

Ancestral Ties of the Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians to the San Francisco Bay Area

An Addendum to the Report
*Scotts Valley Pomo Use and Occupation of
the San Francisco Bay Area (7 June 2005)*

prepared for
Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians

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I. Introduction

The Tribal Council of the Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians (the Tribe) and its legal counsel asked researchers to further examine primary documents and genealogical records to report on the Tribe's ancestral ties to the San Francisco Bay Area. Accordingly, researchers conducted additional research at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., consulted with Tribe members and their relatives, and constructed a detailed database of the Tribe's genealogy.¹ Researchers' analysis of these additional documents is presented in this addendum report, which is supplemental to the report *Scotts Valley Pomo Use and Occupation of the San Francisco Bay Area* (hereafter referred to as the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report).² The *Scotts Valley Pomo* report provides evidence of the Tribe's general aboriginal ties and specific contemporary connections to the Bay Area.³ The discussion presented in this addendum focuses on the Tribe's ancestral ties to

¹ See Appendix B.

The family trees of Bah-tish-o-mon, Joaquin, John Knight, Mariano, Frank Sheard, and William Tooley are not cited in this report. However, these family trees are complimentary to some of the tables included in the report appendices that list ancestors of the Tribe who were born in Bay Area counties. Individuals named on these family trees are ancestors to the Tribe through marriages. These unions are explained in notes on the family trees.

² Heather A. Howard and James M. McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo Use and Occupation of the San Francisco Bay Area* (Lansing, MI: James M. McClurken and Associates, Inc., 7 June 2005) [Hereafter Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*].

³ For the purpose of this report and the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, the terms "Bay Area" and "North Bay Area" are defined as follows. The "Bay Area" is defined as lands in Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Sonoma, Napa, San Francisco and Solano counties within 50 miles of the waters of San Francisco or San Pablo bays. Generally, the time period relative to discussions of the "Bay Area" spans they years since the beginning of American jurisdiction in 1848. The term "North Bay Area," which researchers generally use in discussions of the pre-contact and early contact periods, refers to lands that are today within the counties of Marin, Sonoma, Napa, and Solano, for which there is a discernable historical

the Bay Area from aboriginal times into the early twentieth century.

In the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, based on the available record at that time, researchers discussed the Tribe's ties to the Bay Area in terms of its membership in the broader linguistic family of Pomo-speaking peoples. The Pomo in this sense refers not to a politically organized entity, but rather to the Native peoples described by anthropologists as "Pomoan," who are linguistically diverse – having seven distinct regional dialects – but culturally, and economically similar and interrelated. Pomo-speakers have resided on, used, and occupied the lands immediately north of the San Francisco Bay Area, along with other Native groups, since aboriginal times. With the extensive additional genealogical research conducted for this report, researchers have been able to demonstrate, moreover, that the ancestors of the Tribe are not homogeneously Pomo. The Tribe's name is thus somewhat misleading as the Scotts Valley Band's ancestors include speakers of all the Pomoan dialects, as well as a significant number people with Native origins other than Pomo. Among these are Wappo, Coast Miwok, and Patwin – tribal groups which are well documented to have occupied the lands of the North Bay Area from aboriginal times through the colonial period.⁴

record relating to Native use and occupancy of these regions, and which pertains to the Tribe.

⁴ See Appendix B, Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

Although it appears that the ethnographic literature is in consensus about the Patwin, Wappo, and Coast Miwok occupying areas that border the waters of San Francisco and San Pablo Bay, ethnologists do not agree on which tribes used and occupied southern Napa County, where significant ancestors of the Tribe were from. Alfred Kroeber attributes it to the Patwin in 1932, but this ethnography offers little evidence for his conclusion. Later Kroeber attributes it to the Coast Miwok. Moreover, other scholars of the Wappo, such as Richard Dillon and Jesse O. Sawyer, delineate Wappo occupation of southern Napa County as overlapping with the area outlined in Kroeber's assessment. Kroeber also notes a number of migrations and population movements in the region, which he attributes to the "pre-Caucasian conquest" of the area. A. L. Kroeber, "The Patwin and Their Neighbors," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,

Ancestors of the Tribe were thus participants in an intertribal socio-economic complex that was established and perpetuated by marriages across linguistic and tribal lines, as is detailed in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report.⁵ Intertribal relations in and around the Bay Area were, in large part, founded upon intermarriage between members of different tribes including the linguistically diverse Pomo, Wappo, Patwin, and Miwok, as well as other cultural groups. Throughout much of California, Native people of the area generally lived in and around very small-scale villages composed of a few extended families, but they also traveled widely in connection with trade and religious life. Native peoples of different cultural and linguistic groups shared a common currency system and ceremonial practices. They came together to trade and gather resources and participate in ceremonies, occasions which also accommodated the need to find marriage partners from outside their small villages.

These unions generated the kin relations that governed and sustained the economy of material trade and cultural exchange, which was fundamental to aboriginal life throughout the Bay Area and in the ecologically diverse regions directly to the north. Evidence confirms that the ancestors of the Tribe were participants in this socio-economic exchange complex. For example, several historians and firsthand observers noted an aboriginal trail stretching from Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay, which ancestors of the Tribe, such as Chief Augustine, are recorded to have used

1932), p. 270, and map titled “Tribelet Centers of the Patwin and Their Neighbors” [Hereafter Kroeber, “The Patwin”]; A. L. Kroeber, “Ethnographic Interpretations: Some New Group Boundaries in Central California, 4,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. XLVII, no. 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 215-217; Richard H. Dillon, *Napa Valley’s Indians* (Fairfield, CA: James Stevenson Publisher, 2001), pp. 5-31; Jesse O. Sawyer, “Wappo,” *Handbook of North American Indians, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 257.

⁵ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 3-25; Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

in relation to the area's intertribal complex and the ranching and farming economies in the nineteenth century. In order to situate the ancestors of the Tribe within the context of the Indigenous exchange economy in and around the Bay Area, aspects of aboriginal intertribal relations in the Bay Area and the characterization of the Bay Area as an intertribal interface center are reiterated in this addendum report.

The additional genealogical research conducted for this report has allowed researchers to confirm theories about the lives of ancestors of the Tribe and aboriginal life in the Bay Area that they could only speculate upon in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report. For example, events recorded in the oral history of the Tribe are corroborated here with written documentation. Further, the patterns of marriage and movement throughout the North Bay Area of ancestors of the Tribe documented in the Tribe's genealogical records bolsters the assertion that Native peoples moved to and from the Bay Area in relation to aboriginal practices and the colonial encounter. This report thus reveals more detail about the connection between the Tribe's Bay Area ancestry and aboriginal relations. It also shows more precisely how the Tribe's ancestral diversity is a result of aboriginal practices associated with the socio-economic complex of the Bay Area, as well as historical circumstances such as the enslavement, displacement, and migration that caused the amalgamation of new communities under Spanish, Mexican, and American rule. In one instance, ancestor of the Tribe Chief Augustine herded cattle using the aboriginal trail that connected Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay. The movement of Native peoples northward from the Bay Area to Clear Lake, as well as displacement back to the Bay Area – to locations such as Rancho San Pablo and

Rancho Petaluma – under violent colonial circumstances, contributes to their diverse ancestry.⁶

The more comprehensive view of the Tribe’s genealogy presented here supports the assertion that the ancestors of the Tribe were of Pomo, Wappo, Miwok, Patwin and other origins and had intermarried since the earliest available record. More specifically, many were born and/or lived at places bordering the northern shores of San Francisco and San Pablo bays at some distance from where the Scotts Valley Rancheria would eventually be established, including locations on the Marin Peninsula (Marin County), in the vicinity of the San Rafael mission, and in Sonoma and Napa counties, as well as Lake and Mendocino counties.

The Frese family – the most significant Bay Area ancestors of the Tribe – are a case in point.⁷ The earliest documented ancestors of the Frese family, Fernando and Mary Frese, originate in the Carneros Valley in southern Napa County. Mary, who was kidnaped and enslaved in the Bay Area, had her first child, Victoria Frese Augustine, “at sea” on the San Francisco Bay Area in about 1860. Later, Mary returned to Napa with Victoria, and she and Fernando Frese had two more daughters, Mary and Louisa. This family was likely Wappo or Patwin – a fact that correlates with the diversity in the Tribe’s ancestry. The family moved to Clear Lake in about 1878, and were among the founding families of the Scotts Valley Rancheria. Victoria, who married Robert Augustine, a Pomo leader and son of the well-known Chief Augustine. While other families came and went to the Scotts Valley Rancheria from numerous parts of the North Bay Area during its brief existence from 1911 to 1965, the families descending

⁶ The surname Frese is variously spelled Freas, Frease, Frias and Frios, and at times referred to as Juarez. Researchers use these various spellings in this report as the names appear on the relative documents and records.

⁷ Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

from Mary and Fernando Frese have formed the core membership of the Scotts Valley Band through to the present. When the lands of the rancheria were taken out of federal trust and distributed to individual Tribe members, ten of the eleven distributees were direct lineal descendants of Mary and Fernando Frese.⁸ One hundred and ninety-nine of the 213 current members of the Tribe, or about 93 percent, trace their lineage to this family.⁹

As noted above, local Native communities were generally constituted of small populations, usually consisting of two or three extended families, with kinship relations governing tribal relations within and between communities. These patterns are detectable in the history of the Scotts Valley Band throughout the twentieth century. In the early twentieth century, rancheria communities consisted of amalgamated peoples, groups forged as a result of California Indian policy but which also reflected the small groupings made up of core families and their extended relatives that were characteristic of Native communities in aboriginal times. In this sense, the small size of the Scotts Valley Band, with the Frese family and its descendants at its core, is typical of most California Indian tribes today.

The *Scotts Valley Pomo* report also demonstrates the Tribe's historic ties to the Bay Area both in terms of its nation-to-nation relationship with the United States Government in the nineteenth century, and of its members' specific longstanding and contemporary residence in the Bay Area in the twentieth century. In 1851, representatives of the Scotts Valley Band were

⁸ A Plan for the Distribution of the Assets of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, According to the Provisions of Public Law 85-671, Enacted by the 85th Congress, 25 June 1959, National Archives and Records Administration Facility at San Bruno, California, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs [Hereafter NARA-San Bruno, RG75], Sacramento Area Office, Tribal Group Files, 1915-1972, Box 25, Scotts Valley.

⁹ Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

signatories to treaties negotiated with the United States Government that ceded the lands immediately north of and on San Francisco and San Pablo bays – lands that now include Marin, Sonoma, Solano, and Napa counties. These treaties were not ratified, and the Tribe’s ancestors remained landless for more than half a century. During this time, they were the victims of slavery and massacre, conditions that were legalized or sanctioned by the State of California and the United States.¹⁰ Native people fled north to escape these circumstances, sometimes en masse, as is demonstrated by the migration of the entire Native village of Olompali from southern Marin County to the Ukiah Valley. Some Native people may have moved to Clear Lake, where the 1851 treaties had promised them a reservation; however, the reservation never materialized. Instead, isolated reservations were created in remote northern sections of Mendocino County, to which Native people were forcibly removed. These communities became sites of intermarriage and new, composite communities from which some of the Tribe’s ancestors also emanated.

Between the 1850s and the 1930s, many Native people – including the ancestors of the Tribe, such as the Maysee (Ray) family – traveled a migratory labor route that stretched across Lake, Sonoma, Napa, and Mendocino counties on the northern shore of San Pablo Bay to the Russian River Valley. They also traveled in relation to the Ghost Dance and other ceremonial movements that brought Pomo, Wappo, Miwok, Patwin, and other tribal peoples together at locations throughout and immediately north of the Bay Area. Members of the Tribe’s prominent families are documented to have participated in these migrations, and, thus, the Tribe has close family ties at numerous rancherias other than Scotts Valley throughout the North Bay Area. The Tribe’s twentieth-century genealogy illustrates the continuation of intertribal relations and

¹⁰ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 26-45.

kinship connections among Native communities.

In 1905, Special Agent Charles E. Kelsey found the ancestors of the Tribe in the vicinity of Lakeport, and, in the 1910s, the federal government established for them the Scotts Valley (or Sugar Bowl) Rancheria, on lands southwest of Clear Lake. The 1911 census of the Scotts Valley Rancheria shows that the group of residents were an amalgamation of families from the Clear Lake area, as well as other locations such as the Ukiah Valley (Mendocino County), southern Napa County, and Cloverdale (Sonoma County).

The ancestors of the Tribe attempted to settle on the Scotts Valley Rancheria; however, the lands were inhospitable for farming and too small to support the Tribe's population. In addition, lack of running water, unsanitary conditions, and the need to find work soon compelled the ancestors of the Tribe to move away from the Rancheria, particularly towards the Bay Area.¹¹ Tribe members were increasingly born in San Francisco, the North Bay Area counties of Sonoma and Solano, and several other Bay Area cities.¹² After the 1920s, the ancestors of the Tribe settled more permanently in the urban centers of the Bay Area.

In the 1950s, the United States government took steps to terminate its relationship of fiduciary responsibility towards Indians; as a result, the Scotts Valley Rancheria was terminated in 1965. Relocation policy associated with termination and the Tribe's existing ties to the Bay Area induced most Tribe members to move to the region, where they reconstituted their

¹¹ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 46-92.

¹² Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

community, particularly in Oakland.¹³ Most of the Rancheria lands distributed to the Tribe at the time of termination were lost quickly due to tax liens and other factors. In 1972, a Bureau of Indian Affairs task force recommended the relocation of the entire Tribe, a proposal that was applied only to the Scotts Valley Band and one other tribe investigated by the task force. In the 1990s, the Tribe's status as a federally recognized Indian tribe was restored; however, the Tribe, whose membership was and continues to be based in the Oakland area, has remained landless.¹⁴ The context of the relationship between the Tribe and the federal government is an important factor in understanding how the Tribe's genealogical diversity developed as a result of policy-generated displacement.

The Tribe's genealogy also demonstrates the degree to which movement and migration across extensive distances has consistently been a characteristic of Native life through to the twentieth century. In aboriginal times, this movement brought the ancestors of the Tribe to and near the Bay Area as they formed and maintained kin relations, engaged in cultural and ceremonial activities, and participated in the exchange complex of the region. From the nineteenth century forward, movement occurred in response to changing and often hostile conditions. In the violent atmosphere of Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization, the ancestors of the Tribe were among the Native people kidnaped and enslaved on missions, ranchos, and, later, American farms and ranches in the Bay Area. At least one such instance

¹³ Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

¹⁴ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 46-92 (see especially p. 81); Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

involving Mary Frese, a direct lineal ancestor of the Tribe, is documented in the oral, written, and genealogical records of the Tribe. In another case, Native people from the Clear Lake area are documented to have been kidnaped and enslaved at Rancho San Pablo specifically, the site of the present-day City of Richmond. Some Native people fled north to escape these conditions or were removed to isolated reservations. Later, the ancestors of the Tribe migrated to pursue wage labor in the North Bay Area's agricultural economy, and in response to educational and other employment opportunities in Bay Area cities.

In the early twentieth century, rancheria communities consisted of amalgamated peoples, groups forged as a result of California Indian policy but which also reflected the small communities made up of core families and their extended relatives that were characteristic of Native people in aboriginal times. In this sense, the small size of the Scotts Valley Band, with the Frese family and its descendants at its core, is typical of most California Indian tribes today. This addendum shows how the lineal and collateral ancestors of the Tribe have directly used and occupied the Bay Area within these contexts, an analysis that supplements a more general discussion of these activities in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report and the Tribe's well-documented presence in the Bay Area since about the 1920s.

II. Intertribal Relations in the Bay Area and Diversity in the Tribe's Ancestry

As shown in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, evidence suggests that the San Francisco Bay Area was a place of ethnic diversity and extensive intertribal activity in pre-contact times.¹⁵ Drawing conclusions about which Native groups held territorial rights there or that Pomo peoples were excluded from the region is speculative because, beginning in the late eighteenth century, aboriginal life in the Bay Area was disrupted so quickly and thoroughly by the presence of non-Native people. The notion that California was divided into politically exclusive Native territories in aboriginal times, composed of static populations, is not tenable particularly in light of the new research presented in this report. With regard to the Pomo and the North Bay Area, this was an idea popularized in the scholarly literature in the last fifty years and is based largely on a misconstrued mapping of political boundaries drawn from earlier linguistic studies, conducted primarily by Samuel L. Barrett during the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁶ This misconception of Native territorial boundaries is discussed at length in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report.¹⁷

One can only infer from early observer accounts and ethnographic research what Native life was like in the Bay Area in aboriginal times. The disruption of aboriginal life preceding American occupation of the Bay Area was so extensive that little can be said about it. This is

¹⁵ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 3-25.

¹⁶ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 3-18.

¹⁷ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 3-18.

particularly true of the area in the immediate vicinity of Richmond, California. Bands that may have had settlements there had already been decimated and displaced to missions during the seventy-five years prior to American occupation. Researchers thus present what can be said about the directly adjacent areas – the Marin Peninsula and parts of Napa and Sonoma counties – for which some record exists and to which the Tribe has ties. This historical record indicates that the experiences of Indigenous peoples on the eastern side of San Pablo and San Francisco bays, at points no more than one mile apart, were not dissimilar. Given the diverse ecological character of the lands north of the Bay Area and the number of shared cultural aspects among the region’s peoples, as the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report demonstrates, it is probable that the ancestors of the Tribe participated directly in the intertribal activity of the Bay Area despite the linguistic diversity that characterized the region.¹⁸ The genealogical diversity of the Tribe’s ancestry as well as the earliest written accounts of American observers support this conclusion.

The genealogical research conducted for this report shows that ancestors of the Tribe were born in the North Bay Area in the early to mid-nineteenth century, indicating longstanding interaction between Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin. This genealogical evidence therefore shows that the ancestors of the Tribe are not strictly of Pomo origins.¹⁹ Patterns of intermarriage between Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin in the ancestry of the Tribe are consistent with aboriginal socio-economic relations, which were governed by kinship, as well as with the amalgamations that took place under the conditions imposed by the non-Indian economy that preceded American jurisdiction. In this chapter, researchers describe aboriginal life in the Bay

¹⁸ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 3-25.

¹⁹ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

Area in relation to the Scotts Valley Band's ancestors and in the context of documentary restrictions. Where possible, researchers highlight documented evidence of the participation of the Scotts Valley Band in marriage, trade, and other activities associated with intertribal relations that occurred before and into the early years of American jurisdiction.

Kin Relations and the Exchange Interface of the North Bay Area

Although pre-contact intertribal marriages are not precisely documented, the ethnographic literature suggests that intertribal and inter-community marriages were necessary to establish and maintain the kin relations that governed access to diverse natural and cultural resources. As Lowell Bean writes:

Marriage established a long-standing social contract between families.... When a child was born, a long-term economic and social alliance between the two families was established, characterized by frequent reciprocal exchange of gifts of food and treasure goods. Marriage was thus also an instrument of ecology and economics. Through it, reciprocally useful alliances were arranged between groups living in ecological niches... Usually marriage occurred within one culture, but some crossed cultural boundaries.²⁰

Pomo are intermarried across linguistic and geographic lines to the north, south, east, and west, and movement of Native people throughout the Pomo range has been active, continuous, and interdependent with political, ceremonial, economic, trade, and kin relations throughout recorded history. Genealogical research presented in this report suggests further that intermarriage between the Pomo and their linguistically different neighbors – the Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin –

²⁰ Lowell J. Bean, "Indians of California: Diverse and Complex Peoples," *California History*, vol. LXXI, no. 3 (Fall 1992), p. 319.

was established prior to the American Period.²¹

The Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin peoples who used and occupied the lands around and to the north of San Francisco and San Pablo bays acknowledged both exclusive and communal rights over resources, and utilized commonly recognized currencies. Autonomous, localized Native communities, generally located in disparate environmental zones, were connected to each other and other Native peoples in the region as participants in an interdependent web of socio-economic relationships that were mediated by kinship. Marriages across community and tribal lines created kin connections throughout the region north of the Bay Area among Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, Patwin and other peoples, and these connections regulated access rights to the diverse natural resources which sustained small, autonomous Native communities.²²

More specifically, kinship determined and mediated reciprocal obligations and responsibilities, resource and land use, and occupancy rights. About the Pomo and other Native peoples who jointly used and occupied the Bay Area, Lowell Bean and Harry Lawton write that “intergroup relationships were regulated by ... confirming or demonstrating who had economic and political privileges....”²³ Furthermore, Lowell Bean and Harry Lawton demonstrate that the

²¹ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

²² E. W. Gifford, “Part I: Data, Pomo Communities, Culture Element Distributions: IV Pomo,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, comps. E. W. Gifford and A. L. Kroeber, vol. 37, no. 4 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1937), p. 118; Edward W. Gifford, “Miwok Lineages and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California,” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 28, no. 2 (April 1926), pp. 389-401; Peter H. Kunkel, “The Pomo Kin Group and the Political Unit in Aboriginal California,” *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective*, eds. Lowell J. Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), pp. 271-286.

²³ Lowell John Bean and Harry Lawton, “Some Explanations for the Rise of Cultural Complexity in Native California with Comments on Proto-Agriculture and Agriculture,” *California*

surplus economies of Indigenous groups in California were intrinsically linked – through kin ties – to social and political relationships among Native communities. Bean and Lawton write:

The social structures of native communities ... were characterized by extra tribal alliances and political confederations.... Between groups, intra-group adaptive mechanisms existed which included such institutions as ritual and kinship reciprocity and the trade fairs which encouraged and routinized controlled production and redistribution of foodstuffs and manufactured goods.²⁴

Bean describes elsewhere the geographic areas throughout which these systems operated as “regional interface centers.”²⁵ These areas:

commonly involved peoples within a radius of 50-75 miles in ritual or trade feast contexts, which sometimes brought several hundred to several thousand people together ... and simultaneously served as nodes or centers for intense socio-political and economic interaction. The economic equilibrium maintained through this network involved as many as a dozen or more villages or tribelets, two or more nationalities, and several ecological zones.... The partners in social interaction, along with the well-developed money systems in Native California, were the most important social devices for exploiting economic resources in the area, since they expanded the amount and diversity of energy potential of every tribelet to include part of the resources of most of their neighbors.²⁶

The Bay Area qualifies as such a “regional interface center,” and the Pomo were participants in the intertribal activity and relations of the northern part of this region.

Strategically located to encourage participation among as many different communities as possible, “regional interface centers” served as points of ceremonial, social, and economic

Indians: A Theoretical Retrospective, comps. Lowell J. Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), p. 47 [Hereafter Bean and Lawton, “Some Explanations”].

²⁴ Bean and Lawton, “Some Explanations,” p. 46.

²⁵ Lowell J. Bean, “Social Organization in Native California,” *Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective*, eds. Lowell J. Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1976), pp. 104-105 [Hereafter Bean, “Social Organization”]; Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

²⁶ Bean, “Social Organization,” pp. 104-105.

convergence, where “intense socio-political and economic interaction” could regularly occur.²⁷

Lowell Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus confirm that:

the entire Pomo area was part of a much larger interrelated economic system that included most groups in northern California and made possible the exchange of goods, services, ceremonies, and marriage partners over a broad range of ecological zones... [I]ndividuals and groups went on trading expeditions, not only to other Pomo groups but also to other tribes.²⁸

Mutually recognized mechanisms of cross-ethnic interaction provided independent Native groups with access to a variety of food and non-food products originating from a wide range of geographic areas. The Tribe’s genealogy includes many individuals born in the nineteenth century who were speakers of several different Pomoan dialects and members of different tribal groups, including Miwok, Wappo, and Patwin, and whose primary locations of use and occupancy included lands which are today within all the counties bordering the North Bay waters.²⁹

Trade Routes

Native people from the Clear Lake area participated in the Indigenous exchange economy by traveling along two key trade routes.³⁰ One route extended southwest from Clear Lake to

²⁷ Bean, “Social Organization,” p. 105.

²⁸ Lowell John Bean and Dorothea Theodoratus, “Western Pomo and Northeastern Pomo,” *Handbook of North American Indians, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 298 [Hereafter Bean and Theodoratus, “Western Pomo”].

²⁹ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

³⁰ Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

Bodega Bay.³¹ Based on information supplied primarily by ancestor of the Tribe Chief (or Captain) Augustine, local historians Lewis et al. write that the Pomo:

walked to the coast and brought back from the shores of the ocean their supplies of salt.... They also packed home on their backs as much as a hundred pounds of abalone shells to make into money, also different kinds of sea-weed for food.

These Indians made so many trips over the mountains that they had made a good trail all the way to the ocean.³²

Further, these authors describe the Pomo as “the principal purveyors of money to central California,” and that their “chief supply was from Bodega Bay....”³³ According to Omer Stewart, Scotts Valley Pomo were known as middlemen who “obtained seaweed and clamshells by trade, and salt either by expeditions to Stonyford or by trade from the ocean... [T]hey obtained food from the coast in exchange for dried fish, obsidian, and magnesite.”³⁴

Historian Lyman Palmer refers to another aboriginal trail in his 1881 description of Napa County. This southerly trail connected Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay.³⁵ Palmer notes that in 1855 a wagon road was constructed “from Napa Valley to Clear Lake *via* Pope and Coyote Valleys.”³⁶

³¹ Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

³² Ruth Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends of Clear Lake* (1936; reprint Santa Rosa, CA: Press Democrat, 1949), p. 8 [Hereafter Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*].

³³ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 14.

³⁴ Omer C. Stewart, “Notes on Pomo Ethnogeography,” *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, eds. E. W. Gifford, et al., vol. 40 (1956; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1965), p. 42 [Hereafter Stewart, “Notes on Pomo Ethnogeography”]; Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

³⁵ Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center” [see “Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay Aboriginal Trail”].

³⁶ Trails originally established by Native peoples were usually the forerunners of early wagon roads. Lyman L. Palmer, “Indians of Napa County,” *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco, CA: Slocum, Bowen & Company, 1881), pp. 59-61, emphasis in original.

Archaeologist James T. Davis also traced this aboriginal trade route connecting Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay.³⁷ Early written accounts suggest that the region surrounding this trail was heavily populated by Native peoples and that movement between Clear Lake and the north shore of San Pablo Bay was frequent. It is likely that Tribal ancestor Chief Augustine, who is documented to have served as a head vaquero for Mexican and American ranchers who drove cattle from southern Sonoma Valley to Clear Lake, used this trail.³⁸ In the 1840s, Chief Augustine and other Clear Lake Indians built adobes in Sonoma prior to the American period, and were among the slave laborers who worked at General Vallejo's adobe at Petaluma.³⁹

In the 1850s, Federal Treaty Commissioner Redick McKee noted specifically the migratory patterns of Indians between Clear Lake and the shores of San Pablo Bay (as is

³⁷ James T. Davis, "Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California," *University of California Archaeological Survey*, no. 54 (1961; reprint, Berkeley, CA: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, 1963), pp. 35-36, and maps following p. 71 titled "Map 1, Indian Trails of Aboriginal California" (see route "28") and "Map 2, Trade Relations in Aboriginal California"; Robert F. Heizer, ed., "The Archaeology of the Napa Region," *Anthropological Records*, vol. 12, no. 6 (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 238-239; Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal "Regional Interface Center."

³⁸ Lyman L. Palmer, "General History and Settlement," *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco, CA: Slocum, Bowen & Company, 1881), p. 59 [Hereafter Palmer, "General History and Settlement"].

³⁹ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 22-23; William Heath Davis, "Elk on Mare Island," *Seventy-five Years in California; a History of Events and Life in California: Personal, Political and Military; Under the Mexican Regime; During the Quasi-Military Government of the Territory by the United States, and After the Admission of the State to the Union: Being a Compilation by a Witness of the Events Described; a Reissue and Enlarged Illustrated Edition of "Sixty years in California", to which Wuch New Matter by its Author Has Been Added which He Contemplated Publishing Under the Present Title at the Time of His Death*, Douglas J. Watson, ed., *California As I Saw It: First Person Narratives of California's Early Years, 1849-1900*, e-book accessed through Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, <[http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/calbk:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(calbk025div10\)\)](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/calbk:@field(DOCID+@lit(calbk025div10)))>, accessed 28 February 2007, p. 34 [Hereafter Davis, "Elk on Mare Island"]; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

described in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report). McKee made this observation in the period of early American jurisdiction, indicating that even after the disruption of aboriginal life that occurred during Spanish and Mexican colonization, North Bay Native economies were still functioning. In particular, he noted Native people using the trail that linked Clear Lake with San Pablo Bay in the vicinity of Benicia.⁴⁰ He wrote that it was “no uncommon thing for parties to come over from the [Clear] Lake, to work for farmers in the Vallies [sic] of Sonoma, Nappa &c. and sometimes on a visit to the white settlements.”⁴¹ Moreover, as another early observer, gold-seeker Pringle Shaw, wrote in 1850:

The County of Napa is convenient to San Francisco, and contains the most beautiful and healthy valleys of the northern counties. It is fast settling up, though the Indians as yet form the greater moiety of the population.--They are, however, principally domesticated, by employing them on ranches, and very useful they prove as herds.--Their remuneration is not very much, for as none of them are troubled with the luxuriant ideas of their brethren in the gold fields, they have never had the opportunity of making themselves useful at other employments...

The Napa river, after running in a southerly course through the centre of the valley bearing its name, empties into Pablo bay. It is navigable nearly 12 miles. Putas takes its source in the North, and after watering the delightful little valley Berryesa, courses its way rapidly through a narrow mountain gorge, all trace of it is finally lost in the vast tule marshes of the Sacramento... Napa city and Suscol are the chief towns, and the whole population, ranges near 3000--1600 of whom are Indians.⁴²

⁴⁰ Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

⁴¹ Redick McKee to E. A. Hitchcock, 26 March 1852, National Archives and Records Administration Facility at Washington, D.C., Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives Microfilm, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881 [Hereafter NAM M234], Reel 32, Frames 819-827.

⁴² Pringle Shaw, “Part II: Face of the Country, Agriculture and Labor,” *Ramblings in California: Containing a Description of the Country, Life at the Mines, State of Society, &c. Interspersed with Characteristic Anecdotes, and Sketches from Life, Being the Five Years' Experience of a Gold Digger, California As I Saw It: First Person Narratives of California's Early Years, 1849-1900*, e-book accessed through Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division,

The context of colonization impacted the movement of Native peoples throughout the Bay Area “regional interface center” during Spanish, Mexican, and American jurisdiction. During these years, Native people continued to use aboriginal trade routes in relation to the region’s Indigenous economy, as well as in connection with their participation in the growing non-Indian ranching and farming economies (as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III of this report).

What is presently known about use and occupancy strategies in Indigenous California supports the Tribe’s claims that its ancestors used and occupied the North Bay Area, and continued to do so within a broader intertribal environment in early colonial times. The aboriginal trade system encouraged cross-cultural and multi-ethnic interactions and alliances to facilitate the movement of material goods, ceremonial traditions, and cultural wealth among Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, Patwin, and other Native peoples inhabiting the vast region of the Bay Area. That ancestors of the Tribe participated directly in these travels is documented in the historical record.

Geography and Ethnic Diversity of the Scotts Valley Band

Genealogical research and ethnohistorical sources gathered for this report suggest that the ancestors of the Tribe were present in the Bay Area and participated in the region’s intertribal complex through their kinship networks. Numerous ancestors of the Tribe with birth dates spanning the 1700s and 1800s were born or lived in places in the North Bay Area at some distance from the lands where the Scotts Valley Rancheria was eventually established. Their

<[20](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/calbk:@field(DOCID+@lit(calbk159))>”, accessed 7 March 2007, pp. 92-93.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

birth places included locations on the Marin Peninsula, such as southern Sonoma County, Bodega Bay, and Tomales, and in the vicinity of the San Rafael and Solano missions.⁴³ Table 2 in Appendix A, which accompanies this report, lists 71 individuals who form a sampling of the lineal and collateral ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band who were born in the Bay Area in the 1700s and 1800s. Almost one-third of these individuals are lineal ancestors of the Tribe, including the Colas, Fernando Frese, and Treppa, among others.⁴⁴ This aspect of the Tribe's geography indicates the extent to which Native people moved across the landscape. The tribal identities of the individuals who figure into the Scotts Valley Band family tree include persons from all linguistic subdivisions of Pomo as well as other tribes.⁴⁵ Table 1 in Appendix B provides a sampling of this diversity in the Tribe's early ancestry.

Samuel Barrett, who conducted his linguistic research between 1901 and 1904, indicated that a number of his Pomo consultants were conversant in more than one dialect of the Pomo language, or were of mixed Pomo and Wappo ancestry.⁴⁶ Most of his consultants' genealogical backgrounds confirm extensive intermarriage among Native peoples across the entire region

⁴³ Appendix A: Table 2: Births and Residences of Scotts Valley Band Ancestors in the North Bay Area, 1700s and 1800s; Appendix C: Map 3: Birth Places of Ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band, 1780-1930.

⁴⁴ Appendix A: Table 2: Births and Residences of Scotts Valley Band Ancestors in the North Bay Area, 1700s and 1800s; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese; Appendix B: Family Tree of Treppa.

⁴⁵ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

⁴⁶ Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers.

north of the Bay Area.⁴⁷ Barrett's consultants include individuals related to the Scotts Valley Band who fit this description. In particular, in his notes, Barrett described a man named Bati as: "Yokaia and Upper Lake; Born Scotts Valley. Mother, Scotts Valley; Father, Big Valley. Born about 1850. Speaks both N and E Pomo. Stepfather of Tom Mitchell."⁴⁸ Tom Mitchell is a lineal ancestor of current Tribe members.⁴⁹ Bob Pot, another of Barrett's consultants, lived in Mendocino County in 1904; his father was from Yokaia and his mother from Scotts Valley.⁵⁰ Additionally, Barrett identified Joe (Jim) Boggs, a significant lineal ancestor of the Tribe, as Wappo, but also includes Boggs on a list of consultants who spoke the Eastern Pomo dialect.⁵¹

Barrett described the Scotts Valley community in the early twentieth century as the descendants of Native people who inhabited Scotts Valley at the time of the 1851 and 1852 treaties, and "a few from other old villages."⁵² As described in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, the

⁴⁷ Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers.

⁴⁸ Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers.

⁴⁹ Appendix B: Family Tree of Tom Mitchell; Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia.

⁵⁰ Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers.

⁵¹ Researchers could not locate any other information about "Jim" Boggs, yet extensive records exist concerning Joe Boggs. Hence researchers deduce that these individuals are likely the same individual. Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers; Appendix B: Family Tree of Joe Boggs.

⁵² Samuel A. Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnography*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1908; reprint, New York: Krauss Reprint Corporation, 1964) p. 155 [Hereafter Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo"].

people who formed the Scotts Valley Rancheria community in the early twentieth century included individuals with Ukiah Valley ancestry.⁵³ According to Barrett, a group of Native people vacated an important Ukiah Valley village some time between 1830 and 1835, and these people moved “across the mountains to Scotts valley just west of Clear Lake, and there they took refuge with their friends.”⁵⁴ Given the intertribal character of the North Bay Area in aboriginal times, this group of “refugees” was likely already composed of people of diverse Pomo and non-Pomo tribal ancestry when they arrived at Scotts Valley.⁵⁵ Analysis of the first census of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, taken in 1911, reveals even broader diversity in the origins of its inhabitants (as is detailed in Chapter III).

Some of the Tribe’s ancestors born in the 1800s include people identified as “Napa” Indians and Marin County “Mission” Indians.⁵⁶ Local historians Lewis et al. also note that some

⁵³ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 46-47.

⁵⁴ Barrett, “The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo,” pp. 138-139.

⁵⁵ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

⁵⁶ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, National Archives and Records Administration Facility at Washington, D.C., Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs [Hereafter NARA-DC, RG75], Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8542 of Laura Cassia Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8543 of Juanita Kanae Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8545 of Pearl Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8546 of Joaquin Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Family Tree Chart for Della Augustine, 30 August 1995, Private Collection of Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians.

Clear Lake Pomo “were related to tribes of Napa Valley.”⁵⁷ Specifically, the Tribe’s ancestors include individuals identified as Wappo, a tribe whose use and occupancy range extended from Sonoma County to Lake County, and into southern Napa County, where it overlapped with that of the Patwin.⁵⁸ Ancestors of the Tribe described as “Napa Indians” were likely Wappo, or possibly Patwin from Napa County.⁵⁹ Many of these ancestors of the Tribe were born before 1900, suggesting that the intertribal relations in the North Bay Area were longstanding and grounded in pre-contact Native practices.⁶⁰ For example, Treppa, a man who was born near Geyserville in Sonoma County in about 1827, is a direct lineal ancestor of the Rays, a prominent family in the Tribe’s current membership. Treppa’s son, Jim Treppa (a.k.a. Jim Trippo), a

⁵⁷ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Ethnologists do not agree on which tribes used and occupied southern Napa County. The region has been attributed variously to Patwin, Coast Miwok, and Wappo. For a more detailed explanation, see footnote 4 in the Introduction of this report.

⁵⁹ Application No. 8542 of Laura Cassia Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8543 of Juanita Kanae Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8545 of Pearl Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8546 of Joaquin Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Family Tree Chart for Della Augustine, 30 August 1995, Private Collection of Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians; Pomo Informants, ca. 1952, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, BANC-MSS-86172C, Samuel A. Barrett Papers, Box 12, Pomo Information Papers; Appendix C: Map 3: Birth Places of Ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band, 1780-1930.

⁶⁰ Appendix A: Table 1: Bay Area Birth Places of Ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band, 1780-1930.

Mishewal Wappo, married a woman from the lower Clear Lake area in about 1870.⁶¹ Wah-hah and his wife Catherine, both Wappo Indians born at Geyserville in the 1820s, are collateral ancestors of the Tribe, also through the Rays.⁶²

Most significantly, the “Napa Indians” in the Tribe’s ancestry include members of the Frese family, who are ancestors to a vast majority of the current members of the Tribe (discussed in more detail later in this report).⁶³ They were among the Indians living in the vicinity of Lakeport in 1905, when Special Agent Charles E. Kelsey enumerated the Tribe’s ancestors there on a census of landless Indians.⁶⁴ Kelsey counted this family again among the ancestors of the Tribe on a census of the “Indians in Scotts Valley, Lake Co.,” conducted when the Scotts Valley Rancheria lands were acquired in 1911.⁶⁵ More detail about this core family of the Scotts Valley Band are provided in Chapter III.

Two important Scotts Valley Band family lines are the Rays (mentioned above) and the Arnolds.⁶⁶ Members of both families descend from the Ramons (or Lamoons), a Southern Pomo

⁶¹ Application No. 8532 of Angelo Trippo for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 27 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Treppa.

⁶² Appendix B: Family Tree of Wah-hah.

⁶³ Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

⁶⁴ C. E. Kelsey, Schedule Showing Non-Reservation Indians in Northern California, 1905-1906, NARA-DC, RG75, CCF 1907-1939, California Special, 5340-1909, 034, p. 28.

⁶⁵ C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1911, NARA-DC, RG75, CCF 1907-1939, California Special, Box 7, 86407-1909, 307.4.

⁶⁶ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

family from Sonoma County.⁶⁷ Ancestor to the Arnold and Ray families Tudy Ramon Parker was born in Sonoma County in about 1859. Tudy married Bill Arnold, the son of Fred and Fannie Arnold. Tudy's brother, Charley Ramon, married Mary Arnold, the daughter of Fred and Fannie Arnold and sister to Bill Arnold, also of Sonoma County.⁶⁸ Bill Arnold also married Delphina Antone, who was from Sonoma County but whose mother was born to the south at Tomales, Marin County.⁶⁹ Charley Ramon was the father and grandfather of the well-known Pomo basket-weavers Annie Burke and her daughter, Elsie Allen, who therefore share ancestors – Tudy and Charley's parents – with the Scotts Valley Band.⁷⁰ Elsie Allen was married to the brother of Francis Allen, who was also related to the Tribe through the Maysees of Marin County and the Elliott family of Sonoma County.

Tudy Ramon Parker's daughter, Lucy Andrew, married Ervin Maysee, who was born in

⁶⁷ The earliest documented ancestors of the Tribe were a couple named Ramon (also known as Lamoon) and Ramona. Their daughter Tudy is also known as Maria Ramon or Lamoon.

⁶⁸ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

⁶⁹ Suzanne Abel-Vidor, Dot Brovarney, and Susan Billy, *Remember Your Relations: The Elsie Allen Baskets, Family and Friends* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, Grace Hudson Museum, and Oakland Museum of California, 1996) [Hereafter Abel-Vidor, Brovarney, and Billy, *Remember Your Relations*]; Appendix B: Family Tree of John and Juanita Antone; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

⁷⁰ Application No. 1481 of Arthur Allen Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 1482 of Elsie Comanche Allen for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Elsie Allen, *Pomo Basketmaking – A Supreme Art For The Weaver*, ed. Vinson Brown (Healdsburg, CA: Naturegraph Publishers, 1972), pp. 8-14; Abel-Vidor, Brovarney, and Billy, *Remember Your Relations*, pp. 23-30, 33-36, 39, 63-66; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

Marin County in about 1887.⁷¹ Ervin Maysee is therefore the half-great-uncle of the Tribe's current chairman, Donald Arnold.⁷² While it is not known exactly where in Marin County Ervin Maysee was born, his grandmother, Colas, was born at the village of "Vikashuo," in the vicinity of San Rafael.⁷³ In 1932, Ervin Maysee indicated that his parents had lived near Marshall, Marin County, and that he had relatives there. At that time, Ervin Maysee was living in Napa County, but he listed Windsor, Sonoma County as his mailing address.⁷⁴ In 1904, Samuel Barrett noted:

only about six full-blood Indians speaking this dialect [Coast Miwok] were living. They lived formerly about the town of Marshall on Tomales bay and for a number of years prior to 1904 made their home on a ranch near Bodega Corners, but are at present residing not far from Windsor in the Russian river valley....⁷⁵

Thus, the Maysees were possibly among the Coast Miwok described by Barrett.

Furthermore, when Ervin Maysee applied to be included on the Roll of California Indians in 1932, he was only able to identify himself as a member of the "Mission tribe," and was concerned that the Bureau of Indian Affairs would need others to corroborate his Indian

⁷¹ Application No. 5920 of Tudy Marie Arnold for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

⁷² Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

⁷³ Application No. 5921 of Lucy Maysee Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix C: Map 3: Birth Places of Ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band, 1780-1930.

⁷⁴ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

⁷⁵ Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo," p. 307.

identity.⁷⁶ He wrote:

I hope you haven't the least doubt. I am trying to fill this out the best way, I understand it, but if you don't believe that I am an Indian I do wish you would come, and have a personal conversation or have a talk with me, I know a great number of Indians that know I am, an indian.⁷⁷

Maria Anita Camillo, who was a witness, testified that she was “well acquainted” with Ervin Maysee, and that she knew “that he is of California Indian blood of the degree and lineage stated....”⁷⁸ Camillo signed her affidavit with a thumb print, which indicates that she was unable to write. It is possible that Camillo was also a Miwok from Marin County. Although researchers are unable to verify this information, it would explain Camillo’s knowledge of Maysee’s genealogy.

Coast Miwok individuals from Marin County with the family name Camillo are documented to have migrated from the village of Olompali to the Russian River Valley in the 1850s, a story that is discussed in more detail in Chapter III of this report.⁷⁹ Inter-marriage between people of different tribal groups inevitably increased as removal to reservations and the

⁷⁶ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

⁷⁷ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

⁷⁸ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

⁷⁹ In relation to the Olompali Coast Miwok, the name Camillo has also been referred to as “Carillo.” Pamela McGuire Carlson and E. Breck Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation: Camillo Ynitia, The Last Headman of the Olompalis,” *California History*, vol. 65, no. 4 (December 1986), p. 244 [Hereafter McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation”].

non-Indian economy pushed people together as ranch laborers, and many, such as the Olompali, attempted to move away from these conditions. More examples, discussed in the following section, highlight the web of kin ties in the nineteenth-century ancestry of the Tribe that link the Native people of Marin, Napa, Sonoma, and Lake counties.

Labor Migration of the Ancestors of the Tribe Throughout the North Bay Area

Although Ervin Maysee described himself as a member of the “Mission tribe” (likely meaning the San Rafael mission) of Marin County, he explained that he had continuously moved “back and forth in Sonoma County, Mendocino co. and Napa County” during his lifetime.⁸⁰ This movement suggests that Ervin and Lucy Maysee likely participated in the Indian migrant labor route that stretched across these counties on the north shore of San Pablo Bay to the Russian River Valley.⁸¹ Evidence indicates that Ervin and Lucy Maysee’s children were born in Mendocino and Sonoma counties while the couple traveled this labor route.⁸²

One of Ervin and Lucy Maysee’s children was Theodore Maysee, who was born in 1917

⁸⁰ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

⁸¹ Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5921 of Lucy Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

⁸² Application No. 11067 of Ervin J. Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 24 April 1932, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5921 of Lucy Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

at Cloverdale and still lives near Windsor, Sonoma County. In 1948, Theodore Maysee had a child with Rosie Ray, an ancestor to numerous members of the Tribe.⁸³ Theodore and Rosie's child is Tribe member and former chairman of the Tribe Leslie Anthony Miller, who was raised by Rosie's husband Nelson Miller and hence carries the Miller surname. The woman Colas (Leslie Miller's great-great-grandmother; likely Coast Miwok), born near San Rafael in 1825, is therefore a direct lineal ancestor of the Tribe.⁸⁴ Also, Theodore Maysee's sister Lena married Francis Allen, the brother-in-law of Elsie Allen, discussed above.⁸⁵ Francis Allen was the stepson of Jesse Elliott, who is a lineal ancestor of the Tribe.⁸⁶

The Tribe shares a number of ancestors with Pomo groups located in the Ukiah Valley, where more ancestors with origins in the southern reaches of the Pomo range in Sonoma and Marin counties can be identified. Charley Luff and John Elliott, for example, are key ancestors

⁸³ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

⁸⁴ Jesse Gonzales to Heather Howard, 1 June 2006, office communication; Application No. 5921 of Lucy Maysee for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

⁸⁵ Application No. 5921 of Lucy Maysee Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5923 of Lena Maysee Allen Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas.

⁸⁶ Application No. 5923 of Lena Maysee Allen Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 3518 of Francis Allen for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 18 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas.

of the Guidiville Band of Pomo Indians and the Pomo of the Yokayo Rancheria, and they are also lineal ancestors to the Scotts Valley Band.⁸⁷

Charley Luff was born at Tomales, Marin County, in approximately 1861. His mother was Eliza Garcia, a Pomo woman from the Ukiah area whose Indian name was Wah-chy; his father, Charles (Carlos) Luff, was non-Indian.⁸⁸ Wah-chy was kidnaped and taken to a Mexican rancho, Tomales y Baulenes, in the 1820s or 1830s.⁸⁹ In 1860, Wah-chy (Eliza Garcia) was listed on the federal census for Bolinas Township with her husband Charles (Carlos) Luff.⁹⁰

Their neighbor, Rafael Garcia, was the Mexican owner of the “Rancho Tomales y Baulenes,” and was known to “furnish oxen carts and Indian labor” to farmers in the Tomales and Bolinas

⁸⁷ Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia; Appendix B: Family Tree of John Elliott.

⁸⁸ Application No. 1462 of Garland Mitchell Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 14 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia.

⁸⁹ Elizabeth Colson, *Autobiographies of Three Pomo Women* (Berkeley, CA: Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1974), p. 111 [Note: While pseudonyms are used in this book, the true identities of the three women in Colson’s work are widely known among the Pomo of the Ukiah Valley and scholars of the area. Ellen Wood is a pseudonym for Clara Luff Williams, the granddaughter of Wah-chy. In Colson’s book, Clara Luff Williams tells of her life in Marin County.]; Application No. 3545 of Taylor Mitchell Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 1462 of Garland Mitchell Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 14 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia.

⁹⁰ 1860 Marin County Census – Bolinas Township, 1860, <<http://www.cagenweb.com/marin/Census/1860/1860bolinas.html>>, accessed 30 September 2005; Census for the Household of Charles Luff, Bolinas Township, Marin County, California, 19 June 1860, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, p. 24.

areas.⁹¹ Wah-chy may have been captured by Rafael Garcia, and her name, Eliza Garcia, derived from her association with Rafael Garcia's rancho. By the 1880s, Wah-chy's son, Charley Luff, had moved to her home community (Yokayo) in the Ukiah Valley, where he married a Pomo woman named Lizzie.⁹² Charley and Lizzie Luff had two daughters: Mary and Clara. Tom Mitchell, a Pomo from the Clear Lake area, had children with both of these women. Tom Mitchell and Clara Luff had a son named Taylor Mitchell, from whom current Tribe members descend. These Tribe members are thus lineal descendants of Charley Luff of Tomales, Marin County.⁹³ In the early twentieth century, Charley Luff was working in southern Sonoma County.⁹⁴ He and his descendants trace a migratory path from the Marin Peninsula to Clear Lake – a pattern of migration that is visible in other family histories of the Tribe.

One such family history is that of John Elliott. John Elliott was born in 1851 near

⁹¹ 1850 Census Short Biographies in Alphabetical Order, #35-37 Jas. A. Shorb, 1850, <<http://www.cagenweb.com/marin/Census/1850bios.html>>, accessed 20 September 2005; 1850 Census Short Biographies in Alphabetical Order, #12-13 Rafell Gussair, 1850, <<http://www.cagenweb.com/marin/Census/1850bios.html>>, accessed 20 September 2005; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating "Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848"].

⁹² Application No. 1484 of Clara Luff Williams for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 3536 of Harry Elliott Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 3545 of Taylor Mitchell Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia.

⁹³ Appendix B: Family Tree of Eliza [Wah-chy] Garcia; Appendix B: Family Tree of Tom Mitchell.

⁹⁴ Census for the Household of Carl Luff, ED 137, Analy Township, Sonoma County, California, 23 April 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 5A; Census for the Household of Andrew Binno, ED 131, Sebastopol, Sonoma County, California, 19-20 January 1920, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, p. 6B.

Sebastopol in southern Sonoma County.⁹⁵ He married a Ukiah-area Pomo woman named Martha Hollay, and their son Joe married Fannie Mateo of Lakeport (near Clear Lake). Fannie and Joe are ancestors to numerous current members of the Tribe.⁹⁶ Francis Allen, a collateral relative of the Tribe with family in the Russian River Valley and in Clear Lake Pomo communities, was living and working in Napa County in 1929.⁹⁷

Along with other individuals described above, these family histories indicate movement through time across Lake, Napa, Mendocino, and Sonoma counties between the 1850s and 1930s, a period during which Native peoples participated heavily in the migrant farm labor pool, picking hops, beans, tomatoes, grapes, and other produce.⁹⁸ In addition to the Tribe's ancestors' movement throughout the North Bay Area in relation to labor patterns, their mobility can also be

⁹⁵ Application No. 3536 of Harry Elliott Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of John Elliott.

⁹⁶ Appendix B: Family Tree of John Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fannie Mateo.

⁹⁷ Application No. 5923 of Lena Maysee Allen Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 9 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 3518 of Francis Allen for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 18 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas.

⁹⁸ Bean and Theodoratus, "Western Pomo," pp. 298-299; Linda Pacini Pitelka, *Mendocino: Race Relations in a Northern California County, 1850-1949* (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of History, 1994), pp. 19-20, 24, 78-79; Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California: Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2004) [Hereafter Silliman, *Lost Laborers*]; Victoria Patterson, "Change and Continuity: Transformations of Pomo Life," *Expeditions*, vol. 40, no. 1 (1998), pp. 12-13; Alfred P. Parsell, "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community," *Stories of Scholarship From the Social Science Field Laboratory, Ukiah, California, 1939-1948* ed. Rebecca Snetselaar (Willits, CA: Mendocino County Museum Grassroots History Publication, 2002), pp. 112-116; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

illustrated in terms of their participation, and indeed leadership, in Pomo and intertribal ceremonial gatherings. This report now turns to a review of the Tribe's role in these intertribal relations.

The Ghost Dance and Other Pan-Tribal Ceremonials

As described in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, the ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band participated in the Ghost Dance movement, which swept the American west in the 1870s, as well as the subsequent ceremonial circuit inspired by the pan-tribal interchange associated with the Ghost Dance. Inter-tribal relations across broad distances in the North Bay Area (and beyond) increased with the Ghost Dance, as the types and frequency of ceremonial activity diversified and intensified dramatically with this movement. The Ghost Dance originated as a movement of resistance against Euro-Americans and their destructive incursions, and its later ceremonial incarnations brought together diverse Native peoples, including the ancestors of the Tribe. Ceremonial leaders conducted Ghost Dance ceremonies and united Native people in much the same way as intertribal ceremonial gatherings had in earlier times.⁹⁹ While the messianic origins of the Ghost Dance movement dissipated by the 1890s, the ceremonial circuit it established, referred to as *Bole Maru*, has continued into the present day.

Members of the Scotts Valley Band have maintained active participation in *Bole Maru* ceremonies that take place throughout the North Bay Area. Victoria Frese Augustine (whose genealogy is discussed in detail in Chapter III of this report) is a lineal ancestor to a vast majority

⁹⁹ Dorothea Theodoratus, "Cultural and Social Change Among the Coast Central Pomo," *The Journal of California Anthropology*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Winter 1974), p. 208.

of the current members of the Tribe.¹⁰⁰ She made a point of traveling to these ceremonies with her children and grandchildren, and they, in turn, have carried on this involvement in the intertribal community of the Bay Area into the present day. In an interview conducted in 2004, Scotts Valley Band member Merlene Besoni recalled traveling to ceremonies on this circuit in the 1930s with her grandmother, Victoria Frese Augustine. This tradition is practiced by many Tribe members today, and includes their frequent attendance at ceremonial sites throughout the Bay Area.¹⁰¹

Cora Du Bois, whose 1939 ethnography “The 1870 Ghost Dance” remains the seminal work on this topic, recorded the extensive travel associated with the spread of the *Bole Maru* throughout the North Bay Area and beyond in the late nineteenth century, documenting specifically the interaction between Pomo and Coast Miwok in the Bay Area.¹⁰² One of Du Bois’ maps (which is included with the supporting documents for this report) shows the substantial movement of Pomo and other Native peoples in relation to the Ghost Dance and other ceremonial circuits at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Du Bois’ map shows (by a broken line) the movement of the *Bole Maru* from Clear Lake to the Bodega Bay area in Marin County.¹⁰³ She notes that ancestor of Tribe Joe Boggs (Pomo/Wappo) was a

¹⁰⁰ Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Merlene Besoni and Jesse Gonzales by James M. McClurken, 7 August 2004, Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians; Jesse Gonzales to Heather Howard, 16 August 2006, office communication.

¹⁰² Cora Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” *Anthropological Records*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 95-96, 114, 129-139 [Hereafter Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance”].

¹⁰³ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” map following p. vi titled “Modern Cults in Northern California”; Appendix B: Family Tree of Joe Boggs.

Bole Maru dreamer for a time during the 1890s, and was thus involved in spreading the ceremonies among Clear Lake Indians and their neighbors to the south.¹⁰⁴ Du Bois presents extensive evidence of continued and increased interactions between Clear Lake Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, and other tribes.¹⁰⁵ At least one of her key consultants believed that the Ghost Dance came to Clear Lake through the Wappo, and, therefore, possibly through Boggs himself.¹⁰⁶

As Alfred Kroeber reiterates, Pomo at Clear Lake were responsible for the spread of ceremonies originating from the Ghost Dance to the west coast: “the ghost dance originated in the east... [I]t was carried successively to the southeastern Pomo of Sulphur Bank, the eastern Pomo at Kelseyville [which includes Scotts Valley ancestors], thence to the Pomo of the coast...”¹⁰⁷ Tom Smith, Coast Miwok consultant to ethnographers Cora Du Bois and Isabel Kelly, also told of how the Ghost Dance came to Marin County communities through the Pomo at Hopland, who are among the ancestors of the Tribe.¹⁰⁸ And, as Lewis et al. write, the Clear Lake Pomo “were closely related to tribes living along the Russian River and visited frequently

¹⁰⁴ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” pp. 84-85; Appendix B: Family Tree of Joe Boggs.

¹⁰⁵ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance”; Birbeck Wilson, “Ukiah Valley Pomo Religious Life, Supernatural Doctoring, and Beliefs: Observations of 1939-1941,” *Reports of the University of California Archaeological Survey*, ed. Caroline L. Hills, no. 72 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology, 1968), p. 15.

¹⁰⁶ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ Alfred L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1976), p. 270.

¹⁰⁸ Mary E. T. Collier and Sylvia B. Thalman, eds., *Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa: Isabel Kelly's Ethnographic Notes on the Coast Miwok Indians of Marin and Southern Sonoma Counties, California* (San Rafael, CA: Mapon Occasional Papers, Number 6, Miwok Archeological Preserve of Marin, 2003), pp. xvii-xix [Hereafter Collier and Thalman, *Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa*]; Isabel Kelly, “Coast Miwok,” *Handbook of North American Indians, California*, ed. Robert Heizer, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 414-425.

with the Sanels in the location of Hopland today.”¹⁰⁹

Du Bois’ consultant Tom Smith had at least three wives and families in different communities, at Clear Lake, in the Ukiah area, and in Marin County. This marriage pattern was consistent with the Indigenous intertribal practices described earlier in this report.¹¹⁰ Du Bois also noted that ceremonial leaders entered into multiple marriages to establish reciprocal kin relations among communities.¹¹¹ One of Tom Smith’s children at Clear Lake was Maggie Johnson, who was from a village near Middletown in Napa County. Maggie Johnson’s son, John Yee, married the granddaughter of Fernando and Mary Frese, Ethel John. Thus, the core families of the Scotts Valley Band and of Tom Smith’s Coast Miwok community are linked through intertribal marriages.¹¹²

The intertribal practices associated with the Ghost Dance of the 1870s through the 1890s were not new to Native people. Another intertribally shared dance Du Bois describes, called the *Kilak* or *Gilak*, predated the Ghost Dance. About this dance, Du Bois writes:

Three Pomo informants agreed in believing that the Kilak came from the south shortly before the Earth Lodge cult. Two informants estimated that it was brought in the 1850’s or 1860’s. One informant believed that it came from Walnut Creek, which is Costanoan territory, although mixed groups must have been living there at the time. The same informant, William Benson, told Loeb upon another occasion that it came from the Wappo. Pedro Mariano, on the other hand, said the Kilak was introduced to the S Pomo from San Rafael or Nicasio, Coast Miwok territory, by one Manuel, who said that the Coast Miwok in turn had received it

¹⁰⁹ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” pp. 111, 113; Appendix B: Family Tree of Tom Smith.

¹¹¹ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 111.

¹¹² Appendix B: Family Tree of Tom Smith; Appendix B: Family Tree of John Johnson; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

from the vicinity of San Jose.¹¹³

Du Bois collected this information from Pomo consultants Pedro Mariano and William Benson, who illustrate their familiarity and interactions with the tribes to the south of them around the Bay Area at the beginning of the American period.¹¹⁴ Mariano told Du Bois of a ceremony he attended at Kelsey Creek, on Clear Lake, where “there were people from San Rafael [Coast Miwok], Nicasio [Coast Miwok], Tomales [Coast Miwok], Healdsburg [Wappo], Geyserville [Wappo], Napa [Patwin], Stewarts Point [SW Pomo], Dry Creek [S Pomo], and Cloverdale [S Pomo].”¹¹⁵ The ceremony was held in the vicinity of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, and the Tribe’s ancestry and relatives include individuals from all of these tribal groups.

Summary

Evidence gleaned from analysis of the ethnographic literature, the Tribe’s genealogy, and the federal record counters the contention that California was divided into rigid, politically exclusive Native territories with static populations in aboriginal times. While it is true that people generally carried out their daily lives in localized communities, travel across community and tribal boundaries was also important as people participated in trade and married across linguistic and even tribal lines. The Bay Area and the immediately adjacent lands were part of a “regional interface center” that was characterized by the exchange of material, cultural, and ceremonial wealth among diverse Native peoples, including Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, Patwin, and

¹¹³ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 115.

¹¹⁴ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 96.

¹¹⁵ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 96, tribal designations in Du Bois’ original.

other tribes. This socio-economic complex was held together by kin relations established by intermarriage among autonomous Native communities. The ancestors of the Tribe intermarried with diverse Native peoples, establishing the kin relations necessary to gain access to the Bay Area lands and resources and to engage in the Indigenous exchange complex that made the survival of all Native groups possible.

Several historians and firsthand observers noted two aboriginal trails – one stretching south from Clear Lake to the northern shores of San Pablo Bay, and the other southwest from Clear Lake to Bodega Bay.¹¹⁶ Clear Lake Pomo, including ancestors of the Tribe, are recorded to have continued to use this trail within the broader intertribal environment of early colonial times, when the movement of Native peoples from Clear Lake to the Bay Area happened in relation to the area’s ranching and farming economy, as well as for purposes associated with the still-functioning Native economy. In particular, ancestor of the Tribe Chief Augustine used this trail to drive cattle when he worked as a head vaquero for Mexican and American ranchers.

Because the ancestors of the Tribe participated in the intertribal socio-economic complex of the Bay Area from aboriginal through colonial times, they (and therefore the modern Scotts Valley Band) are not of homogeneously Pomo origins. Genealogical research conducted for this report shows that the ancestors of the Tribe have intermarried with Miwok, Wappo, perhaps since aboriginal times, and, more specifically, that many were born and/or lived in the North Bay Area in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Many ancestors of the Tribe were born or lived in places bordering the northern shores of San Francisco and San Pablo bays at some distance from the lands where the Scotts Valley Rancheria would eventually be established. The birth places of

¹¹⁶ Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

these ancestors of the Tribe include locations on the Marin Peninsula, such as Bodega Bay, and Tomales, and at the San Rafael mission. Ancestors of the Tribe have been identified variously as Marin County “Mission” Indians, “related to tribes of Napa Valley,” and “Napa Indians,” and include individuals of Wappo, Miwok, and Patwin ancestries who lived throughout lands in Lake, Mendocino, Sonoma, Napa, Solano, and Marin counties. Samuel L. Barrett’s ethnographic research supports the occurrence of extensive intermarriage among Native peoples across the entire region north of the Bay Area, having noted both the tribal and linguistic diversity among his consultants, among whom were ancestors of the Tribe.

Between the 1850s and 1930s, many Native people, including ancestors of the Tribe, traveled a migratory labor route that stretched across Lake, Sonoma, Mendocino, Solano, and Napa counties on the north shore of San Pablo Bay to the Russian River Valley.¹¹⁷ Marriages between people of mixed tribal ancestries continued to happen during these years, and descendants of the prominent Scotts Valley Band families trace their ancestry to these unions. Native people traveled, too, in connection with the Ghost Dance and subsequent ceremonial movements that brought Pomo, Miwok, Wappo, Patwin and others together at locations throughout and immediately north of the Bay Area.

The ethnographic literature, the Tribe’s genealogy, and the federal record support the assertion that the ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band have ties to lands at, around, and directly north of the San Francisco Bay Area. The ethnographic record not only indicates that the Bay Area was, at the point of early contact with non-Indians, a region of extensive intertribal

¹¹⁷ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

interaction among Native peoples, but also that the ancestors of the Tribe were participants in this intertribal activity and connected to the Bay Area through kin relations, trade relationships, ceremonial cycles, and migratory labor practices throughout the nineteenth century. This report turns now to a discussion of the movement of Native peoples throughout the region during the colonial and early American periods.

III. Movement of the Ancestors of the Tribe in the Colonial Period through the Twentieth Century

Spanish, Russian, Mexican, and American invasions drastically altered the cultural and ecological landscapes of California by the mid-eighteenth century. After 1822, when California came under the rule of the Mexican Republic, the regions directly north and east of the Bay Area were transformed by the vast ranchos that spread over the land.¹¹⁸ This process of transformation continued after the United States assumed jurisdiction over the state in 1848, and American farmers, ranchers, and miners further altered California's indigenous environments and urbanization of the Bay Area also boomed. The ancestors of the Tribe continued to use and occupy numerous places in and around the Bay Area as they adapted to Spanish missionization, and, later, the Mexican ranch and farming economies that characterized the period of Mexican rule and American jurisdiction over the State of California. The movement of the ancestors of the Tribe throughout the lands at, around, and directly north of San Francisco and San Pablo bays during this period is confirmed by the Tribe's oral history and genealogy, as well as the ethnohistorical data and available documentary evidence.

Native Movement Around the Bay Area and Adjacent Lands, 1820s-1850s

Large-scale farming and ranching operations characterized the era of Mexican rule and early American jurisdiction of the 1820s through the 1850s. The ranchos of the Mexican period,

¹¹⁸ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

which developed on large land grants made to individuals by the Mexican government, in many ways replaced the Spanish missions of the preceding era. Pomo people had already moved extensively around the Bay Area during the missionization period, forming new communities with other Native peoples at and around the missions. In the rancho era, Pomo populations were further displaced, dispersed, and decimated. According to Bean and Theodoratus, “thousands of Pomo were captured or died as a result of increasing Mexican military campaigns” in the 1830s, and, by 1838, “all Southern and Central Pomo territory was in Mexican hands, with Clear Lake, Big Valley, Sonoma and Napa valleys, and Sonora Valley (north to Ukiah and the Russian River) either settled by Mexicans or about to be settled.”¹¹⁹ Small pox and cholera epidemics among Pomo communities compounded the difficulties of colonial occupation. Native communities at Clear Lake were raided and the inhabitants kidnaped and enslaved on ranchos in the Bay Area, while other Native people fled the North Bay Area to escape these conditions.¹²⁰ Evidence suggests that the ancestors of the Tribe may have been among the Native people who were taken in large numbers onto ranchos to the south.¹²¹

Rancho San Pablo, located on lands that today encompass the City of Richmond, was one of the ranchos to which Clear Lake Indians were taken. Rancho San Pablo was established in 1823 when the Mexican government awarded Francisco Castro a large land grant.¹²² The area

¹¹⁹ Bean and Theodoratus, “Western Pomo,” p. 299.

¹²⁰ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

¹²¹ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

¹²² Joseph C. Whitnah, *A History of Richmond, California* (Richmond, CA: Richmond Chamber of Commerce, 1944), p. 14 [Hereafter Whitnah, *A History*]; Marion Lydia Lothrop, “The Indian

was described as “unoccupied, save by a handful” of Indians.¹²³ These Indians were quickly displaced, and:

As the white settlers increased in numbers the game was killed off and the streams were depleted of their fish. The open country over which the Indians had long roamed was developed for agricultural purposes. The Indians were incapable of adjusting themselves to the changing conditions and soon were found to be rapidly decreasing. For some years they were fed by the Government, the old Maloney ranch at San Pablo being used as headquarters. Here they received a regular ration of beans, corn and beef which provided them with subsistence until by degrees, they vanished, victims of the white man’s progress.¹²⁴

By 1823, it is likely that the Native peoples referred to here were of mixed and multiple origins and had been through the Spanish mission system. They were probably “Costanoan” – a Spanish label for the multiple ethnic peoples who lived on the coast – and possibly the same people Cora Du Bois referred to as the “mixed groups” of Native people living in the Walnut Creek area, about twenty-five miles east of Richmond, in her discussion of multi-tribally shared ceremonial dances.¹²⁵ These people did not “vanish,” but may have been absorbed into other Native communities and displaced to reservations temporarily maintained by the United States in the 1850s and 1860s in northern California (as will be detailed below). The evidence presented in this report shows that Native people fled from the Bay Area northward in the wake of non-Indian

Campaigns of General M. G. Vallejo: Defender of the Northern Frontier of California,” *The Society of California Pioneers Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1932), pp. 181-182; Frances Conley, *First Settlers: The Castros of Rancho San Pablo* (San Pablo, CA: San Pablo Historical and Museum Society, 1980), p. 23; R. M. Woods to J. H. Jenkins, 13 January 1853, S. Exec. Doc. 57 (32-2) 665, vol. VII, pp. 9-10; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

¹²³ Whitnah, *A History*, p. 13.

¹²⁴ Whitnah, *A History*, p. 10; Appendix C Map 2: Nineteenth Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

¹²⁵ Du Bois, “The 1870 Ghost Dance,” p. 96.

incursions and occupation of that area. In turn, the Bay Area became quickly urbanized and surrounded by massive ranchos to which Native peoples returned primarily through coercion as slave laborers in the years preceding American jurisdiction over the State of California.

The practice of kidnaping Native people appears to have been maintained well into the American period.¹²⁶ When the United States assumed jurisdiction over California in 1848, investigations of Indian slavery at Rancho San Pablo were among the first tasks carried out by newly appointed American agents for Indian Affairs. Ancestors of the Tribe inhabited lands in the Clear Lake region at the time; therefore, individuals related to the Scotts Valley Band were likely among those who taken by force to the Bay Area.¹²⁷ In an 1853 report to Superintendent Edward F. Beale, Special Agent J. H. Jenkins reported that Mexicans and Americans kidnaped and sold into slave labor at Rancho San Pablo large numbers of Native people from Clear Lake. Jenkins also described what he observed at Rancho San Pablo, writing:

I have the honor of informing you that, in obedience to your letter of instructions of date December 8, 1852, I went over to the San Pablo ranch, in Contra Costa county, to investigate the matter of alleged cruel treatment of Indians there. I found seventy-eight on this rancho, and twelve back of Martinez, and they were there most of them sick, all without clothes, or any food but the fruit of the buck-eye. Up to the time of my coming, eighteen had died of starvation at one camp how many at the other I could not learn. *These Indians were brought into this country from some place near Clear lake by Californians, named [Herman] Briones, [Ramon] Mesa, Jose M. Quiera, Jose Francisca, and Juan Beryessa, who have for some time made it a business of catching, and in various ways dispensing*

¹²⁶ William McDaniel and William Green to Thomas J. Henley, 4 October 1854, NAM M234, R.33:407-410; T. J. Henley to William McDaniel, 19 October 1854, NAM M234, R.34:359; Thomas J. Henley to G. W. Manypenny, 20 February 1855, NAM M234, R.34:355-356; R. N. Wood to Thomas J. Henley, 18 March 1856, NAM M234, R.35:308-310; Thomas J. Henley to G. W. Manypenny, 14 April 1856, NAM M234, R.35:311-313.

¹²⁷ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

of them, and I have been informed that many Indians have been murdered in these expeditions. These present Indians are the survivors of a band who were worked all last summer and fall, and as the winter set in, when broken down by hunger and labor, without food or clothes, they were turned adrift to [shift] for themselves as best they could. Your timely interference in behalf of these unfortunate people has saved the lives of most of them, for Indians could not have lived through such weather as we have had without any food, clothing, or shelter...

These Indians were offered by their captors to the farmers in the neighborhood for hire at a dollar a day; but that price was considered too high for beings so low in flesh, and rather than lower the price they were allowed to starve as reported. It is a common practice, and I know it to be such, to catch Indian children when they are out gathering acorns, and take them and hold them as slaves.¹²⁸

Significant lineal ancestors of the Tribe were subject to these conditions, including Mary Frese and Chief Augustine.

The Frese family, which originates in southern Napa County, is the most significant Bay Area ancestral family in the genealogy of the Scotts Valley Band.¹²⁹ While there are variations of the story, the primary sources that researchers consulted for this report support the Tribe’s oral history regarding the Frese family. The earliest documented ancestor of the Frese family, Mary Frese, was born in Napa County or “near Sonoma City” in about 1845, and the Tribe’s understanding that she was born in the Bay Area agrees with these records.¹³⁰ The Tribe’s oral

¹²⁸ R. M. Woods to J. H. Jenkins, 13 January 1853, S. Exec. Doc. 57 (32-2) 665, vol. VII, pp. 9-10, emphasis added; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

¹²⁹ Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

¹³⁰ Mary Frese was also known as Mary Juarez. The date of Mary Frese’s birth is estimated at 1845 based on varied information contained in a number of documents. In 1910, the federal census-taker indicated that her age was 65, making her birth date about 1845. In 1930, Mary’s daughter Victoria and grand-daughter Bessie Augustine stated that Mary was 100 years old when she died in 1922; however, two other granddaughters, Ethel Lozintos and Roberta Sutherland, estimated Mary’s age to be between 70 and 80 at the time of her death. These records place Mary’s birth date between 1822 and 1845. Three of the five available records indicate a birth date of about 1845, although it remains possible that Mary was born as early as 1822. Photograph of Louisa Juarez (Louisa Frese) and Chris Ray, ca. 1885 to 1895,

history states that Mary was enslaved in the Bay Area, and that she was taken away on a ship with a Spanish or Mexican man, and returned to San Francisco pregnant (as is detailed in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report).¹³¹ As the story goes, Mary gave birth to a daughter on board the ship while it was anchored in San Francisco Bay in about 1860. Mary's daughter was Victoria Frese Augustine.¹³² According to the Tribe's story, Victoria lived in the Bay Area as a child, and then moved toward Clear Lake, where she met and married Robert Augustine, a Pomo leader and son of the well-known Chief Augustine.¹³³

Robert J. Lee Collection; Photograph of Victoria Juarez-Augustine (Victoria Frese Augustine), ca. 1875 to 1895, Robert J. Lee Collection; Application No. 5829 of Ethel Lozintos for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5944 of Roberta Sutherland for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Census for the Household of Fernando Frios, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A; Application No. 5778 of Victoria Augustine Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 16 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications 1928-1932; Application No. 5777 of Bessie Augustine Ray for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 16 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications 1928-1932; Jesse Gonzalez to Joe Quick, 29 January 2007, office communication; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

¹³¹ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 40-41; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

¹³² Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 40-41.

¹³³ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 40-41, 27-29; Edward Winslow Gifford, "Clear Lake Pomo Society," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1926), pp. 312-313, 335, 337-338; William Benson, "The Stone and Kelsey 'Massacre' on the Shores of Clear Lake in 1849: The Indian Viewpoint," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, vol. 11 (1932), <<http://eee.uci.edu/clients/tcthorne/anthro/stone.htm>>, accessed 28 April 2006 [Hereafter Benson, "The Stone and Kelsey 'Massacre'"]; Lyman L. Palmer, "Indians of Lake County," *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco, CA: Slocum, Bowen & Company, 1881), pp. 32, 34-40 [Hereafter Palmer, "Indians of Lake County"]; Palmer, "General History and Settlement," pp. 58-62; Handwritten Notes by Jennett Holdert on E. W. Gifford's "Clear Lake Pomo Society," ca. 2004, Private Collection of Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians [Hereafter Handwritten Notes by Jennett Holdert]; Application No. 5777 of Bessie Augustine Ray for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 16 June 1930,

Federal records concur with the Tribe's oral history regarding the Frese family. The 1910 census states that Victoria Frese Augustine was born "At Sea" in about 1860, and also identifies her as a full-blood "Clear Lake" Indian.¹³⁴ Fernando and Mary Frese also appear on this record; both are listed as being born in the Carneros Valley, the southernmost valley of Napa County, through which the Napa River flows into San Pablo Bay across from the City of Richmond. Both Fernando and Mary Frese are identified by the census-taker as "Clear Lake" Indians; however, the census-taker's interpretation of tribal identity reflects where he found Indians at the time of the census rather than Fernando, Mary, and Victoria's birth origins in southern Napa County. This census record matches Victoria's statement about her parents' birth places on her application to enroll with the Indians of California, where she reported that her father was born in the Carneros Valley and her mother "at Sonoma City."¹³⁵ In 1930, Victoria stated that she "first recollect[ed] living in Napa County" until about the age of eighteen, when she moved north to Lake County with her parents and two sisters, Mary and Louisa. Victoria noted that her family moved back and forth between Napa and Lake counties.¹³⁶

NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis.

¹³⁴ Census for the Household of Robert Augustine, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A.

¹³⁵ Census for the Household of Robert Augustine, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A.

While the Tribe's oral history states that Mary was or became pregnant at the time of her enslavement, there is no indication that the father was not Fernando Frese. The date of their marriage is imprecise, and it may have occurred before, during or after Mary was kidnaped.

¹³⁶ Application No. 5778 of Victoria Augustine Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 16 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications 1928-1932.

Fernando and Mary Frese and their children were likely Wappo or Patwin Indians, and therefore contribute to the tribal diversity in the ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band.¹³⁷ The documents suggest that the Frese family moved from southern Napa County to Clear Lake in about 1878, after Victoria's two younger sisters were born.¹³⁸ At some point, Mary and Fernando either divorced or Fernando had a second wife, a Pomo woman from the Lower Lake area of Clear Lake with whom he had at least one son named Manuel. Manuel Frese was thus a half-brother to Victoria. Manuel Frese appears on the first census of the Scotts Valley Rancheria in 1911, although he later moved to Upper Lake.¹³⁹ Members of the Tribe know Manuel Frese as an uncle and claim the Upper Lake Frese descendants as their cousins.

Fernando and Mary's daughter Mary was born in Napa County in 1872. She married Francisco John, a Pomo from Big Valley, and had three children: Oscar, Estella, and Ethel. It is not certain what became of Oscar. Estella John married Harry Johnson of the Lower Lake Band

¹³⁷ Appendix B: Table 1: Tribal Diversity in the Ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band, 1795-1907.

¹³⁸ Application No. 5778 of Victoria Augustine Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 16 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications 1928-1932; Application No. 5829 of Ethel Lozintos Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 20 June 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5944 of Roberta Sutherland for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

¹³⁹ C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1911, NARA-DC, RG75, CCF 1907-1939, California Special, Box 7, 86407-1909, 307.4; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

Manuel Frese, born in 1860 and listed as "Manuel Frias" by Kelsey, is the uncle of Ethel John, who is a daughter-in-law of Fannie Mateo. Fannie Mateo is a lineal ancestor of the Barnes family, who are current members of the Tribe. Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fannie Mateo; Appendix B: Family Tree of Charley Morgan.

Additionally, the Frese family is connected to Geyserville-area Mishewal Wappo of Alexander Valley in Sonoma County through kin ties established in the nineteenth century. Ethel John's husband, George Lozintos, was from Alexander Valley, although he identified personally as Pomo. Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

of Pomo Indians, and the couple moved to Sebastopol, Sonoma County in the 1910s, where Harry's father had a fruit ranch.¹⁴⁰ Louisa Frese was born in 1873, also in Napa County. She married a man named Pete Clark from Covelo (Round Valley Reservation), but the couple continued to live in Lake County. Members of the Scotts Valley Band remember Louisa as an aunt, although she died at the age of forty-five, perhaps as a victim of the flu pandemic of 1918.¹⁴¹ In 1910, Louisa and another husband, Jerry Sutherland, were neighbors to her sister Victoria and their parents at Scotts Valley.¹⁴² On this census record (the same that lists Victoria as born "At Sea"), Louisa's birth place is identified as St. Helena's, Napa County.¹⁴³ These members of the Frese family, who were from southern Napa County, are the most significant Bay Area ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band. Victoria and Robert Augustine's children and their families formed the core of the modern Scotts Valley Band.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Application No. 5938 of John Johnson for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5941 of Estella John Johnson for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5940 of Harry Johnson for enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

¹⁴¹ Application No. 5944 of Roberta Sutherland for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 15 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

¹⁴² Census for the Household of Fernando Frios, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A.

¹⁴³ Census for the Household of Robert Augustine, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando and Mary Frese; Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

The General Movement Northward of Bay Area Native Peoples in the Nineteenth Century

Raiding of Native communities and the enslavement of Pomo and other Native people (like Mary Frese) displaced Native people northwards and away from the immediate Bay Area, as is discussed in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report and documented in the accounts of American observers in the early 1850s and by historians.¹⁴⁵ Whether they fled north or were captured and enslaved on ranchos, Native people forged new, multi-ethnic communities that operated according to Indigenous practices and principles. Missionization and the rancho system led to the death, displacement, and enslavement of many Native people; however, colonization also led to further cohesion, increased mobility, and diversification of trade among Indigenous peoples as they coped with the new circumstances and developed new ways to survive.

A letter from Peter Campbell to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, written from Sonoma in June 1851, provides evidence that Indians moved away from the Bay Area during the 1820s and 1830s, fleeing to the mountains and returning to the south only under force.¹⁴⁶ Clear Lake was among the destinations of these Bay Area refugees and a place from whence many were also compelled into slavery. As Campbell wrote:

they are docile enough and will converse with good reason & judgment and when taught husbandry & [my inquiries] as many of them have been on the Ranches and in the Missions before 1836 at which found the Missions were been [sic] [sacked] by the Mexican authorities and the Indians vanished to the mountains.... [M]any

¹⁴⁵ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 12-13; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Campbell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 June 1851, National Archives and Records Administration Facility at Washington, D.C., Records of the Indian Claims Commission [Hereafter NARA-DC, RG279], Docket 31, *Indians of California vs. The United States of America*, Box 559, Plaintiff's Exhibits, SFC 21-30; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

tribes and scattering Indians owing to their being better mounted and prepared for hostile and [illegible] purposes and who have there time past obtained considerable booty from the miners and Rancheras [sic] to numerous in their vicinity. Now mules, oxen are being so abundant that then [sic] Ind tribes prefer keeping the mountains till they are compelled to submit... *Some farmers in this vicinity who had several Indians on their farms as was customary went to the Clear lake distant from here about sixty miles and compelled about one hundred of the Indians to go with them to the [Sonoma] Mines in the [sickly] season most of them lack the [indiscriminate] fear and died and of the whole vicinity ten returned alive....*¹⁴⁷

As this account and others demonstrate, Pomo and other Native peoples moved around the Bay Area by force and coercion, or in flight from the hostile circumstances of the colonial period.¹⁴⁸

At least one instance of an entire village moving away from such circumstances has been documented. In about 1855, approximately 150 Native people from the village of Olompali in the southern reaches of Marin County moved at once to the Russian River Valley. Olompali was located near Novato, Marin County, overlooking “the Petaluma River and San Pablo Bay.”¹⁴⁹ Archaeologists have determined that the site was a “hunting and gathering spot for Native Americans 6,000 years ago and a Native American village for 3,000 years, first inhabited by Pomo and then Miwok.”¹⁵⁰ Rancho Olompali was granted to the Native leader, Camillo Ynitia,

¹⁴⁷ Peter Campbell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 June 1851, NARA-DC, RG279, Docket 31, *Indians of California vs. The United States of America*, Box 559, Plaintiff’s Exhibits, SFC 21-30, emphasis added.

¹⁴⁸ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

¹⁴⁹ “Olompali State Historic Park,” 2004, <http://www.parks.ca.gov/default.asp?page_id=22728>, accessed 21 September 2005; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe; Appendix C: Map 3: Birth Places of Ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band, 1780-1930.

¹⁵⁰ “Adobe Treasure Tucked Away at Olompali,” 17 May 2005, *The Press Democrat (Santa Rosa, CA)*.

who had married the daughter of Chief Marin.¹⁵¹ According to an article about Camillo Ynitia's family, his daughters – Maria Antonia and Maxima – both married Americans and: “purchased a ranch in Mendocino County, and the village of Olompali disappeared. *Most of the Indian inhabitants appear to have moved north with Camillo's daughters.*”¹⁵² This rancho was in close proximity to the Hopland (Sanel) Pomo community, where some ancestors of the Tribe were born, including the father of the current Tribal Chairman, Donald Arnold.¹⁵³

There is some debate among historians about the origins of the Olompali chief, Camillo Ynitia. Some argue he was born at Olompali, while others maintain he was originally from a Wappo village some forty miles northeast of Olompali (in the Alexander Valley) where the Tribe also has kin ties.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, it is known that at least one of Camillo Ynitia's daughters, Maria Antonia, integrated into the Hopland (Sanel-Pomo) community.¹⁵⁵ In the 1930s, her children were accepted on the Roll of California Indians. Their applications to be included on this roll provide genealogical information connecting them to the Olompali story; however, little

¹⁵¹ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe; McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” pp. 238-247, 309-310.

Marin was a Miwok chief who was known to have attacked and kept at bay any Spanish settlement until 1817. He was imprisoned in San Francisco. He escaped and led an attack against Mission San Rafael in 1824. McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” p. 243.

¹⁵² McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” p. 239, emphasis added.

Maria Antonia married a prominent Marin County settler named Joseph Knox. Maxima married an American named Henry Willard in 1856. McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” pp. 244, 246-247.

¹⁵³ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold.

¹⁵⁴ McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” p. 243.

¹⁵⁵ McGuire Carlson and Parkman, “An Exceptional Adaptation,” pp. 244, 246-247.

is known about the 150 other Native people who had also moved to the area.¹⁵⁶ They appear to have been absorbed into the Native communities in the vicinity of Hopland. While no written record can establish a direct connection to the Tribe, many of the Tribe’s ancestors were born at Hopland. However, the story of Olompali is important because it explains in large part what became of the Indian population in Marin County in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and suggests that many Native people moved northward from the Bay Area and integrated into Pomo communities. As shown in this report, the genealogy and residence patterns of numerous ancestors of the Tribe illustrate this historical trajectory within the lineal ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band.

In his study of General Vallejo’s Rancho Petaluma, located just north of San Rafael across San Pablo Bay from Richmond, archeologist Stephen Silliman writes that “new amalgamation[s]” – Native communities – were formed under Spanish and Mexican rule.¹⁵⁷ Silliman describes continued intertribal trade between the rancho- and non-rancho-dwelling Indians, which included regular contact with Pomo from the Clear Lake area who specialized in and traded resources such as obsidian, which rancho Indians continued to use for tool

¹⁵⁶ In 1930, Camillo Ynitia’s grandchildren (Anna Willard Tindall, Mary Cayetana Willard Prarie, and Henry Williard) stated that Mary Maxima Camillo was their mother, who in turn was the daughter of Ignacio Camillo. This Camillo was the son of General Castro and an unnamed Indian woman from San Rafael. This story concurs with the published history of the descendants of well-known Coast Miwok chief, Camillo Ynitia, “the last headman of the Olompalis,” rather than that of General Castro. Application No. 5911 of Mary Cayetana Prarie for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 3 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 5909 of Anna Willard Tindall for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 3 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Census for ED 18, Hopland Township, Mendocino County, California, 24 April 1930, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, p. 5A.

¹⁵⁷ Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, p. 66; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe .

construction.¹⁵⁸ As was documented in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, Pomo people were removed from the south end of Clear Lake to the Delores de San Francisco, San Rafael, and Solano missions.¹⁵⁹ Silliman writes that many Pomo – likely ex-neophytes of the area missions such as San Rafael and Solano – were present at Rancho Petaluma, located at the south end of the Marin Peninsula, where many Pomo people had remained to work.¹⁶⁰ He notes that these people survived from fishing in San Pablo Bay.¹⁶¹ Silliman’s account suggests that these Pomo and other Native peoples at Petaluma formed a new community that was built on the principles of Indigenous kinship, trade, and subsistence practices.

Today, Vallejo’s adobe at Petaluma is a state-maintained historical site. Much of the visitor information provided at the site was drawn from the account of William Heath Davis, a merchant-trader who frequented the Vallejo ranch in the 1830s.¹⁶² Davis’ writings are thus worth quoting at length in regards to his observations of the Indian population north of San Francisco to Petaluma:

In 1838 and 1839 the prominent ranches or cattle farms about the bay of San Francisco and in the vicinity were as follows: On the north side of the bay at the Mission of San Rafael were three or four thousand cattle and horses... At

¹⁵⁸ Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, p. 186; Stewart, “Notes on Pomo Ethnogeography,” p. 42; Appendix C: Map 1: North Bay Area Aboriginal “Regional Interface Center.”

¹⁵⁹ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 10-11; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see deep yellow lines indicating “Movement to Missions, 1776-1822” and green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

¹⁶⁰ Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, p. 66; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe .

¹⁶¹ Silliman, *Lost Laborers*, pp. 163-164.

¹⁶² Davis, “Elk on Mare Island.” pp. 31-34.

Petaluma, was the rancho of Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, with about ten thousand head of cattle, four to six thousand horses and a large number of sheep...

To the north of the bay of San Francisco, wild Indians, from the Clear Lake country, assisted in farm work, such as making soap, *matanza* work, plowing lands for wheat, barley, beans, corn and small vegetables, onions peas, cabbages, *calabazas*, *lantejas* and melons.

Civilized Indians from the Missions were scattered about the country, and many were to be found on the different ranchos. They were of peaceable disposition, were employed as vaqueros, and helped the rancheros at the planting season and at harvest time. I have often seen the Clear Lake Indians at their *temescales*, or steaming places.¹⁶³

Ancestor of the Tribe Chief Augustine's accounts of his and other Clear Lake Indians' participation in the building of adobe houses in the North Bay Area during the Mexican period, as well as working as slave-ranch hands, for Vallejo in particular, were recorded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries before his death, as was mentioned in Chapter II of this report.

As the stories of Olompali, Rancho San Pablo, and Rancho Petaluma illustrate, Native peoples, including Pomo, moved widely around the Bay Area and lands north of the Bay Area in response to the hostile forces of Spanish and Mexican colonization. The documentary record and the Tribe's oral history indicate that the ancestors of the Tribe were involved in these movements. Despite the radical change in their environments, Pomo and other Native people, including ancestors of the Tribe, continued to form new communities by intermarrying and relying on the principles of trade and reciprocity among communities that had always sustained them. As will be discussed below, the harsh circumstances of the first half of the nineteenth century, and the resulting movement of Pomo and other Native peoples throughout the lands

¹⁶³ Davis, "Elk on Mare Island," pp. 31-32, 34.

north of the Bay Area, continued well into the period of American jurisdiction.

Continued Movement of Native People During Early American Jurisdiction

The beginning of American jurisdiction over California in 1848 was accompanied by the discovery of gold, which sparked a period of exponential growth for the City of San Francisco. Due to this context of rapid change and growth, it is not surprising that little can be said about aboriginal life in the Bay Area during this time period. Evidence suggests, however, that the Bay Area had been largely emptied of its Native inhabitants. As Sub-Agent Adam Johnston observed in 1852: “[F]or two hundred miles around the bay of San Francisco, there is no considerable number of Indians.”¹⁶⁴ Johnston noted that many Bay Area Native peoples had “died of disease,” and that others had “fallen back before the whites, into the mountains and more remote sections of the country” – a statement in line with those of other observers, such as Peter Campbell and J. H. Jenkins, noted above.¹⁶⁵

What can be said about the early American period is that American settlers, in reality, differed little from their Mexican predecessors. When the earliest American settlers arrived in California, many simply took over Mexican landowners’ roles as brutalizers and slave-masters. As described in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, the ancestors of the Tribe were greatly impacted by this aspect of California history.¹⁶⁶ Samuel Barrett wrote, “After the American occupation

¹⁶⁴ Adam Johnston to Luke Lea, 30 January 1852, S. Doc. 4 (33-Special Session) 688, pp. 241-247.

¹⁶⁵ Adam Johnston to Luke Lea, 30 January 1852, S. Doc. 4 (33-Special Session) 688, pp. 241-247.

¹⁶⁶ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 39-42.

these excesses grew even worse and there were those who made a regular business of kidnapping [Pomo] children and selling them in the settlements about San Francisco bay and southward.”¹⁶⁷

In the face of this reality, Native people fled to Clear Lake.¹⁶⁸

On an island in Clear Lake, in 1849, one of the most violent moments in the region’s nineteenth-century history took place when tensions between Pomo and two American rancher-slavers, Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone, ended in the slaughter of hundreds of Pomo. The Tribe’s ancestor, Chief or Captain Augustine (a.k.a. Chief Sahk-cuz-shook, Cuk, or Shuk), was an important Pomo herder for Kelsey and Stone, who were known for their brutality towards Indian people.¹⁶⁹ According to some accounts, Augustine was directly involved in the murder of these two men, an act carried out on behalf of his community members who had been starved, beaten, and tortured by Kelsey and Stone.¹⁷⁰ As detailed in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, federal troops from Sonoma and Benicia, dispatched to avenge the deaths of Kelsey and Stone,

¹⁶⁷ Barrett, “The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo,” p. 45.

¹⁶⁸ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

¹⁶⁹ According to William Benson – a Pomo consultant to numerous anthropologists including Alfred Kroeber, E. M. Loeb, and Samuel Barrett – two Pomo men named Xisis and Shuk were “foremen” for Kelsey and Stone’s herds. In other sources, one of these foremen was also known as Augustine. Lyman Palmer’s history of Lake County (published in 1881) also refers to Augustine, this time as a witness to the massacre. In the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report, researchers had reasoned from the available record at that time that Pete (Lepusa) Augustine was Chief Augustine/Shuk. However, research conducted for this report found that Augustine/Shuk is the brother of Pete (Lepusa) Augustine and father to Robert Augustine. Benson, “The Stone and Kelsey ‘Massacre’”; Palmer, “Indians of Lake County,” pp. 32, 34-40; Palmer, “General History and Settlement,” pp. 59-60; Handwritten Notes by Jennett Holdert; Handwritten Family Tree Chart created from Edward Winslow Gifford’s “Clear Lake Pomo Society,” received 31 January 2006, Private Collection of Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians; Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis.

¹⁷⁰ Vinson Brown and Douglas Andrews, *The Pomo Indians of California and Their Neighbors* (Healdsburg, CA: Naturegraph Publishers, 1969), p. 10.

massacred over 150 Pomo men, women, and children on an island at the north end of Clear Lake, now known as Bloody Island.¹⁷¹ Afterwards, the soldiers continued on to the Ukiah area, where they massacred another 100 Pomo people.¹⁷²

Prior to his death in the 1910s, Chief Augustine contributed much of the information published in local histories. In *Stories & Legends of Lake County*, local historians Lewis et al. describe Augustine as “an intelligent man ... known for his truth and honesty.”¹⁷³ According to Lewis et al., Kelsey and Stone acquired their cattle herds from Salvador Vallejo in 1847.¹⁷⁴ General Vallejo originally supplied these herds to his brother, Salvador Vallejo, and to Ramon Carrilo as a reward for their success in taking the Clear Lake country from the Indians.¹⁷⁵ Augustine reportedly served as vaquero for these men, and had traveled on large cattle drives to Sonoma County at this time.¹⁷⁶ After Kelsey and Stone took over Vallejo’s cattle herds, Augustine made at least six trips to Sonoma County as a vaquero.¹⁷⁷ In *Stories & Legends*, Augustine describes his enslavement by Kelsey and Stone and conveys numerous details of their cruelty toward Pomo people.¹⁷⁸ The authors note that Augustine was among a group of “one

¹⁷¹ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 27-29; see also Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁷² Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 25.

¹⁷³ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 8-25, 29-30, 74-83.

¹⁷⁴ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁵ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe.

¹⁷⁷ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp.20, 24.

¹⁷⁸ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, see especially pp. 20-25.

hundred and seventy-two Indians ... taken to Sonoma to build adobe houses,” in about 1847.¹⁷⁹

The story continues: “They became homesick. Augustine, chief of the Hoolanapos, ran away and came home,” where he was tortured along with six other Pomo individuals for escaping.¹⁸⁰

In an 1881 publication on the histories of Lake and Napa counties, historian Lyman Palmer reproduced Augustine’s account of the Bloody Island Massacre.¹⁸¹ Among the details of his life in the service of Kelsey and Stone, Augustine conveyed that many Pomo were regularly taken to Napa and Sonoma valleys where they were sold “like cattle or other stock.”¹⁸² Thus, Kelsey and Stone were involved in the state-sanctioned slave trade that operated between the Bay Area and Clear Lake during the early days of the American presence in California.¹⁸³ This particular slave ring followed upon the well-established system of slave trading generated under Mexican rule, which operated throughout the same region and displaced Clear Lake Native people to Rancho San Pablo, as discussed earlier in this report.

By the early 1850s, the conflict between Native people and Americans had escalated to such a point of violence and chaos that the federal government sent commissioners to negotiate

¹⁷⁹ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸⁰ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸¹ In Palmer’s account, Augustine does not use the word “massacre” to refer to this event; rather, Augustine discusses the loss of life as a result of the Bloody Island Massacre. Palmer, “Indians of Lake County,” pp. 34-40; Palmer, “General History and Settlement,” pp. 59-60; Benson, “The Stone and Kelsey ‘Massacre.’”

¹⁸² Palmer, “General History and Settlement,” p. 60.

¹⁸³ *Act for the Government and Protection of Indians*, passed 22 April 1850, *Statutes of California*, Chapter 133, pp. 408-410.

Slave trading from Clear Lake to the Bay Area continued until after the Mexican period, as shown in Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see green lines indicating “Movement of Native Slaves/Laborers, 1822-1848”].

treaties of peace and land cession with California Indian tribes. When United States officials negotiated treaties for the cession of the lands contiguous to San Francisco and San Pablo bays, they did so with Pomo people. Scotts Valley Indians were signatories to at least one of these treaties, which ceded the lands running along the north end of San Pablo Bay.¹⁸⁴ Despite the upheaval of this period, the treaty commissioners found diverse linguistic and ethnic communities and Native systems of travel and trade still largely intact during their travels between the Bay Area and Clear Lake.

Federal Treaty Commissioner Redick McKee noted specifically the diversity of the Native population from the Bay Area to Clear Lake. In a letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea, McKee recommended that “close attention be paid to similarity of language, customs &c.” among the Native people from the Bay Area to Clear Lake, and to the coast.¹⁸⁵ This consideration was important to the federal treaty commissioners as they sought to remove diverse Native peoples inhabiting this region onto a single reservation. The reservation promised in the treaties signed by ancestors of the Tribe was to be located at Clear Lake and would have encompassed the lands that later became the Scotts Valley Rancheria.¹⁸⁶ As McKee specified, if possible, he wanted to “induce the entire Indian population, scattered along the coast about

¹⁸⁴ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 26-39; Charles J. Kappler, comp., “Treaty with the Ca-la na-po, Etc, 1851,” *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1929), pp. 1108-1111; Charles Royce, comp., “Indian Land Cessions in the United States” *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-1897*, pt. 2 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 782-783, 823, maps titled “California 1” and “California 2.”

¹⁸⁵ Redick McKee to Luke Lea, 12 September 1851, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851*, p. 237 [Hereafter *ARCOIA*].

¹⁸⁶ Redick McKee to Luke Lea, 12 September 1851, *ARCOIA 1851*, p. 238.

Bodega, Petaloma, &c., to San Francisco, together with those on Russian river, and the head waters of Eel river, to remove to and colonize there.”¹⁸⁷ Moreover, a Franciscan mission was established at Clear Lake (Big Valley) in the 1860s, and, by 1880, many Native people had moved to the area, hoping to find “security from White encroachment in exchange for renouncing the old ceremonials.”¹⁸⁸ The Tribe has numerous kin ties to the Big Valley Rancheria, which later formed at the site of this mission.¹⁸⁹

Native people prepared to move to the reservation lands at Clear Lake shortly after the signing of their treaty. However, these treaties, which the Pomo and other Native people entered into in good faith, were never ratified by Congress – a detail federal agents did not share with the Native treaty signatories.¹⁹⁰ It is possible that in the documented flight of Native people from the Bay Area during the 1850s, some ancestors of the Tribe may have moved to Clear Lake where they anticipated settling permanently on the reservation they had been promised. They were among those who took refuge at the Franciscan Mission at Big Valley. Like most other rancheria communities in the area, the contemporary Scotts Valley Band is composite of people from across the region of the North Bay Area. While the genealogy of every tribe located in the Clear Lake area was not investigated for the purpose of this report, a pattern is discernable from the

¹⁸⁷ Redick McKee to Luke Lea, 12 September 1851, *ARCOIA 1851*, p. 238.

¹⁸⁸ Sally McLendon, “Ethnographic and Historical Sketch of the Eastern Pomo and Their Neighbors, The Southeastern Pomo,” *Contributions of The University of California Archaeological Research Faculty*, no. 37 (Berkeley, CA: University of California, Department of Anthropology, December 1977), p. 32.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix A: Table 2: Births and Residences of Scotts Valley Band Ancestors in the North Bay Area, 1700s and 1800s [Note those born in Lakeport area and Big Valley].

¹⁹⁰ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 36-37.

Tribe's genealogy. For example, Victoria Frese Augustine's sisters, Mary and Louisa, were both born in Napa County, and both married into and took up residence in other Clear Lake communities. Also, Maggie Johnson (whose father, Tom Smith, was from Bodega Bay) was a central figure in important families at Middletown and Lower Lake.¹⁹¹

Because the California Indian treaties were not ratified, the Clear Lake Reservation was never created. Instead, the federal government ordered California's superintendents of Indian Affairs to establish reservations in remote locations, away from the influx of gold-seekers and settlers. Two reservations were established in northern Mendocino County – the Mendocino and Round Valley reservations – to which the ancestors of the Tribe were removed.¹⁹² As numerous tribal groups were removed to and concentrated on these reservations, they became sites of intertribal marriage and interaction not unlike the composite communities that formed near missions and ranchos. As one of the overseers of the Mendocino Reservation, H. L. Ford, reported, Native people from the North Bay Area (Marin and Sonoma counties) were among those removed to the Mendocino Reservation:

When I first went there, there were two to three hundred Indians who claimed that

¹⁹¹ Census of the Coyote Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1918, National Archives and Records Administration Facility at Washington, D.C., Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives Microfilm, Indian Census Rolls, 1885-1940 [Hereafter NAM M595], R.448:397-399; Census of the Coyote Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1919, NAM M595, R.448:520-522; Census of the Coyote Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1920, NAM M595, R.449:103-105; Census of the Coyote Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1921, NAM M595, R.449:164-166; Census of the Cuyotte Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1922, NAM M595, R.449:328-330; Census of the Lower Lake Vicinity Indians, 30 June 1922, NAM M595, R.449:365-367; Census of the Cuyotte Valley and Middletown Indians, 30 June 1923, NAM M595, R.449:523-525; Census of the Lower Lake Vicinity Indians, 30 June 1923, NAM M595, R.449:517-518.

¹⁹² Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 37-39, 42-45; Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see orange lines indicating "Relocation to Mendocino Reservation, 1855-1868"].

as their home; they were called Chebal-na Poma, Chedil-na Poma, and Camebell Poma; since I went there two hundred and fifty Calie-Namaras were moved from the vicinity of Bodego, and they are all there yet; two hundred and forty Wappa Indians were moved there from Russian River Valley, from the vicinity of Fitch's Ranch; one hundred and eighty were moved from Rancheria Valley, near Anderson Valley; upwards of two hundred were moved from Ukiah Valley; sixty Indians were moved from near the mouth of Sulphur Creek – all these Indians were tame Indians; upwards of three hundred wild Indians, called Yosul-Pomas, came in of their own accord; some time in the winter of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine, Gen. Kibbe sent two hundred of the Redwood Indians from Humboldt County [possibly Yuki and/or Pomo]; of that number one hundred and eight were sent by order of Superintendent Henley to San Francisco; fifty seven of those Indians are on the reservation now, the rest have ran away.¹⁹³

That the ancestors of the Tribe were among those removed to the Mendocino Reservation is documented in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report.¹⁹⁴

When the Mendocino Reservation closed, the ancestors of the Tribe who came to Scotts Valley included those who were from villages in the area prior to removal but also included individuals from numerous other communities.¹⁹⁵ With the rapid urbanization of the Bay Area, it was not possible for Native people to return there peacefully. Instead, they continued to move throughout their former range, now as itinerant laborers and squatters on their own lands. Lewis et al. write that during this time, the Native people of Clear Lake, who likely included ancestors of the Tribe, continued to make regular journeys to towns in Napa and Sonoma counties in the

¹⁹³ Deposition of H. L. Ford, 22 February 1860, *Majority and Minority Reports of the Special Joint Committee on the Mendocino War, Pamphlets on California Indians no. 3*, NARA-DC, RG279, Docket 31, *Indians of California vs. The United States of America*, Box 559, Plaintiff's Exhibits, SFC 1-10, pp. 15-17.

¹⁹⁴ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 4-45.

¹⁹⁵ Appendix C: Map 2: Nineteenth-Century Movement and Displacement of the Ancestors of the Tribe [see dark red lines indicating "Southward Movement Away from Reservation, 1860-1880"].

employ of non-Native Clear Lake-area settlers who sent them in parties to collect supplies.¹⁹⁶

Little additional documentation regarding the ancestors of the Tribe exists during the period following the closure of the Mendocino Reservation in 1867 until the twentieth century when the Scotts Valley Rancheria was established. The latter part of the nineteenth century were years marked by general neglect of Native peoples in California by the federal government.

1911 Census of the Scotts Valley Rancheria

The census taken at the Scotts Valley Rancheria when it was established in 1911 counts 58 people, consisting of 28 adults and 30 children. Only the male adults are identified by name with the exception of “Mrs. Augustine, daughter Bessie” – ancestors of the Tribe Victoria Frese Augustine and Bessie Augustine Ray.¹⁹⁷ Of the 15 men identified, only 2 were born at Scotts Valley: Scotts Valley Charlie and Sol (Solomon) Moore.¹⁹⁸ Scotts Valley Charlie remained at the Scotts Valley Rancheria until at least 1923.¹⁹⁹ It is unknown what happened to Solomon Moore, as he does not appear on any subsequent censuses of the Scotts Valley Rancheria. Others on this census include Joe Augustine, who was born at Big Valley (the site of the Catholic mission), as

¹⁹⁶ Lewis et al., *Stories & Legends*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹⁷ C. E. Kelsey to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1911, NARA-DC, RG75, CCF 1907-1939, California Special, Box 7, 86407-1909, 307.4.

¹⁹⁸ Scotts Valley Charlie was also known as Charlie McCall, McCaw, Holder, or Holdert.

¹⁹⁹ Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1917, NAM M595, R.448:280-284; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1918, NAM M595, R.448:400-404; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1919, NAM M595, R.448:523-527; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1920, NAM M595, R.449:106-110; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1921, NAM M595, R.449:241-245; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1923, NAM M595, R.449:526-529.

was Enoch Jones. Joe was the first cousin of Victoria's husband Robert. It is unknown what became of Enoch Jones. Two other men on the census, Bartet and Bob Faught, were from the vicinity of Ukiah, Mendocino County, but neither is a lineal ancestor to current members of the Tribe. Another man, George Johnson, while having no lineal descendants in the Tribe, was from the Cloverdale area in Sonoma County, where he had been living with the Ramons (or Lamoons)/Arnolds, who are ancestors to the Tribe²⁰⁰ Indeed, the Tribe has numerous links to the Southern Pomo at Cloverdale in Sonoma County.²⁰¹

Only three other men on this census are identifiable: Tom Berryessa, Juan Frias, and Manuel Frias. Tom Berryessa was from the Berryessa Valley in Napa County and was Patwin.²⁰² "Juan" Frias and his wife are probably Fernando and Mary Frese – Victoria's father and mother.²⁰³ Manuel Frias was Victoria's half-brother. As has already been discussed, this family was from southern Napa County, and are significant ancestors to the Tribe. Researchers were

²⁰⁰ Census for the Household of Charlie Lamon, ED 158, Cloverdale Township, Sonoma County, California, 13 June 1900, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, p. 72A; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

²⁰¹ Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of George Commatch; Appendix B: Family Tree of Jack Somersal; Appendix B: Family Tree of Wah-hah; Appendix B: Family Tree of Colas; Appendix B: Family Tree of Manuel; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis.

²⁰² The Tom Berryessa identified on this census is likely the same man as the John Berryessa identified on the 1910 census, as there is no other Indian person with the Berryessa name in the same vicinity. Census for John Berryessa, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A.

²⁰³ No other documents refer to a "Juan" Frias in relation to Scotts Valley, and no other "Juan" Frias appears on other census records for the area. Fernando and Mary Frias were enumerated at Scotts Valley on the 1910 federal census, and Juan is listed with Victoria and Bessie Augustine and with Manuel Frias, who is Victoria's half-brother. Therefore, Juan Frias is likely Fernando Frese. Census for the Household of Fernando Frias, ED 39, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 3 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 23A; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fernando Frese.

unable to locate any further information regarding the 2 remaining men on this census, William Osborne and Sullivan, although Osborne is listed as a widower and Indian at Scotts Valley on the 1910 census. As well, Nancy Frios, wife of Manuel Frias, is listed in Manuel's home as a "servant."²⁰⁴ The same year, Nancy Frios is also listed in the household of her sister-in-law, Louisa Frese, at Upper Lake.²⁰⁵

In summary, the census taken of the Scotts Valley Rancheria at the time it was acquired for the ancestors of the Tribe shows that its residents were an amalgamation of families from the Clear Lake area as well as other counties, including southern Napa County, which borders San Pablo Bay. Indeed, the Frese family was the only founding family of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, and, through their direct lineal descendants, the Freses have formed the membership of the Scotts Valley Band most consistently since that time.²⁰⁶ Most of those named on the census at the time the Scotts Valley Rancheria was created left within the next decade, primarily by marrying into other communities, while the Frese family and their descendants have

²⁰⁴ Census for Household of William Osborne, ED 39, Township #4, Scotts Valley Precinct, Lake County, California, 5 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 203A.

²⁰⁵ Census for the Household of Jerry Sutherland, ED 38, Township #3, Upper Lake Precinct, Lake County, California, 20 May 1910, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, p. 28A.

²⁰⁶ This is primarily because Victoria Frese and Robert Augustine's daughter Bessie had a large family. Bessie's children married members of the Boggs, Ray, and Arnold families. These three families are the main ancestral families of the Tribe, primarily because they were the families named as distributees at the time the Rancheria was terminated in the 1960s, A Plan for the Distribution of the Assets of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, According to the Provisions of Public Law 85-671, Enacted by the 85th Congress, 25 June 1959, NARA-San Bruno, RG75, Sacramento Area Office, Tribal Group Files, 1915-1972, Box 25, Scotts Valley; Appendix B: Table 2: Lineal Descendants of Fernando and Mary Frese.

consistently constituted the membership of the Scotts Valley Band through to the present.²⁰⁷

Twentieth Century Migrations

It was only after the fifty-year seal on the California Indian treaties of 1851 and 1852 had expired and under pressure from non-Native advocacy groups, such as the Northern California Indian Association, that the federal government resumed its responsibility toward the thousands of Native people in California who did not reside on reservations and had no land. Secretary for the Northern California Indian Association Charles E. Kelsey was commissioned to conduct a study of the “non-reservation” (or “landless”) Indians in California. He traveled throughout California during 1905, enumerating the Native people he found, and, in 1906, he submitted his report to Washington. Kelsey counted the ancestors of the Tribe in the vicinity of Lakeport, and he oversaw the purchase of their rancheria in the 1910s. The history of the Tribe from this point forward, including records of Tribe members’ presence in the Bay Area, is detailed in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report.²⁰⁸

The greater part of the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report documents the Tribe’s continuous connections to the Bay Area in the twentieth century. The genealogical research conducted for

²⁰⁷ For example, see available census records from 1917 through 1923: Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1917, NAM M595, R.448:280-284; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1918, NAM M595, R.448:400-404; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1919, NAM M595, R.448:523-527; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1920, NAM M595, R.449:106-110; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1921, NAM M595, R.449:241-245; Census of the Scotts Valley and Lakeport Indians, 30 June 1923, NAM M595, R.449:526-529; A Plan for the Distribution of the Assets of the Scotts Valley Rancheria, According to the Provisions of Public Law 85-671, Enacted by the 85th Congress, 25 June 1959, NARA-San Bruno, RG75, Sacramento Area Office, Tribal Group Files, 1915-1972, Box 25, Scotts Valley.

²⁰⁸ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 46-97.

this addendum report further substantiates the Tribe’s ancestors’ participation in a migratory labor route, which brought them through Napa and Sonoma counties, and included the participation of Pomo women in domestic work in Bay Area cities. This was noted in Chapter II of this report, in the family history of Lucy and Ervin Maysee, who lived and worked throughout Napa, Sonoma, Lake, and Mendocino counties.²⁰⁹

The Arnold family tree also illustrates this mobility from the mid-nineteenth century up to the present. The earliest ancestors in the tree – Fred and Fannie Arnold – were born in Sonoma County in the 1820s.²¹⁰ In the 1860s, the family was generally in the same area; however, by the 1880s, their grandchild, Susie Santiago, was born farther north in Mendocino County, perhaps as a result of the general exodus of Native people northward. Susie married at Hopland, and most of her children were born there.²¹¹ Her brother Louis Arnold married Hazel Elliott of the Yokayo/Guidiville rancherias around 1910, and this couple’s children were born at Guidiville, Hopland, and Calpella (Mendocino County).²¹² By the 1930s, Louis and Hazel’s children were further dispersed toward Lake County and the Bay Area, where many members of the family now live.²¹³

One collateral ancestor of the Tribe, James Ross Quill, was born in San Francisco in

²⁰⁹ Discussion of the Maysee family’s history appears in Chapter II of this report, in the subsection titled “Geography and Ethnic Diversity of the Scotts Valley Band.”

²¹⁰ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold.

²¹¹ Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold.

²¹² Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold.

²¹³ Howard and McClurken, *Scotts Valley Pomo*, pp. 46-92; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold.

1903. His grandparents – John Piner and Mary Peters – are ancestors to several current Tribe members belonging to the Ray family.²¹⁴ Also in this family line are the Henthornes, who are intermarried with members of the group referred to in some documents as “Napa County Indians.”²¹⁵ Pearl and Bernice Henthorne, born on the Round Valley Reservation in the early 1900s, were themselves of mixed Pitt River and Pomo heritage. Pearl and Bernice moved to Clear Lake, settling at Big Valley, where Pearl’s father, Johnny Augustine (a son of Victoria Frese Augustine), lived.²¹⁶ Bernice’s children were born at Scotts Valley, Big Valley, and Lower Lake. Pearl married Arthur Faber, who was born in Sonoma County but identified himself as a “Napa Indian.”²¹⁷ Arthur Faber’s father’s family was from the Sonoma County area, and his mother’s parents were from Napa County; his mother’s parents and grandparents were all born in Napa County in the early to mid-nineteenth century.²¹⁸ Clarence Augustine, grandson of Pete Augustine, was Pearl and Bernice Henthorne’s stepfather. In the late 1920s, the Henthornes and Fabers and their extended kin formed a small community in the vicinity of Agua Caliente,

²¹⁴ Appendix B: Family Tree of Mary Peters.

²¹⁵ Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

²¹⁶ Appendix B: Family Tree of Bukalnis.

²¹⁷ Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Towne Henthorne; Appendix B: Family Tree of Mary Peters.

²¹⁸ Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Jose Murphy; Appendix B: Family Tree of Towne Henthorne.

Sonoma County, just north of San Pablo Bay.²¹⁹

Also related to the Tribe and the Fabers are other families with roots in southern Napa and Sonoma counties (Wappo) – the Cassias and Marandos.²²⁰ Mariano Marando, born in Sonoma County in 1844, married Susan, who was born in Napa County in 1846.²²¹ Marando was also the half-brother of Bill Smith’s wife, Rosalie Charles.²²² Bill Smith, brother of Tom Smith, was a key Coast Miwok consultant to anthropologists Isabel Kelly and Cora Du Bois, as noted above.²²³ Mariano and Susan Marando’s son Frank was born in Geyserville in 1877, an area where there are many Wappo-Pomo intermarriages. Frank then moved to Lake County, where he married a woman from Big Valley, Louisa Hogan, and this couple are ancestors to cousins of current members of the Tribe with the surname Ray.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Application No. 8544 of Arthur Faber Household for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8545 of Pearl Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8546 of Joaquin Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8542 of Laura Cassia Faber for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Application No. 8541 of Juana Bello for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 28 July 1930, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576 Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Towne Henthorne; Appendix B: Family Tree of Mary Peters.

²²⁰ Appendix B: Family Tree of Pete Marando; Appendix B: Family Tree of Jose Murphy.

²²¹ Application No. 3585 of James Maranda for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 22 June 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932.

²²² Collier and Thalman, *Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa*, pp. 334-335; Appendix B: Family Tree of Pete Marando; Appendix B: Family Tree of Tom Smith.

²²³ Collier and Thalman, *Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa*, pp. xvii.

²²⁴ Appendix B: Family Tree of Pete Marando.

Another ancestor of the Tribe with roots in Marin County is Tom Martin, who was born in Marshall, Marin County in 1900 and was probably Coast Miwok. Tom married Grace Elgin, a Pomo woman, and the couple moved to Big Valley in Lake County.²²⁵ Their daughter, Catherine Martin, married Ben Ray, a son of Bessie and Gene Ray, who are significant lineal ancestors of the Tribe.²²⁶ Another relative of the Tribe, Clement Marrufo, was born in San Francisco in 1888, and raised at the Saint Vincent's orphanage in San Rafael after the deaths of his parents when he was two years old.²²⁷ Marrufo was likely of Coast Miwok origin. As an adult, he slowly traveled northward, working at various places throughout Sonoma County until he integrated into the Kashaya Pomo community at Stewart's Point, where he married a woman named Julia. Their grandson "Chic" married Mary Arnold, who is a first cousin to the current chairman of the Tribe.²²⁸

These brief additional accounts of the Tribe's early twentieth-century genealogy illustrate the continuation of intertribal relations, which are grounded in kinship connections established in aboriginal times and have been maintained into the present day. These accounts also further

²²⁵ Jesse Gonzalez to Joe Quick, 18 February 2007, office communication.

²²⁶ Appendix B: Family Tree of Alley Elgin.

²²⁷ Application No. 5643 of Clement Marrufo for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 18 October 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; St. Vincent's School and Home for Boys, 1905, photograph, *Anne T. Kent California Room Image Collection, Marin County Free Library*, 2003, <<http://www.co.marin.ca.us/depts/lb/main/crm/photoalbums/srschoolsalbum/srschools1.html>>, accessed 20 March 2007; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

²²⁸ Application No. 5643 of Clement Marrufo for Enrollment with the Indians of the State of California, 18 October 1929, NARA-DC, RG75, Entry 576, Records Relating to Enrollment of California Indians, Applications, 1928-1932; Appendix B: Family Tree of Fred and Fannie Arnold; Appendix B: Family Tree of Gus Elliott; Appendix B: Family Tree of Ramon and Ramona.

demonstrate the ongoing movement of the ancestors of the Tribe throughout the North Bay Area as they adapted to the market economy of the twentieth century, an aspect of the Tribe's history discussed at length in the *Scotts Valley Pomo* report. Records of the birth places of members and ancestors of the Scotts Valley Band who were born after the establishment of the Rancheria in 1911 show their progressive movement toward the Bay Area in the twentieth century.²²⁹ The Tribe and researchers have compiled the birth place information of 229 individual members and ancestors of the Tribe. This representative sample is shown statistically and visually on a table and accompanying map included in Appendix C of this report.²³⁰

Between 1912 and 1964, the year before the Rancheria was terminated, birth records are available for 39 individuals. Twenty-four, or about 62 percent, of these persons were born on or near the Scotts Valley Rancheria. Thirteen (about one-third) were born in the City of San Francisco or in the North Bay Area counties of Sonoma and Solano.²³¹ After termination, of the 190 members of the Tribe born between 1965 and 2007, only 14 percent (26 persons) were born in the vicinity of the former Rancheria lands. Of the remaining 164 people for whom the Tribe has birth records during this period, almost half – 78 individuals or 48 percent – were born in the Bay Area cities of Alameda, Berkeley, Castro Valley, Fremont, Hayward, Oakland, Petaluma,

²²⁹ Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

²³⁰ Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

²³¹ The remaining two individuals of the thirty-nine born between 1911 and 1965, and for whom records are available, were born in Mendocino and Tehama counties respectively.

Richmond, Santa Clara, San Francisco, San Jose, San Leandro, Santa Rosa, and Vallejo.²³²

Summary

Between the 1820s and 1930s, the ancestors of the Tribe moved extensively around the Bay Area and the lands north of San Francisco and San Pablo bays in response to colonization and American Indian policy. Under Mexican and early American jurisdiction, Native people were victims of violence, kidnaping, and enslavement. Communities at Clear Lake were raided by Mexicans and Americans, and Native people were taken onto ranchos and farms in the Bay Area, or fled north to escape these hostile circumstances. The available historical record, the oral history of the Tribe, and the Tribe's genealogy suggest – and in some cases confirm – that the ancestors of the Tribe were among those taken to the Bay Area as well as those who fled north. Whether they moved to new locations in flight or by force, Pomo and other Native people formed new, multi-ethnic communities grounded in Indigenous practices of intermarriage and kin relations.

Historical, archaeological, and genealogical records confirm specifically that Native people were taken in large numbers from Clear Lake to Rancho San Pablo, Rancho Petaluma, and other ranchos and farms in the Bay Area. One such story in the Tribe's oral history, which is also supported by documentary evidence, is that of the Frese family. The Frese family originates in southern Napa County, and members of this family the most significant Bay Area ancestors of

²³² Of the 85 persons who were not born near the Rancheria or in the Bay Area since 1965, a cluster of 67 (or 41 percent) were born in the Ukiah area of Mendocino County. The remaining 17 persons (10 percent) were born in other California counties (8 persons) or out of state (9 persons). Appendix C: Table: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present; Appendix C: Map 4: Birth Places of Scotts Valley Band Members and Ancestors, 1912-Present.

the Tribe. Mary Frese, who was kidnaped and enslaved in the Bay Area, had her first daughter, Victoria, aboard a ship in San Francisco Bay in about 1860. Mary and her husband Fernando Frese later had two more daughters, Mary and Louisa, in Napa County. The family was likely Wappo or Patwin, a fact that is congruous with the tribal diversity in the ancestry of the Scotts Valley Band. The whole family moved to Clear Lake in about 1878 and were among the founding families of the Scotts Valley Rancheria when it was created in 1911. Victoria married Robert Augustine, a Pomo leader and son of the well-known Chief Augustine. Their descendants have formed the core of the Tribe's membership through to the present. Local histories based on the accounts of Chief Augustine show that Pomo people moved widely around the Bay Area and fled to the lands immediately north under Mexican and American jurisdiction. Chief Augustine first served as a vaquero for a Mexican rancher and then as a herder for American ranchers Kelsey and Stone, and he participated in many cattle drives back and forth from Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay. According to Augustine, his people were treated with cruelty, their Clear Lake communities were raided, and they were often taken by force to the Bay Area where they were sold as slaves. It was because of this violence that Native people fled north during the first half of the nineteenth century. The atmosphere of violence was so severe that when two American ranchers, Kelsey and Stone, were allegedly murdered by Chief Augustine and others who the ranchers had treated badly, an American military outfit massacred hundreds of Pomo on an island in northern Clear Lake, which now bears the name Bloody Island, and near Ukiah.

This northward exodus all but emptied the Bay Area of its Native inhabitants, many of whom fled to Clear Lake. The story of the village of Olompali, in which 150 people moved northward en masse in 1855, illustrates the extent to which Native people fled from the hostile

conditions of colonization. The people of the Olompali village appear to have integrated into the community at Hopland (Sanel) in the Russian River Valley. After the Pomo negotiated treaties with the United States, a reservation was supposed to be created for them at Clear Lake; however, the reservation never materialized. Instead, isolated reservations were established in remote northern sections of Mendocino County, to which Native people, including Bay Area and Clear Lake Native people, were forcibly removed. These locations, too, became sites of intermarriage and new, composite Native communities. Some of the Tribe's ancestors emanate from these communities.

In 1905, Special Agent Charles E. Kelsey enumerated the ancestors of the Tribe in the vicinity of Lakeport, and he oversaw the creation of the Scotts Valley Rancheria in the 1910s. The 1911 census of the Scotts Valley Rancheria shows that the residents of the Scotts Valley Rancheria were not homogeneously Pomo, and were an amalgamation of families from the Clear Lake area as well as communities in other counties, including Ukiah Valley, Mendocino County; southern Napa County; and Cloverdale, Sonoma County. The Frese family, which originates in southern Napa County, were a founding family of the Rancheria, and their descendants have most consistently constituted the membership of the Scotts Valley Band. The Tribe's early twentieth-century genealogy illustrates the continuity of intertribal relations and kinship connections among Native communities throughout the North Bay Area.

During the twentieth century, many ancestors of the Tribe traveled a migratory labor route, moving towards the Bay Area by traveling across Lake, Napa, Sonoma, Solano, and Mendocino counties as farm laborers or domestic workers in Bay Area urban centers. Members of the Arnold, Piner/Henthorne/Faber, Cassia, Ray, and Marando (among other) families moved

around Sonoma, Mendocino, Lake, and Napa counties, settling variously at Yokayo, Guidiville, Hopland, and Big Valley. As time went on, Tribe members were increasingly born in San Francisco, the North Bay Area counties of Sonoma and Solano, and several other Bay Area cities. After the 1920s, largely as a result of federal Indian relocation policy, ancestors and members of the Scotts Valley Band settled more permanently in the Bay Area, particularly in the Oakland area.

IV. Summary and Conclusion

Ethnohistorical and genealogical evidence suggests that ancestors of the Tribe participated in the “regional interface center” of the Bay Area and the immediately adjacent lands in aboriginal times, and that they continued to move around this region throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in response to the changing conditions associated with colonization and urbanization. In aboriginal times, the exchange economy of the Bay Area was governed and perpetuated by kinship networks. These kinship networks were established by marriages between members of the region’s linguistically different Pomo groups and other Native communities. Ethnographic evidence maintains that Pomo, Wappo, Miwok, Patwin, and other Native people at and surrounding the Bay Area interacted with one another for the exchange of and access to the diverse resources needed to sustain their small, autonomous communities, and for cultural and ceremonial reasons. This economy of material and intellectual exchange required Native people to maintain kinship ties and travel extensively throughout the environmentally disparate zones stretching from Clear Lake to San Pablo Bay.

The historical record and the Tribe’s genealogy support the assertion that the ancestors of the Tribe participated in this pattern of movement across and around the Bay Area. The Tribe’s membership includes people of diverse ethnic identities, suggesting that the ancestors of the Tribe were tied by kinship to other Bay Area Native communities. Historians and firsthand observers noted the presence of an aboriginal trail extending from Clear Lake to the northern shores of San Pablo Bay. Clear Lake Pomo are documented to have used this trail within the

broader intertribal environment of the early colonial times, when the movement of Native peoples from Clear Lake to the Bay Area and northward happened in relation to the area's ranching, farming, and still-functioning Native economies.

Clear Lake Indians are documented to have been taken to Bay Area missions, to Rancho San Pablo, which encompassed the present-day City of Richmond, and Rancho Petaluma. Recent research indicates that the Pomo ex-neophytes of the Bay Area missions remained in the region, where they forged new communities around Mexican ranchos, such as the community that formed at Rancho Petaluma in southern Marin County. Further, Mexicans and Americans raided Pomo communities at Clear Lake during the 1820s through the 1850s, kidnaping and enslaving Pomo people on Bay Area ranchos. In several firsthand accounts, ancestor of the Tribe Chief Augustine conveyed that Clear Lake Pomo were kidnaped, taken to the Bay Area, and sold into slavery on ranchos and farms there. The available record, the oral history of the Tribe, and the Tribe's genealogy suggest, and in some cases confirm, that the ancestors of the Tribe were the Pomo people taken to the Bay Area and those who fled north to escape these harsh conditions.

After the United States assumed jurisdiction over California, conditions changed little for the ancestors of the Tribe and the other Native people. Pomo people continued to be brutalized and kidnaped from the Clear Lake area, now by American ranchers who continued the practice of selling Native people as slaves in the Bay Area. At least one ancestor of the Tribe – Chief Augustine – is well documented to have been involved in the deaths of two such Americans, Andrew Kelsey and Charles Stone. Chief Augustine worked as a vaquero for the American ranchers and often traveled to the Bay Area on cattle drives for them. The deaths of Kelsey and

Stone were avenged by an American military outfit that slaughtered 250 Pomo in 1849. Given Chief Augustine's involvement in these events, it is likely that people related to the Tribe were among those kidnaped and sold in the Bay Area as part of this American slave ring.

The Frese family, to which about 93 percent of modern Tribe members trace their ancestry, are documented in the historical record and the Tribe's oral history to have emanated from Napa County under the conditions of the colonial period. Mary Frese, who was born in Napa County or "near Sonoma City," was documented to have been enslaved in the Bay Area, where she gave birth to her first daughter, Victoria Frese Augustine. By about 1878, the Freses, who were likely of Wappo or Patwin origins, moved to Clear Lake, where Victoria married Robert Augustine, the Pomo leader and son of Chief Augustine. Other Native people fled to lands north of the Bay Area to escape enslavement, and integrated into Pomo communities in the North Bay Area. The members of the village of Olompali in southern Marin County, for example, fled en masse to the Ukiah Valley, and their story explains largely what became of the Native population of Marin County in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During these years of violence and upheaval, Pomo and other Native people continued to rely on trusted aboriginal practices of intermarriage, to trade material and ceremonial wealth, and to engage in reciprocity to survive. Whether they moved in flight from or by force into these conditions, Pomo and other Native people forged new, multi-ethnic communities grounded in the Indigenous practices of intermarriage and maintaining kin relations.

Many ancestors of the Tribe were born or lived at places bordering the northern shores of San Francisco and San Pablo bays at some distance from where the Scotts Valley Rancheria would be established in 1911. These birth places include locations on the Marin Peninsula, such

as Bodega Bay and Tomales, and in the vicinity of the San Rafael Mission. Ancestors of the Tribe have been identified variously as Marin County “Mission” Indians, “related to tribes of Napa Valley,” and “Napa Indians,” and they include individuals of Wappo, Miwok, and Patwin origins who lived throughout lands in Lake, Mendocino, Sonoma, Solano, Napa, and Marin counties. Between the 1820s and 1930s, many Native people traveled a migratory labor route that stretched across these counties along the northern shores of San Pablo Bay to the Russian River Valley. In addition to the Frese family, the Ray, Arnold, and Boggs families – which are also important lineages of the Tribe – include individuals from Marin, Napa, and Sonoma counties who are of Wappo (or Patwin), Coast Miwok, and Southern Pomo origins. Many intertribal marriages continued to happen during these years – unions from which many Scotts Valley Band member descend, and which illustrate the diversity in the Tribe’s ancestry.

The Tribe’s involvement in the Ghost Dance movement of the 1870s and subsequent, related ceremonials (*Bole Maru*) further supports its connections to the Bay Area.

Anthropologist Cora Du Bois recorded the extensive travel associated with the spread of the *Bole Maru* throughout the North Bay Area and beyond in the late nineteenth century, documenting specifically the interaction between Pomo, Wappo, Miwok, Patwin, and other tribes in the Bay Area, and the movement of the *Bole Maru* from Clear Lake to Bodega Bay in Marin County.

Ancestor of the Tribe Joe Boggs was a *Bole Maru* leader in the ceremonial circuit inspired by the pan-tribal Ghost Dance movement of the 1870s. In the twentieth century, Victoria Frese Augustine traveled to these ceremonies with her children and grandchildren, who continue to perpetuate the intertribal community of the Bay Area in the present day. These ties suggest that movement across the Bay Area was common and characteristic among the region’s Indigenous

peoples in the nineteenth century, and that the ancestors of the Tribe were among those who traveled regularly across the region for the purposes of material, ceremonial, and cultural exchange, from aboriginal times into the historic period.

The violence and chaos associated with early American jurisdiction led to the negotiation of treaties of peace between the United States and California Indian tribes during 1851 and 1852. Treaty Commissioner Redick McKee noted in particular the continued existence of Native trade routes between San Pablo Bay and Clear Lake, which the ancestors of the Tribe likely used, as well as the diversity of the Native populations he encountered. Scotts Valley Indians were signatories to one of these treaties, which ceded the lands directly on the north side of San Pablo Bay – lands recognized by the treaty commissioners and the Tribe’s ancestors alike as Pomo lands. The ancestors of the Tribe exchanged these lands for a reservation at Clear Lake. Many Native people, including ancestors of the Tribe, remained at or moved to Clear Lake, intending to settle permanently there on a reservation. However, the Clear Lake Reservation was never established, and Native people were eventually removed to Mendocino Reservation, about 100 miles northwest of Clear Lake. When the Mendocino Reservation closed in 1867, the ancestors of the Tribe and other Native people once again returned to the Clear Lake area. This is where Special Indian Agent Charles Kelsey found and enumerated the “Indians in Scotts Valley” in the early twentieth century, and hence where the federal government purchased the Tribe’s Rancheria.

After the failure of California’s reservation system, Native people, including the ancestors of the Tribe, continued to migrate around the Bay Area and adjacent lands in search of work. In particular, the records show that members of the Maysee, Arnold, Ray, Piner, Henthorne, and

Augustine families participated in these migrations. Birth place records for the current Tribe members and their ancestors, which date from 1912 to 2005, show the progressive movement toward the permanent location of the majority of the Tribal membership in the Bay Area in the twentieth century. From their participation in the Bay Area “regional interface center” in aboriginal times to their increasing migration to Bay Area cities in the latter part of the twentieth century, the ancestors and current members of the Scotts Valley Band have continually been present in the Bay Area. The Tribe’s oral history and genealogy, and the relevant ethnographic record show that the lineal and collateral ancestors of the Tribe have maintained kinship connections to and directly used and occupied the Bay Area and adjacent lands within the contexts of Indigenous economic practices, kinship networks, colonization, and American Indian policy throughout documented history.