Thus, Alcantara’s claim to being *Romonan*, one of the larger tribes, makes sense given his siblings places or birth.

Further, since the *Aramai* and the *Chiguan* tribes were headed by brothers, the territorial distinction between the two tribes made by scholars may not in fact have existed in reality. The tribes were most likely united at some prior time under their father, *Ttusác*, (SFD-B:349), and then were divided among his elder sons.

Alcantara’s claim to being *Romonan*, in addition to other information, leads to the conclusion that the *Aramai*, *Chiguan*, and perhaps *Cotegen* were closely related to the extent that the native inhabitants considered them as one tribe.

Important *Aramai* and *Chiguan* Families

The territory of the *Aramai* extended from the southern boundary of the *Yelamu* on the Pacific coast south to a point south of the San Pedro Valley and north of the Pillar Point. The eastern boundary was most likely located just west of San Andres Lake. Prior to the being baptized, the population *Pruristac* consisted of at least eight families totaling about forty people. *Aramai* baptisms at Mission Dolores began in 1779 and subsided by 1786 and totaled approximately fifty people. The main village of *Pruristac* was located in the San Pedro Valley along San Pedro Creek, while

the smaller village of *Timigtac* was situated just a short distance north at Calera Creek. A third village named *Amictú* appears in the mission records for *Pruristac* families, but no precise location can be determined.¹²

Of the ten tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula, the *Aramai* were the most politically influential.¹³ Originally from the *Chiguan* village of *Ssatumnumo*, Luciano *Yaguéche* was the oldest son of a family that dominated political relations in the *Aramai* and *Chiguan* territories and beyond. Headman Luciano Tiburcio *Mossués y Yaguéche* (SFD-B:309; hereafter referred to as Luciano *Yaguéche*)¹⁴ of the village at *Pruristac* had at least three wives, eight children, and two step-children. In a Christian ceremony, he married the youngest of his wives, Maria Jospha *Tensém* (SFD-B:320), while the others did not remarry.¹⁵ His offspring married the children of other headmen more frequently than any other headman or high-status person in *Ramaytush* territory. Luciano *Yaguéche*’s son, Manuel Conde *Jutquis* (SFD-B:93), retained an important status at the mission until his death in 1830.¹⁶ *Aramai* men accounted for nearly one-third of leadership positions at Mission Dolores, which is impressive given the tribe’s comparatively small size.

One of Luciano *Yaguéche*’s daughters married *Urebure* headman Alonso *Loyaxsé* (SFD-B:306), and another married his son (SFD-M:59). His son, Manuel Conde *Jutquis*, married the daughter of the head of the nearby village of *Timigtac*, and later married the daughter of *Oljon* headman Pacifico *Lachigi* (SFD-B:1003). Another son, Onofre *Silgun* (SFD-B:92) married the former wife of *Oljon* headman Pacifico *Lachigi*. His daughter, Potenciana (SFD-B:308) married Valeriano *Tacsinte* (SFD-B:442), who was the son of a very important leader from the *Lamchin* tribe. Valeriano *Tacsinte* became an important leader at Mission Dolores and served as *alcalde*. Other children married the children of key leaders from the *Ssalson* and *Cotegen* tribes.

Given his high status as indicated by the marriages of his children, Luciano *Yaguéche* was likely a primary

headman over a number of secondary headmen or what others refer to as a district chief. In California it was not uncommon for “the role of the chief” to extend “throughout a confederation of tribes.”¹⁷ For example, in the 1775 visit of the Spanish ship, *San Carlos*, to the San Francisco and San Pablo Bays, Fray Vicente Maria records the visit of *Huchiun* leaders—a chieftan, second chieftan, and other perhaps tertiary chieftans.¹⁸ Pedro Fages made a similar observation among the *Salinan*: “Besides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district, another one who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinates.”¹⁹

A second important leader from the village of *Pruristac*, Manuel *Liquiique* (SFD-B:321), most likely a secondary headman, married the daughter of Luciano *Yaguéche*. Because marriages between members of the same village were very unusual for the *Ramaytush*, Manuel *Liquiique* was likely an important person in the *Aramai* tribe and second only to Luciano *Yaguéche*. Another indicator of his high status was the status of his son. In *Ramaytush* culture the status of the father was conferred to his children, and a position of high status in the mission staff required as a prerequisite high status in the neophyte community. Manuel *Liquiique*’s son, Luis Ramon *Heutlics* (SFD-B:31), stood witness at more marriages than any other *Ramaytush* person and eventually became *alcalde*.

Manuel *Liquiique*’s first wife was a former *Yelamu* woman named Petronilla *Huitpote* (SFD-B:313). Her daughter, Maria Francisca *Liloté* (SFD-B:12), played a critical role in remedying the continuous warfare between the *Yelamu* and *Ssalson*. Her marriage to Mariano *Letchentls* (SFD-B:199), son of *Ssalson* leader Narcisa *Guascam* (SFD-B:480), was the first of the *Yelamu-Ssalson* marriages, although at the time of the marriage in 1780 the fourteen-year-old was most likely living with her mother at the village of *Pruristac*. Petronilla *Huitope*’s son, Francisco Moraga *Chamís*, married into a *Yelamu* family and played an important role at the mission along with his step-brother, Luis Ramon *Heutlics*, mentioned above. *Liquiique*’s second

wife, Maria Baptista *Ssayugte* (SFD-B:322), was *Yaguéche*’s oldest daughter. She was born at the village of *Ssatumnumo* prior to *Yaguéche*’s move to *Pruristac* in about 1760. Her son, Fernando *Guisaché* (SFD-B:317) married the daughter of *Ssalson* leader *Jaluntis*.

Another important family at *Pruristac* was Cirino *Ónep* (SFD-B:464) whose children married into the *Yelamu* and *Urebure* tribes. Cirino *Ónep*’s son, Antonio Bucareli *Utála* (SFD-B:115), married another of *Amuctac* leader *Tóssac*’s daughters (Rafaela Marcela *Quéyeme*, SFD-B:51), and Cirino *Ónep*’s daughter, Juana de la Cruz *Ulpite* (SFD-B:214), married the youngest son of *Urebure* headman *Loyaxsé* (Junipero *Yuccägo*, SFD-B:66). Altogether, *Pruristac* leaders arranged three marriages each between their children and the villages of *Amuctac* (*Yelamu*) and *Siplichiquin* (*Urebure*), which were in close proximity one to another along the eastern shore of the peninsula. Cirino *Ónep*’s second daughter, Cunegunda del Espiritu Santo *Turuete* (SFD-B:217), married the grandson of Ygnacio Joseph Birján *Ligmi* (SFD-B:80), one of the three brothers in the important *Yelamu* extended family.

At the village of *Timigtac*, Ygnacio *Utchús* (SFD-B:300), nicknamed “*el cojo*” (i.e., the lame one) by the missionaries, lived with his wife, Geronima *Muchiáte* (SFD-B:284) and two young daughters, Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* (SFD-B:95) and Augustina *Puctzim* (SFD-B:96). Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* first married into the extended family of the three aforementioned *Yelamu* brothers, but her second marriage was to the mission blacksmith, Joseph Ramos, a Spaniard from Tulanzingo, Mexico. This was not only a high-status marriage but one of the very few between a Spaniard and a native as these marriages were extremely rare at Mission Dolores.²⁰ Their lineage would prove to be the only one to survive to the present (see “*Leandra’s Lineage*” below). Ygnacio *Utchús*’ youngest daughter, Augustina *Puctzim*, married Manuel Conde *Jutquis*, son of *Pruristac* headman Luciano *Yaguéche*. Also, Ygnacio *Utchús*’ had an older daughter who married a man of unknown origin in 1784; however, her second marriage

was to the son of *Ssalson* leader Christoval *Sinuc* (SFD-B:417) of the village at *Uturbe*.

The marriages of the *Aramai* illustrate the extent of their social and political networks. The children of high status families tended to marry into families of their immediate neighbors, especially to the north (*Yelamu*) and east (*Urebure* and *Ssalson*). Because of the preexisting kinship between *Pruristac* and *Chiguan* leaders, marriages to the immediate south were perhaps less necessary. Two marriages at the mission in which marital contracts were renewed illustrate the persistence of tribal tradition over the restrictive precedent of baptism in the selection of marriage partners imposed by the missionaries. In two marriages between the *Aramai* and *Urebure* and in another between the *Aramai* and *Ssalson*, the spouses renewed their tribal marriage at the mission immediately after being baptized.

Another important *Aramai* man, Jorge *Jojuis* (SFD-B:298), most likely a brother or son of Luciano *Yaguéche*, served on the mission staff as a witness for many *Ramaytush* marriages and was alcalde in 1797.²¹ Members of the neighboring *Chiguan* tribe, however, did not have prominent roles at Mission Dolores. The *Aramai*, then, were not only the most politically dominant *Ramaytush* tribe—they dominated indigenous leadership at Mission Dolores during its formative years from 1786 until the early 1800s.

The *Chiguan* had two villages near Half Moon Bay, and a third permanent village in the mountains. The village of *Ssatumnumo* was located “*como tres leguas mas al sur de las Almejas*” (about eight miles south of the village at *Pruristac*) near Pilarcitos Creek. Bocek locates a large number of archaeological sites in the area of Half Moon Bay, extending north of Pillar Point to Moss Beach, which indicate the presence of a once well populated area.²² The Pilarcitos drainage was an important geographic feature because it connected the *Chiguan* to the *Ssalson* and *Lamchin* tribes to the east. The second village of *Chagunte* was located to the north. Like other nearby tribes along the coast, the *Chiguan* were a small group of about nine families

(roughly fifty people) who were baptized between 1783 and 1791. The headman of the *Chiguan*, Egidio *Cancégmne* lived at the primary village of *Ssatumnumo*.

Egidio *Cancégmne* (SFD-B:345) was the younger brother of *Pruristac* headman Luciano *Yaguéche*. Both originated in *Chiguan* territory at *Ssatumnumo*. In fact, a younger brother, Lucio *Uláss* (SFD-B:341), lived at *Ssatumnumo* as well and identified his father as *Ttusác* and mother as *Ssiám*. These two could be the parents of the entire family and perhaps the previous head of the *Aramai/Chiguan* tribe. A sister or sister-in-law, Theodosia *Apam* (SFD-B:451), also lived at *Chagunte*. Egidio *Cancégmne* had three wives and seven children. He married his niece, Simphorosa *Ssumsin* (SFD-B:351), the daughter of his brother Luciano *Yaguéche*. His other wives were not baptized. One of his daughters, Maria de la Trinidad *Yt-tím* (SFD-B:545), renewed her marital contract with Rosendo *Yunnénis* (SFD-B:544) son of *Chiguan* man *Zanoas*. Another daughter, Margarita de Escocia *Jagessém* (SFD-B:546) married the *Yelamu* widower Ambrosio Josph *Viluíge* (SFD-B:80). Yet another daughter, Eufemia *Jablim, L, Kablím* (SFD-B:403) married Sebastian *Emptil* (SFD-B:19), the son of *Yelamu* leader *Sunnocon*.

The Mission Dolores marriages of Maria de la Trinidad *Yt-tím* to an *Aramai* spouse was a renewal of tribal marriages that pre-existed their baptisms. Egidio *Cancégmne*'s other two daughters' marriages were in fact second marriages since both had children with other men prior to their unions with *Yelamu* men. Overall, the children of *Cancégmne* made important marriages but not as significant as the marriages of the children of Luciano *Yaguéche*.

The *Ramaytush* at Mission Dolores

Mission San Francisco De Asis or Mission Dolores was founded by Fray Francisco Palou 29 July 1776 along Dolores Creek and near the *Yelamu* village of *Chutchui*. Conversion of the natives was delayed until 1777 because the *Ssalson* attacked the *Yelamu* and drove them away.



Mission San Francisco de Asis, 1816, by Louis Choris. The mission is the large building left of center. The neophyte adobe village is to the right.

The first native baptized at Mission Dolores was an important twenty-year-old *Yelamu* man named *Chamis* to whom was given the Spanish name, Francisco Moraga (SFD-B:7). Francisco *Chamis*'s family would become important because his sister's marriage to a *Ssalson* man would help to quell hostile relations between the *Yelamu* and *Ssalson*.²³ Francisco *Chamis*' widowed mother married *Pruristac* key leader Manuel *Liquique*.

Proximity influenced the sequence of baptisms among the *Ramaytush* tribes—those closest to the mission were baptized before those more distant (See *Table 1, page 11*). Since Mission Dolores was situated within *Yelamu* territory, a larger proportion of the *Yelamu* were baptized earlier than other tribes further south. Using average baptism years as an indicator, the *Aramai* were the third tribe (after the *Yelamu* and *Urebure*) to be incorporated into Mission Dolores, and by 1784 they had been almost entirely incorporated into Mission Dolores. *Aramai* headman Luciano *Yaguéche* and key leader Manuel *Liquique* were baptized in 1783.

In 1785 conditions at the mission became worse for neophyte Indians as disease spread as a result of overcrowding and a dwindling supply of food. In

response, the missionaries constructed an outpost (or *asistencia*) in *Aramai* territory in the San Pedro Valley.

Construction of the outpost in the San Pedro Valley began in 1786 and by December “six rooms with whitewashed, mud plastered, palisades walls, roofed with mud and thatch were completed including a chapel and granary.”²⁴ The primary functions of the outstation called *San Pedro y San Pablo* were to relieve “overcrowded conditions at the mission,” to raise “critically needed supplemental crops,” and to reduce the distance from unconverted populations.²⁵ Baptisms began 17 April 1786 with Sofia who was born at the nearby village of *Pruristac* to a *Chiguan* father and an *Urebure* mother (SFD-B:531). Approximately 156 natives were baptized at *San Pedro y San Pablo*, but the frequency of baptisms was reduced significantly after November 1791. The last two known baptisms occurred one each in 1795 and 1797.

After the outpost at *San Pedro y San Pablo* became inactive, Francisco Sanchez, commander of the San Francisco Presidio and eighth *alcalde* of the City of San Francisco, was granted a 9,000-acre *rancho* in today's San Mateo County that included the San Pedro Valley. He built an adobe near the location of the outpost and

Ramaytush Tribes	Round Baptized Population	Median Baptism Year	Median Marriage Year
Yelamu	135	1779	1782
Urebure	40	1782	1783
Aramai	50	1783	1784
Ssalson	175	1786	1786
Chiguan	45	1786	1787
Lamchin	170	1790	1791
Cotegen	30	1791	1791
Oljon	125	1791	1792

Table 1. Median Baptism and Marriage Year by Tribe.

former village at *Pruristac*.

At Mission Dolores life expectancy after baptism declined to about 4 years on average by 1790. According to Randy Milliken et al., “[b]y 1801 all of the native San Francisco Peninsula people had joined Mission Dolores.”²⁶ As the result of disease and other factors related to missionization, approximately 80% of the *Aramai* population died by 1800. By 1834 “only 37 descendants of the original San Francisco Peninsula Indians” were living at Mission Dolores, and by 1842 that number dwindled to about fifteen persons.²⁷

Of the several families that did survive, only a few have been identified. Two of the most prominent are the descendants of Pedro Evencio and Pedro Alcantara. Pedro Evencio was the son of Evencio *Yaculo* who himself was the son of a *Lamchin* (*Ramaytush*) father and *Huchiun* (*Chochenyo*) mother. Pedro Evencio and his spouse, Pastora (*Patwin*) had several children. In 1869 Pedro Evencio declared that he and his uncle “John Diego” “were the only original San Mateo County Indians still alive.”²⁸ The last confirmed descendant of Pedro Evencio died 1907, with rumors of another who died in the late 1930s.²⁹

Pedro Alcantara likewise declared in 1850 that “I am

all that is left of my people.”³⁰ Pedro Alcantara was the son of a *Cotegen* (*Ramaytush*) father and a *Yelamu* (*Ramaytush*) mother. He married twice, and had four children with his second wife, Crisanta. Only their son, Bernardino Alcantara, married and had children of his own. The last known descendant of Pedro Alcantara, his granddaughter Marie Bernal Buffet, died in 1922. Pedro Alcantara contributed a list of *Ramaytush* words and other information to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft in 1853.

A third *Ramaytush* lineage survived past the early 1920s. The lineage originated from the village of *Timigtac*, one of the smallest of all *Ramaytush* villages, located along Calera Creek near present-day Pacifica. The descendants of Ygnacio *Utchús* and Geronima *Muchiáte* comprise the only known survivors of the original people of the San Francisco Peninsula.

Leandra's Lineage: Four Generations, Four Branches

Generation One:

Ygnacio *Utchús* and Geronima *Muchiáte*

At the time of the arrival of the Spanish in 1769, the village at *Timigtac* numbered from ten to fifteen persons. The village leader, Ygnacio *Utchús* (SFD-B:300), was born about 1723, and his spouse Geronima *Muchiáte* (SFD-B:384) was born about 1732. The couple had four known children (in order of birth): Acursio *Enchequis*, Martina *Pispite*, Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte*, and Agustina *Puctzim*. Geronima *Muchiáte* was baptized three days prior to her death in 1782 and Ygnacio *Utchús* died a year later. The following is a summary of the four children.

1. Acursio *Enchequis* (SFD-B:347) married Germana *Pusute* (SFD-B:376) sometime prior to 1776 (SFD-M:73). Acursio *Enchequis* occupied a prominent position at the mission as *regidor* (councilman), and he served as a witness in a number of weddings. He died in 1816.

2. Martina *Pispite* (SFD-B:376) married Thuribio *Tumlis* (SFD-B:375) on 2 May 1784 (SFD-M:81). The couple had three children, all of whom died within a few years after birth. After Thuribio *Tumlis* died in 1793 Martina *Pispite* married Baltasar Reyes (SFD-B:147), son of an important *Ssalson* leader, Christoval *Sinuc* (SFD-B:417). Martina *Pispite* died in 1800.

3. Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* (SFD-B:95) and Agustina *Puctzim* (SFD-B:96) were baptized at Mission Dolores together in 1779 at the ages of 11 and 9, respectively. It was not unusual for children to be baptized before their parents and after baptism it was common for children to return to their villages to live with their parents. Within a year of being baptized Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* married her first husband, Bruno *Guatnaxsé* (SFD-B:30), who was the son of Estevan *Orotóte* (SFD-B:112), a member of a large, extended, and prominent *Yelamu* family. Theirs was only the twenty-fifth marriage at Mission Dolores, but it was short-lived because Bruno *Guatnaxsé* died in 1782. They had no children.

4. Agustina *Puctzim* married Manuel Conde *Jutquis* (SFD-B:93) in 1783. Manuel Conde *Jutquis* was the son

of *Aramai* headman Luciano *Yaguéche* (SFD-B:319), and he would remain a prominent member of Bay Area Mission and Indian societies until his death in 1830. Agustina *Puctzim* died in 1786 at the age of 16. They had no children.

Generation Two:

Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* and Joseph Ramos

Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte*'s second marriage was to Joseph Ramos on 31 October 1783 at Mission Dolores (SFD-M:65). Theirs was the first recorded marriage at Mission Dolores between the *gent de razón* and a native person. Joseph Ramos was baptized 10 July 1731 at San Antonio, Singuilucan, Hidalgo, Mexico, although his family was from nearby Valle de Tulancingo. He was a bachelor blacksmith at Mission Dolores who, beginning in 1776, traveled from Vera Cruz to San Blas and eventually arrived in San Francisco in 1779.³¹ Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte* and Joseph Ramos had only one child, Pablo Antonio Ramos, who was born on 25 January 1785 and was baptized at Mission Dolores five days later (SFD-B:410). Joseph Ramos died a few months later in June 1785 and was buried in foundation of the third church, adjacent to the current Old Mission Dolores.³²

After his father's death Pablo Antonio lived with his mother and step-father, Urbano *Uléqes* (SFD-B:347), from the *Ssalson* tribe. Urbano *Uléqes* was the cousin of Francisca Xaviera *Xilaíte*'s brother-in-law, Baltasar Reyes (SFD-B:147). Though half Spanish, Pablo Antonio Ramos was classified by the padres as a neophyte from that point forward.

Generation Three:

Pablo Antonio Ramos and Agueda Ocissa

Pablo Antonio Ramos first married a *Saclan*³³ woman named Agripina *Rurucsmain* (SFD-B:1543) on 15 December 1804 at Mission Dolores. She died just two years later in 1806. They had no children.

Skipping ahead, Pablo Antonio's third marriage was to Barbara *Motus* (SFD-B:4051) from the *Omiomi* tribe

north of the San Francisco Peninsula. The couple had five children. All three daughters, the earliest born in 1820, died by 1826. Their two sons, Jose de la Trinidad (SFD-B:6500) and Jose Antonio Ramon (SFD-B:6523), along with their parents, do not appear in any records after 1829.

On 30 October 1807 at Mission Dolores, Pablo Antonio was married a second time to Maria Agueda Ocissa (SFD-B:1651) from the *Saclan* tribe.

Agueda Ocissa was baptized 30 December 1794 at Mission Dolores at the age of four. Her father, Eufrosino *Cacnucché* (SFD-B: 1553), whose native names translates to “Peregrin Falcon,” was not married to Agueda Ocissa’s mother, Heliodora *Copitate* (SFD-B:1577) but to another *Saclan* woman. Heliodora *Copitate*, on the other hand, married Heliodoro *Ylupaché* (SFD-B:1579) on 18 December 1794 (SFD-M:424).

Pablo Antonio Ramos and Agueda Ocissa had two children: Ursula Hilariona (SFD-B:3637) who died at three years of age, and Maria Leandra Ventura Ramos who was baptized 14 March 1811 at Mission Dolores (SFD:4179). Leandra Ventura Ramos is the only surviving Ramaytush Ohlone known to have living descendants in the present. Leandra Ventura Ramos is one-half Bay Miwok (*Saclan*), one-fourth Ohlone (*Ramaytush*), and one-fourth Spanish.

A carpenter by trade, Pablo along with several other skilled laborers moved to Sonoma in 1823 to build Mission San Francisco Solano. The family remained there for a couple of years, during which time Leandra Ramos met and married Rafael Robles. After the building was completed, Pablo Antonio Ramos and family returned to Mission San Francisco.

The Four Branches

Generation Four (Part I):

Leandra Ventura Ramos and Rafael Robles

Leandra Ramos married Jose Rafael Robles at Mission San Francisco Solano on 7 January 1825 (SFS-M:00018). Rafael Robles was a one of the

infamous Robles brothers who were reputed to have caused much trouble in Santa Cruz and Santa Clara counties, but apparently, Rafael was more temperate than his wilder brothers. As Leon Rowland claimed in his *History of Santa Cruz*, “Rafael went into the army and discipline induced in him a sober conduct.” In addition, Rafael was given the duty on occasion to survey land.³⁴ Leandra and Rafael had five children and eventually settled in the village at Branciforte in Santa Cruz. While their only son died in 1840, three of the daughters married and had children.

1. Maria de Jesus (Maria Francisca) Robles was born about 1825 at Santa Cruz. She married Jose de Jesus Sebastian Soria about 1842. The couple had at least four children.

Maria Francisca Robles was renamed Maria de Jesus shortly after birth. She had four children with Jose de Jesus Sebastian Soria, the eldest of whom was Maria del Refugia Robles. Refugia married Antonio Dutra de Vargas, a Portuguese farm laborer, on 1 December 1857 at Santa Cruz. The couple had several children, one of



Anna Dutra Buero and grandson.

whom was Anna Dutra. Anna married Italian fisherman Giacomo “James” Marco Buero on 5 January 1885 at Santa Cruz. Anna Dutra and James Buero had eleven children, one of whom was Rose Buero.

2. Maria Domitila Robles was born about 1830 at Santa Cruz. She married Jorge Salazar 21 February 1846 at Mission Santa Cruz. They had at least two children.

Maria Domitila Robles, Leandra’s second daughter, was born about 1831. She married Jorge Salazar in Santa Cruz 21 February 1846. Like Domitila’s father Rafael Robles, Jorge Salazar was the son of an original Branciforte settler. His maternal grandparents were soldier Julian Rios and his wife Yrene, a neophyte from *Tipu* Rancheria near Santa Margarita. Domitila had her first baby, a daughter, in 1848 but the child died in 1850. On 16 July 1851 Domitila gave birth to Maria del Carmen Salazar. We do not know the circumstances of Carmen’s early life or the fate of her parents who vanish from known records after 1851. Carmen may have been orphaned at a young age. By June 1870, she was living in Watsonville with the family of her godmother and paternal aunt, Candida Rodrigues-Salazar. On 1 August 1870 she married Jose de los Santos Garner de Butron, a young man born and raised on his great-grandfather’s

land grant Rancho La Natividad.

3. Silvana Angela Mericia Robles was baptized 21 February 1830 at Santa Cruz. She has no known children.

4. Maria Juliana del Carmen Robles was born about 1835 at Santa Cruz. She married Angelo Martinez about 1853. The couple had at least four children.

Leandra’s daughter, Maria Juliana Robles, married Angelo Martinez about 1853. The couple had several children and were living in San Mateo County in 1860. Shortly thereafter Juliana and Angelo move to Pleasanton where Juliana remained with her children until at least 1875. Francisco Martinez was born to the couple in 1866 and Alberto in 1870. In 1875, Juliana had an illegitimate child, Joseph Juan Bonifacio Garcia, with Francisco Garcia. Juliana Robles has no known living descendants.

5. Jose Gregorio Robles was born in 1837 and died in 1840.

Generation Four (Part II):

Leandra Ventura Ramos and Eugenio Soto

After the death of Rafael Robles during the small pox outbreak of 1838, Leandra married Eugenio Antonio Soto on 20 May 1839 at Santa Cruz (SFZ-M:835). Leandra and Eugenio had six children, of whom at least two daughters are known to have had children.

6. Maria Leandra de la Cruz (Elena) Soto was born in 1839 at Santa Cruz. She had no known children.

7. Maria de la Ascencion Soto was baptized 2 June 1842 at Mission Santa Cruz. She married Clement Gutierrez at Mission Santa Clara 26 April 1858 (SCL-M:3167). After separating from Clemente, Ascencion had children with Marcus Chavoya, including Arcadia Chavoya.

Leandra’s daughter, Maria de la Asencion Soto, had several children, including one with Marcus Chavoya. Arcadia “Carrie” Chavoya was born 12 January 1877 in Pleasanton and later moved to San Luis Obispo in 1886. Carrie had eleven children, and, at the time of her death in 1950, she had thirty-five grandchildren and twenty-six



Five generations beginning clockwise (left, front): Carmen Salazar, Domitila Garner, Helen Maze, living Spencer and daughter.



Acadia "Carrie" Chavoya, about 1914.

great grand-children. Carrie's eldest daughter, Frances Valencia, was born on 19 October 1892 at San Luis Obispo (SLO-B:1668). Frances Valencia married William Salvador Cordero on 2 May 1914 at Santa Barbara; they had five children. Interestingly, the founders of the Cordero family in *Alta* California, Mariano Cordero and Juana Francisca Pinto, were the first couple ever married at Mission Dolores and would have been acquainted with Frances Valencia's *Aramai* ancestors. Mariano Cordero and Juana Pinto were married on 7 January 1777 and remained in San Francisco until at least 1784 (SFD-M:1). Five generations later, the families were reunited in the marriage of Frances Valencia (great-great-granddaughter of Francisca Xaviera *Xilaite*) and William Cordero (great-great-grandson of Mariano Cordero).

8. Maria Rosalia Soto was baptized 6 July 1845 at Mission Santa Cruz. She married Robert Evans on 26 August 1859 at San Mateo. They had nine children, at least two of whom had children.



Rosalia Evans Mueller, 1946.

Rosalia Evans was born 6 March 1868. She married Gottfried Mueller from St. Francis, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Though Gottfried's parents begged him to become a priest, he moved to California in the late 1800s and worked as a carpenter. He met Rose at a dance, married, and their son, Arthur, was born there in 1891. Jobs were scarce and the family moved to Beloit, Wisconsin, near Gottfried's brother, Charles. The couple lived in Wisconsin and had two children, Arthur and Irene. Both married, but only Arthur has living descendants.

9. Maria Petra del Espiritu Santo Soto was baptized in 1847 in Santa Clara, and she died in 1857.

10. Jose Ignacio Soto was baptized in 1850 at Mission Santa Clara. He had no known children.

11. Pio Francisco Soto was baptized in 1853 at Mission Santa Clara. He had no known children

In Memoriam

Edie (Schwab) Stene passed away August 30, 2012, at her home in La Selva Beach, California. She was born in New Monterey, California, on August 25, 1926, to Victor Schwab and Rose Buero Schwab. Edie was the great-great-granddaughter of Maria Francisca Robles.

Randall Theodore Milliken passed away January 2, 2018, at his home in Davis, California. He was the author of numerous publications on the indigenous peoples of the San Francisco Bay Area and was always supportive of the Ohlone in particular.

Notes

¹ For more information please visit <<http://www.ramaytush.com/>>.

² Levy, Richard. "Costanoans," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978, 485.

³ Milliken, Randall. *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810*. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers, No. 43. Menlo Park, CA: Malki Museum, 2009, 5.

⁴ Levy, *Handbook*, 485.

⁵ Johnston, Adam. "Costanos" [San Francisco Costanoan vocabulary] by Pedro Alcantara, in *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, ed. Henry R. Schoolcraft. Vol. 2. Philadelphia: Lippencott, 504.

⁶ Milliken, Randall, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz. *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and Their Neighbors, Yesterday, and Today*. Archaeological and Historical Consultants. Oakland, CA, 2009, 289.

⁷ When recording the origin and ethnic identity of persons, the Franciscan missionaries at Mission Dolores typically identified origin using a wide range of information, including village name (e.g., *rancheria de Pructaca*), location (e.g., *cañada de las Almejas*), family (*familia*), and nation (*nacion*). Ethnicity usually referred to nation or family or what we today call a tribe.

⁸ Harrington, John Peabody. *Southern California/Basin: Chumash, John Peabody Harrington papers, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution*, Volume 2, Reel 36, Card 250; Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 287-289.

⁹ See Mission Dolores baptisms numbers 225 and 232. (SFD-B:225) and (SFD-B:232).

¹⁰ Johnston, "Costanos."

¹¹ Johnston, "Costanos," 506.

¹² See Mission Dolores baptisms numbers 214 and 320. (SFD-B:214) and (SFD-B:320).

¹³ For more information on the social and political organization

at Mission Dolores, see Cordero, Jonathan. "Native Persistence: Marriage, Social Structure, Political Leadership, and Intertribal Relations at Mission Dolores, 1777-1800." *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 35(1).

¹⁴ The identification of records uses the following format: (Mission, Record Type, and Record Number) or, for example, (SFD-B:00093). The source is identified by mission (SFD for Mission San Francisco de Asis also known as Mission Dolores), then by baptism (B), marriage (M), or burial (D), and finally by record number. The person's Spanish first name is listed first followed by their native name in italics. In some instances, only one name was available, so the absence of either name does not indicate an error. For example, Manuel Conde *Jutquis* (SFD-B:00093). Unless otherwise stated, all records derive from the The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006, which can be accessed here: <<http://www.huntington.org/information/ecppmain.htm>>

¹⁵ That his other spouses did not remarry suggests that they remained his spouses after baptism.

¹⁶ See Mission Santa Cruz death number 1831. (SCZ-D:1831).

¹⁷ Bean, Lowell John, "Social Organization in *Native California*," in *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective*, ed. Lowell Bean and Thomas Blackburn, Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976, 112; Kroeber, Alfred, "The Nature of Land-holding Groups in Aboriginal California," in *Aboriginal California: Three Studies in Culture History*, ed. Robert F. Heizer. Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey, 54-56. Berkeley: Published for the University of California Archaeological Research Facility by University of California, 1963, 45.

¹⁸ Santa María, Vicente, and John R. Galvin. *The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay 1775: The Original Narrative, Hitherto Unpublished*, by Fr. Vicente María and Further Details by Participants in the First Explorations of the Bay's Waters Together with Four Contemporary Maps and Six Illustrations in Full Colour from the Brush and Pencil of Louis Choris Who Was at San Francisco in 1816. San Francisco: Howell, 1971, 67.

¹⁹ Priestly, Herbert. *An Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages*. Ballena Press: Ramona, CA., 1972, 166.

²⁰ Newell, Quincy D. *Constructing Lives at Mission San Francisco: Native Californians and Hispanic Colonists, 1776-1821*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011, 120-1.

²¹ Cordero, *Native Persistence*, 143.

²² Bocek, Barbara. "Subsistence, Settlement, and the Tribelet Territories on the San Francisco Peninsula," *Proceedings for the Society for California Archaeology*, 5, 269-298.

²³ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 78.

²⁴ Cacicedo, Pete. "Spanish at San Pedro and San Pablo." <<https://pacificahistory.wikispaces.com/Spanish+at++San+Pedro+and+San+Pablo>>

²⁵ Milliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, 102.

²⁶ Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 2.

²⁷ Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 2; *The San Francisco Census of 1842*. <<http://www.sfgenealogy.org/sf/sf1842.htm>>.

²⁸ Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 191.

²⁹ Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 194.

³⁰ Milliken et al., *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians*, 195.

³¹ Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, *Building and Builders in Hispanic California, 1769-1850*, Tucson, Ariz.: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1994, 87.

³² Maynard Geiger. "New Data on the Buildings of Mission San Francisco," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 46, 3 (Sept. 1967), 197.

³³ *The Sacian* were located east of the Oakland Hills in present day Moraga and Lafayette.

³⁴ Torchiana, H. A. Van Coenen. *Story of Mission Santa Cruz. San Francisco, CA: P. Elder and Company, 1933, 342.*

³⁵ The information on Maria Domitila Robles was contributed by Pam Curry, a direct descendant of Domitila Robles.

³⁶ The information on Maria Rosalia Soto was contributed by Carol Gannon-Hembel, a direct descendant of Rosalia Soto.



Hopper basket created for the Sanchez Adobe Interpretive Center by Linda Yamane, Rumsien Ohlone.

Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail

The San Mateo County Historical Association is leading various aspects of the interpretive program for the Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail project which is guided by a committee of county, state, federal and tribal representatives which will explore the best ways to design and interpret the path that Gaspar de Portolá took during his expedition of the San Mateo County coast and the San Francisco Bay. This work will include telling the history of the Ohlone people who lived in the area.

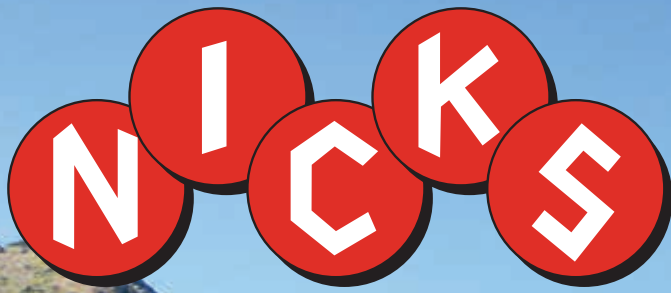
The Portolá expedition did not happen upon "wilderness" when it reached the San Mateo County coastline, but instead it encountered a society living in a stable lifestyle. In fact, the native people of Central California had the densest population of indigenous people north of Mexico. The initial contact between the Ohlone and the Spanish explorers was cordial as the native people provided the expedition with food and guidance.

The Committee has commissioned a Feasibility Study that will assess the opportunities and constraints related to developing the historical and recreational route as well as interpretive opportunities. The anticipated 90-mile Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail alignment through San Mateo County will be created using segments of the California Coastal Trail, existing sidewalks and/or trails through lands of Peninsula Open Space Trust and Midpeninsula Regional Open Space District, State Parks and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, and County Parks. Some route segments will be identified through working with willing private property owners and Caltrans.

The Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail in San Mateo County will be the story of two people. An interpretive multi-use recreation and automobile route, it will honor the region's California Indians and the Portolá Expedition.

Ohlone-Portolá Heritage Trail





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Lathrop House on the Move



View from the History Museum, April 12, 2019.



View from Hamilton Street, May 12, 2019.



View from Middlefield Street, May 28, 2019.

Dr. Stanger Legacy Society



Dr. Stanger at Millbrae excavation site, 1944.

Dr. Frank Stanger was the first executive director of the San Mateo County Historical Association. Among his accomplishments, he opened the organization's first museum and started publishing *La Peninsula*.

Some of our thoughtful supporters have joined the Dr. Stanger Legacy Society by including the Association in their wills or trusts. Their gifts, and yours should you choose to join them, help us preserve and interpret the history of San Mateo County.

Members of the Dr. Stanger Legacy Society receive invitations to annual events. For more information, please contact Kaia Eakin at 650.299.0104.



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