

V. NAMES AND LOCATIONS OF SOME ETHNOGRAPHIC PATWIN AND MAIDU INDIAN VILLAGES

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Dr. C. Hart Merriam collected a great amount of information from living California Indians between 1902 and 1935. He was particularly interested in ethnogeography, and the mere listing of his unpublished data on names of tribes, bands and villages runs to ten pages (Heizer 1969: 10-20). The Merriam card file referred to here is part of the Merriam Collection (Heizer 1969:4).

We present here an annotated list of River Patwin village names as recorded by Merriam and located by him on U.S.G.S. quadrangle sheets. Also presented is a list of Maidu villages on the lower Feather River for which we have precise locations from maps made by Merriam.

An archaeological site survey of this area aimed at determining how many of these historic villages are still extant would be desirable. Many of the sites have doubtless been destroyed by farmers in land-levelling operations; some have been buried by the large levees which were raised about 1890 to control the river floods. But in those sites which remain and are accessible for excavation, some "direct-historical approach" archaeology could be carried out. It is our hope that the Merriam data presented here will be of interest to archaeologists. We have annexed several documents which give further information on the subject.

1. Se-dow-we. Maidu. NE side of loop in Sacramento River, SW of Kusal Lagoon, and 2.5 mi. NW of Chico Landing (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file lists this also as Se-dow-we hoo'-loo-kah). Kroeber (1932:266) refers to the village as Shi-da-wi.
2. Sook-soo'-koo. Patwin/Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River, about 2.5 mi. E. of Hamilton (location plotted by Merriam on Maxwell sheet of 1906). Merriam (card file) lists Soo'-soo'ko'kah, which he records as a name used for the Sonoma tribe of the Patwin. Archaeological site Col-9 is located near the village (as plotted by Merriam); the site consists of a burial area, several house pits and a dance house used as late as the early 1900's (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility files).
3. Pah'-kem. Maidu. W. side of the confluence of Mud Creek and Big Chico Creek (location given by J. Frango to C. H. Merriam). Merriam (card file) lists the other spellings for the village as Paki, Pake, or Paiki.
4. O'-tah'-ke. Maidu. N. side of Chico Creek, about 2 mi. above the mouth (location plotted by Merriam on the Chico sheet of 1920). Powers (1874:420) refers to the village as Otakey, while in a later report (Powers 1877:282) he states that the Otaki were the inhabitants of the village of Otakūmni. Merriam (card file) describes the O-ta'-ki as the tribe in the village of O-ta-kum'-ni. Gatschet (1891:480) states: "*They call themselves Otakimma, because they dwell on the banks of Ótakim shéwi, their name for Chico Creek*". The village is also mentioned by Hodge (1910:163) as Otaki.
5. Bay'-he-yu. Maidu. About .5 mi. upstream from O'-tah'-ke, on the N. side of Chico Creek. Called Bah-yu by Dixon (1905: map plate 38), and Bai'yu by Powers (1877:282).
6. Yu'dow. Maidu. S. side of Big Chico Creek opposite Sandy Gulch Creek. The location of the village was indicated by J. Frango (Merriam card file).
7. Tsen'-no. Maidu. W. side of Sacramento River, about 4.5 miles downstream from the confluence of Chico Creek and the Sacramento. Kroeber (1932:266, 269) referred to the village as Ts'e'no.
8. Chan-no (Che'no). Patwin. About .5 mi. downstream from Tsen'-no, on W. side of Sacramento River. The similarity of the spelling of these two villages, as well as their geographic proximity, suggests that only one village may be involved. The Arguello diary of 1821 mentions the village as Cheno.

9. Pe-dow'kah. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River, opposite Munroeville Island (location given by J. Frango and recorded in Merriam card file). An alternate location was given to Merriam by Blind Tom of Poosoone (Merriam card file), who stated that the village was on the W. side of the Sacramento at this point, and that it was the lowermost southernmost village of the Wintoon (Patwin).
10. Soo'-noos. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River, S. of Parrot Landing, on Parrot Grant (located by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Hodge (1910:652) and Kroeber (1932:267, 269) notes the village as Sunusi, while in the Arguello diary of 1821, it is called Sunus. Other names recorded for the village include Su-nus, Sunis, Sunusi, and Su-nu (Merriam card file).
11. Baht-che. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River at Jacinto. Though it belonged primarily to the Patwin, it was at times shared by the Mitchopdo of the Maidu (J. Frango, in Merriam card file). Kroeber (1932:267, 269) referred to the village as Batsi'.
12. Yoot'-dok-kah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about .5 mi. S. of Jacinto (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
13. Mo-ning-we. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento river, just downstream from Yoot'-dok-kah. The name of the village comes from the Wintoon (Patwin) word Mo'-ming'we meaning "no water" (Merriam card file). Compare with Momi-ng-wi (Kroeber 1932:269).
14. Bah-hahp'-ke. Maidu. N. of Chico Creek, in the present town of Chico (formerly the Bidwell Ranch, as located by J. Frango). The term derives from a Maidu word meaning "straight tree" (Merriam card file).
15. Wah-nah'-tahm. Maidu. S. side of Sandy Gulch Creek, about 1 mi. NE of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
16. Tse'lim-nah. Maidu. N. side of Big Chico Creek, 3.0 to 3.5 mi. NE of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
17. Yow'-koo. Maidu. S. side of Big Chico Creek, 1 mi. above Tse'lim-nah (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
18. Mitch-ōp-de. Maidu. 4.5 mi. S. of Chico Creek on Little Butte Creek (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Kroeber (1932:268) refers to it as Michopodo (or Mits'ok). Powers (1877:282) refers to it as Mich-op'-do.

19. Wil-lil'-lim hoo'-loo-ko. Maidu. On Little Butte Creek, .5 to .75 mi. SW of Mitch-ŏp-de (location given by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
20. Sap'-se. Maidu. On Little Butte Creek, .5 mi. SE of Dayton (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
21. Ki-dak'-te. Maidu. .25 mi. E. of Sap'-se (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
22. Pe-tut'-taw. Maidu. 1 mi. S. of Dayton (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
23. Es'ken'ne. Maidu. W. side of Butte Creek, about .25 to .5 mi. E. of Durham (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). The village has also been noted by Powers (1874:420; 1877:282) as Es'kin; by Gatschet (1879:480) as Eskenimma; by Hodge (1907:437), and Kroeber (1932:267, 268) as E'sken. Other spellings of the village name include Es-ki-un, Erskin, and Erskines (Merriam card file). Archaeological site But-11 is situated near the village location. However, a historic site (with dance house) is located just to the W. of Durham and is recorded as But-5 (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility files).
24. Nem'sǎ-wǎ. Maidu. 15 mi. NE of Chico. Jack Frango told Merriam (card file) that this was the village of a foothill tribe, and that the name (recorded by Merriam as Nem-sě-we) is the Maidu word meaning "big creek".
25. Ti'kus-se. Maidu. At present Magalia, about 5 mi. NE of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). It is on the west side of a canyon leading into the W. branch of the Feather River. Other names for the village are: Taikus, Taikûshi, Tigres, and Tagus (Merriam card file).
26. Yum-mut-to. Maidu. At forks of Big and Little Butte Creek, about 7 or 8 miles E. of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
27. Tǎ-tan wu-ta. Maidu. 6 mi. NE of Chico; foothill village on Concow Creek (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Also known as Taptan-wu-tu and Tǎ-tan-wǔ-tǔ (Merriam card file).
28. Ti'-ine koi'-o. Maidu. Foothill village at Yankee Hill, N. side of Butte Creek, about 6 mi. E. of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Also spelled Ti'-ing koi'-yo (Merriam card file).

29. Paw'-puk-ka. Maidu. Foothill village at Cherokee, about 8 mi. SE of Chico (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Also known as Paw'-puk-ko (Merriam card file)
30. Mau'mah. Patwin. Within old oxbow of Sacramento River at Packer, on W. side of river about 3 mi. N. of Princeton. (Location given here as plotted by Merriam on the Maxwell sheet of 1906.)
31. Bo'-do (Bo-do'). Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, about 1.75 mi. N. of Princeton (location plotted by Merriam on Maxwell sheet of 1906).
32. Ket'te de'-he. Patwin. At the site of present Princeton, on W. side of Sacramento River. Merriam recorded the village as Ket-tee (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file), and it is most likely the village of K'eti noted by Kroeber (1932:259).
33. Chah-met'-ko. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, .5 mi. E. of Princeton (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file).
34. Chah' de'-he. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River at Boggs Bend 1.5 mi. S. of Princeton (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Merriam notes (card file) that the village was also known as "Packer Rancheria", and was the next largest Patwin village after Ko'-roo. Kroeber (1932:259) refers to it as T'sa', while the Arguello diary of 1821 calls it Cha. Other spellings include: Tsah'-ahs (Merriam card file).
35. Wi'-ter-ry. Patwin. W. bank of Sacramento River, 5 mi. below Princeton and 9 mi. above Colusa (location obtained by Merriam from resident of site in 1903; Merriam card file). Kroeber has recorded the village as Waitere (1932:259). Other terms for the village include Wi'-ter'-re, Wy-terre, and Wi-tel'-lis (Merriam card file).
36. Si'-de'-he. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 6 mi. above Colusa and 1 mi. N. of Kah-childe'he (Merriam card file)
37. Kah'childe'-he (Kah'-chil de'-he). Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 1 mi. downstream from Si' de'-he (Merriam card file). This village was still in existence in 1923, and known as the Cachil-dehe Indian Reservation (Merriam card file).
38. Saw'-mah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, just below Hamilton Bend and about 3 mi. N. of Colusa (location plotted by Merriam on Maxwell sheet of 1906). This may be the village of Sôma listed by Kroeber (1932:260).

39. Si'-ko-pe. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, across from Swa'-mah (location plotted by Merriam on Maxwell sheet of 1906).
40. Tat'-nah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 2.5 mi. N. of Colusa, according to Merriam's plotting of the site on Maxwell sheet of 1906; however, in his card file the village is described as being on "Colonel Hager's land 4 miles above Colusa." It has been mentioned by Kroeber (1929:258 and 1932:260) as Ta'tno or Tatno. See also Merriam (1966:61) and Rogers (1891:30).
41. Til-til. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 1.5 mi. above Colusa (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone; Merriam card file). Other references to the village are by Kroeber (1929:258) and Merriam (1966:61). Archaeological site Col-8 (now destroyed) was located less than 1 mi. to the S. (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility files).
42. Ko'pe de'-he. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, across from Colusa (location plotted by Merriam on Powell Slough sheet of 1918).
43. Ko'-roo. Patwin. At the present site of Colusa. It has been referred to as Koru (Kroeber 1932:260); Corú (Arguello diary of 1821), Colus (Rogers, 1891:30), Colus (Sutter diary, p. 55); and Korusi (Powers, 1877:219). Merriam (card file) lists other spellings, including Corusies, Colusi, and Koroo.
44. Dok'-dok. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, about 1.25 mi. SE of Colusa (location plotted by Merriam on Meridian sheet of 1912). Rogers (1891:30) refers to the village as Doc-doc, while other spellings of the village name include: Doc-duc, Dok'-duk, Ducdac, and Duc-Duc (Merriam card file).
45. Koo-koo-e. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 3 mi. below Colusa (Merriam card file). Kroeber (1929:258) (1932:260) has called the village Ku'ikui and Kukui.
46. No'pah. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, at presentday Meridian (location plotted by Merriam on Meridian sheet of 1912). It seems to be one of the villages plotted by Jackson in 1849 and Ellis (1850; see Wheat 1942:76).
47. O'-no'-li. About 9 mi. E. of Sacramento River, in the SE part of the Marysville Buttes, 2 mi. NW of Sutter (location plotted by Merriam on Marysville sheet of 1920). Merriam has a map in file T/191-t/G44 (Winton: Southern Division) which places O'-no'-li on boundary between Patwin to W. and Maidu to E. (See Dixon 1905:125, area claimed by both; Maidu were dominant).

48. Kah-pi'-ah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, on N. side of the mouth of Sycamore Slough (Merriam card file; listed as Ka-pi'de'-he). Kroeber refers to the village as Kapaya (1929:258).
49. Hol'-wah. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, 2 mi. above Grimes (location plotted by Merriam on Grimes sheet of 1911). It may be shown on the Jackson map of 1849.
50. Si-yi. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, just above Grimes (see Merriam 1966:61).
51. Lòk-lòk-mah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, a little N. of Grimes, as located by Frango (Merriam card file); however, Merriam's plotting of the site (Grimes sheet of 1911), places the village just to the S. of Grimes. Merriam (card file) calls the village Lok'-lok de'-he; other references include Kroeber (1929:258) who refers to it as Lo'klok' and Kroeber (1932:260) who renders it as Lo'klomatinbe.
52. No-wid'de-he. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River at Grimes Ranch, downstream from Grimes (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Kroeber mentions the village as Nowidihi (1932:260). The village appears to be the archaeological site of Col-23, a midden described by early residents as a "Colusi village site" (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).
53. Sah'-kah. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, 5 mi. above Ko-sim'-po (or Kus) as located by Blind Tom of Poosoone (Merriam card file); but, Merriam (location shown on Marysville sheet of 1920) places it on the W. (technically the S.) side of the Sacramento. The village is mentioned by Kroeber (1929:258; 1932:260) as Sa'kas, and by Merriam (1966:61).
54. Yal'-le de'-he. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, about 2 mi. SE of Grimes (location plotted by Merriam on Tisdale Weir sheet of 1912). Kroeber (1929:258; 1932:260) refers to the village as Ya'li dihi, or Yali.
55. Si'-kol. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River about 3 mi. SE of Grimes (location plotted by Merriam on Tisdale Weir sheet of 1912).
56. No'mah-chup'-pin. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 4 mi. SE of Grimes (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). Kroeber (1932:261) calls the village No'matsapin.

57. No'-wis-ap'-pe. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, about 1.25 mi. S. of No'mah-chup'-pin (location plotted by Merriam on Tisdale Weir sheet of 1912). The village has been called No'wisapel by Kroeber (1929:258) and No'-is-ap-pe by Merriam (1966:61). It is the archaeological site of Col-7 (Nowi) as recorded in the U.C. Archaeological Research Facility.

58. Ko-sim'-po. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River about 2.5 mi. N. of Cranmore (Merriam card file). Merriam (1966:61) elsewhere refers to the village as Kus, while Kroeber (1932:261) calls it Kusêmpu.

59. No'-we-'hla'-ah. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River about 1.5 mi. NW of Cranmore, just upstream from Steiner Bend (location plotted by Merriam on Tisdale Weir sheet of 1912).

60. Hól'-lup-pi. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River at Steiner Bend, about 1 mi. N. of Cranmore (location plotted by Merriam on Tisdale Weir sheet of 1912). Powers (1877:282) refers to a village called Hol-o-lu-pai; however, this does not appear to be the same village since Merriam (card file) lists Hol-o'-lu-pai as a Maidu village on the W. bank of the Feather River opposite Oroville.

61. Koh'-pah de'-he. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River at Cranmore (location plotted by Merriam on Dunnigan sheet of 1907).

62. Chah'-kah de'-he. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River above Boyer's Bend, about 2.5 mi. SW of Cranmore (location plotted by Merriam on Dunnigan sheet of 1907). This may be the village of Tsaki noted by Kroeber (1932:261, 269). Archaeological site Col-1 is at this location, and was partially excavated by University of California in the late 1930's (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).

63. Pā-lo (Pā'-lah). Patwin. Merriam card file lists Pa-lon as a village on W. side of Sacramento River above Knights Landing. Merriam plotted the site on the Dunnigan sheet of 1907, showing it about 11 mi. N. of Knights Landing, and 2 mi. E. of Howells Point, on the W. side of the Sacramento. The site is noted by Kroeber (1932:261) and may be the archaeological site of Col-2 (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).

64. Ho-lo'-lum. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento, below Collins Eddy, about 8 mi. NW of Knights Landing (location plotted by Merriam, on Dunnigan sheet of 1907). This village has been mentioned by Kroeber (1932:261). It may be the archaeological site of Yol-5 (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).

65. Cha'-che de'he. Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, 8 mi. upstream (5 mi. due NW) of Knights Landing (Merriam card file). Merriam (1966:61 calls it Cha-che. It is archaeological site Yol-6 (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility; U.S.G.S. maps of the area show it as "Indian Mound").
66. Yo'-doi (Yud'-deh). Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River near Knight's Landing (location by J. Frango; Merriam card file). It has been noted by Kroeber (1929:258; 1932:261), and by Barrett (1908:294). It seems to be the same as the village of Yo-det'-a-bi mentioned by Powers (1877:219). Archaeological site Yol-7 (a very large midden in the town of Knights Landing) may mark its location (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).
67. Wal'-lok. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River at the confluence with Feather River (location plotted by Merriam on Vernon sheet of 1910). Kroeber (1929:257) has called this Wo'lok; in another publication, Kroeber (1932:268) places the village of Tanku at the presumed location of Wal'lok (at the mouth of the Feather River). On the Vioget map the rancheria Welagamnes seems to be the same as Wal'lok. The log of the ship "Alert" (1841) mentions the Walagumnes. The village is also noted by Merriam (1966:62), and is the archaeological site of Sut-11 (U. C. Archaeological Research Facility).
68. Hol'-lo-wi. Maidu. W. side of Sacramento River opposite the mouth of Feather River (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone; Merriam card file). The location of the village (but without its name) is shown on Vioget's 1841 map of New Helvetia. It is the archaeological site of Yol-12 (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).
69. Poo-soo'-ne. Maidu. N. bank of American River, .25 mi. above mouth, and now within the city of Sacramento (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone in 1950; Merriam card file). Kroeber (1929:256) calls the village Puso'ne or Pucúne; other references to it include: Merriam (1966:60, 62), Powers (1874:22; 1877:315), Mason (1881:256), Thompson and West (1880:25) and Sutter letter of 1846 (as Pushuné).
70. Sah-mah. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River about 3 mi. S. of Poo-soo'-ne, and within the present city of Sacramento (location plotted by Merriam on the Davisville sheet of 1913. Kroeber (1929:257; 1932:267) refers to the village as Sama; it is also noted by Merriam (1966:62).
71. Yám-man-hu. Maidu. E. of Feather River and N. of Yuba River at their confluence at Marysville (location plotted by Merriam on Yuba City sheet of 1911). It is also noted by Kroeber (1929:257).

72. Yu'-bah. Maidu. S. side of Yuba River and E. side of Feather at their confluence (Merriam card file). This village is an important one, mentioned in numerous sources. Kroeber (1929:257; 1932:267-268) refers to it as Yupu (or Yu-pu). Frémont (1849:20) calls it Yuva, while Sutter (letter of 1846) refers to it as Yubu. The Vioget map (1841) notes it as the rancheria Yuba, and Powers (1877:282) calls it Yú-ba. The Merriam card file lists a number of references appearing in mid-19th century newspapers of the area. For example, the Sacramento Daily Transcript (August 17, 1850) mentions that the village has 180 inhabitants.
73. Mo-law'-kum. Maidu. S. side of Yuba River about 1 mi. above the mouth (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone; Merriam card file). It has been noted by Kroeber (1929:257).
74. Yu-kool-me. Maidu. Opposite Plumas Landing on Feather River (W. side), about 3 to 4 mi. above Hock Farm (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone; Merriam card file). The village has been noted by a number of sources. Kroeber mentions it in 1929 (p. 257) and 1932 (p.268) as Yu-kulmi). In his letter of 1846, Sutter refers to Yukulme, and the Vioget map of 1841 notes it as Tukalme (Yakalme). Other references include Powers (1877:282) Kūl-meh, the 1841 log of the ship "Alert" (Unkulemnes), Chamberlain and Wells (1879:13), Bancroft (1874:450), and Hodge (1910:1009) Yukolumni. It is difficult to be certain, but the village may be represented on the map of Willeson and Adams (1851). The Sacramento Daily Union of November 27, 1856 quotes General Sutter who gave the following population estimate as of that date: "There are. . . of the Yūkulmey, seven men, four women, and one child". The village is also recorded as Yok-kol-mēh and Yok'kol (Merriam card file).
75. Hol'-lah. Maidu. E. side of Feather River, and S. of the mouth of Bear River (location plotted by Merriam on the Nicolaus sheet of 1910). Kroeber (1929:257) notes the village as Ho'-lo; another reference to it appears in Powers (1877:282). In Merriam's card file, Hol'-lah is described as a village on the E. side of the Feather River about 1.5 mi. above the village of Lim'-mahn (location by Blind Tom of Poosoone).
76. Ol'-las. Maidu. W. side of Feather River, across from Lim'-mahn (present day Princeton; location plotted by Merriam on the Nicolaus sheet of 1910). Powers (1874:420) places the village a little more to the north, stating that it is situated "opposite the mouth of Bear River". Other references to the village appear in Kroeber (1932:267, Olash) and Kroeber (1929:257, O'-lac), as well as the Sutter diary (Olash) and the Vioget map (listed as rancheria Olasch on E. side of

Feather). Merriam (card file) states that the village of Nis-se-pā-we-nam was on the W. side of the Feather opposite Princeton, and this may be another name for Ol'-las. Merriam further stated (card file) that Blind Tom of Poosoone told him that the term "Olis" referred to a Pā-we-nan chief who lived at Hol'-wah.

77. Lim'-mahn. Maidu. E. side of Feather River, at the site of present-day Princeton (location plotted by Merriam on Nicolaus sheet of 1910). Also known as Lim'nǎ, Laman, Lamames, Lamanes, Mǎnne, or Lamanne.

ADDITIONAL SACRAMENTO VALLEY VILLAGES

In his study of the Patwin, Kroeber (1932) gives rather specific locations for several villages not plotted on Merriam's maps (p. 268, 269). These have been checked, and in a few cases, additional data were obtained; they are listed and briefly described below:

- A. Hock. Maidu. W. side of Sacramento River, near Hock Farm (residence of J. A. Sutter), about 6 mi. S. of Yuba City (location compiled from sources listed below). The references to this village are many, and include: Kroeber (1929:257; 1932:267, 268, as Hok or Hoko); Powers (1877:282, as Hoak); the log of the ship "Alert" (1841); Chamberlain and Wells (1879:13); Dixon (1905:124, as Hoako), Wozencraft (1853:206, as Hoak), Hale (1846:631, as Huk) and Sutter letter of 1846. It is shown on the maps of Vioget (1841) and Tyson (1851), and may also be represented on the 1851 map of Milleson and Adams. Derby (1849:9) noted that "about 200 yards above the farmhouse [Sutter's Hock Farm] is situated a rancheria of Indians, some 300 in number". The Sacramento Daily Transcript of August 17, 1850 (see Document 5) recorded 70 to 100 persons living at the village, while an excerpt from the November 27, 1856 issue of the Sacramento Daily Union reads: "General Sutter has furnished....the following returns of the Indians in that vicinity, according to the tribes. The aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. According to this authority, there are of the Hock tribe, at the rancheria near Hock Farm, ten men, seven women, and three children...". Other names for the village include: Hok-hok, Hocktem, and Ho-ah-ko (Merriam card file). The archaeological site Sut-5 apparently represents the old Indian village (U.C. Archaeological Research Facility).
- B. Ko'doi (-dihi). Patwin. 1 mi. below Sah'-kak (see No. 53) on W. side of Sacramento River, nearly opposite Si-kol (see No. 55) approx. 3 mi. SE of Grimes (Merriam card file).

- C. Tehemet. Patwin. At present-day Tehama (not shown on accompanying maps) on E. side of Sacramento River. Bancroft (1874:362) states that the "Tehamas" are a tribe "from whom the county takes its name".
- D. Pinhuk. Maidu. At present day Butte City on Sacramento River.
- E. Mulī. Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River, between Big Chico Creek and Sandy Creek; main village on knoll .5 mi. from Big Chico Creek.
- F. Olwenem. Patwin. W. side of Sacramento River, near the mouth of Thomas Creek (not shown on accompanying maps).
- G. Da-mak. Patwin (?). W. side of Sacramento River, at the mouth of Redbank Creek, 2 mi. below Red Bluff (not shown on accompanying maps).
- H. T'inik(-dihi). Patwin. E. side of Sacramento River, opposite Ko'doi(-dihi). This may be another name for the village of Si-kol (see No. 55) or a separate unit.
- I. Pelmem. Patwin/Maidu. E. side of Sacramento River, at the mouth of Deer Creek, near Vina (not shown on accompanying maps).

Bibliography

Abbreviations Used

- UC University of California
 -ASR Archaeological Survey Reports, Berkeley
 -PAAE Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology

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Sacramento Valley
Documents 1a-c. Some Indian Censuses of 1846 and 1847 *

Document 1a

John A. Sutter, Sub-Indian Agent, in a letter of December 20, 1847 to H. W. Halleck, Secretary of State, listed the native population "east of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers". Sutter wrote:

"In compliance with the request contained in your circular addressed to me Sept. 18, 1847, I have the honor to transmit herewith the enclosed statistical information that with much difficulty I have been able to gather by different sources from this district, comprising the country east of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers....Great pains have been taken with the census and I think it is correct. The tame Indians are what are called the Christian Indians and those that have been civilized since the settlement of the valley by the whites, and are employed in the shops of the Fort,[Sutter's Fort] and as vaqueros and working men of the different farms. Many of the wild Indians also come into the settlements at harvest time, and assist to gather the crops. The wild Indians are those that live in the rancherias. Those [Indians] as far [east] as the base of the California mountains [Sierra Nevadas] are only taken in this census. The eastern side of the California mountains is thickly settled with wild Indians, who are generally at war with the numerous small tribes at the base, and do not visit the valley; their number I am not able to give....The Indians of this census are divided into about 70 small tribes, speaking some 20 different languages...."

* This and the two following records are in The McKinstry Documents, Bancroft Library. Document 1a is by J. A. Sutter; Document 1b is by J. Bidwell; Document 1c is by Judge McKinstry.

"Statistics of population etc. of the district including the country east of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers. Territory of Upper Calif., Dec. 20, 1847.

Population	Males	Females	Total
Whites	218	71	289
Tame Indians, or neophytes	305	173	478
Wild Indians or gentiles	11,224	10,649	21,873
Half breed Indian children	3	7	10
Sandwich Islanders	4	1	5
Negroes	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	11,755	10,901	22,656

Document 1b

The following is a copy of a letter from John Bidwell to Gen. Sutter on the subject of Indian population in the Upper Sacramento Valley:

"New Salem, December 21, 1847

Capt. J. A. Sutter -- Dear Sir: Inclosed I send you the population of the valley from the [Marysville] Buttes upwards. The white population is correct; the Indian population is not overrated....

Population	Males	Females	Total
Whites	58	24	82
Tame Indians	7	12	19
Wild Do.	<u>10,000</u>	<u>9,500</u>	<u>19,500</u>
			19,601

Document 1c

Names of Part of the Tribes of Indians in the Sacramento Valley and their number. November 1846.

<u>Tame Indians or Neophytes</u>							
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>		<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lakisimné	28	16	44	Secumné	23	26	49
Shonomnes	11	6	17	Pushuné	43	40	83
Tawalemmes	25	21	46	Oioksécumné	16	19	35
Seywamenes	21	24	45	Nemshau	29	21	50
Mukelemnes	45	36	81	Palanshau	17	18	35
Cosumne	<u>34</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>59</u>	Ustu	25	14	39
Totals	164	128	292	Olash	30	22	52
				Yukulmé	12	11	23
				Hock	39	40	79
<u>Wild Indians or Gentiles</u>				Sishu	54	49	103
Sagayacumné	27	20	47	Mimal	22	16	38
Louklumnes	43	45	88	Yubu	56	65	121
Olonutchamne	31	23	54	Bubu	19	16	35
Newatchumne	31	30	61	Honcut	<u>41</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>86</u>
Yumagatock	21	15	36		1224	1149	2373
Shalachmushumné	32	18	50				
Omutschamne	18	9	27				
Yusumné	35	49	84				
Yule eyumné	124	113	237	Tame Indians at			
Yamlock-lock	40	27	67	New Helvetia and			
Lapototot	45	29	74	Hock Farm	85	18	103
Yalesumné	228	257	485				
Wapoomné	75	67	142				
Kiskey (Kisky)	48	45	93				

Document 2

Spanish Exploring Expedition to Sacramento Valley, 1821.

In 1821 Capt. Luis Arguello led an expedition from San Francisco some 50 leagues N for the purpose of ejecting some Americans or Englishmen whom it was rumored were settling in the country. The expedition was often referred to as Arguëllo's Expedition to the Columbia River. Fr. Blas Ordaz accompanied the expedition and kept a diary in which he mentions the following tribes and rancherias: Benenuc, Caguillome, Canucaymos, Catalillomi, Capa, Cha, Cheno, Chiyasayacume, Chugelempa or Chuguelempa, Corú, Dacdac, Ehita, Gapetely, Goroy, Gualactole, Gualactos, Guiguillomi, Guiritoy, Hutulrabe, Libantiliyami, Libaytos, Llali, Lonita, Magma, Olompali, Pachí, Poquetoe, Pulpunnes, Satumtutillami, Suisun, Suñus, Teroti, Tuyaja, Ululatos.

The following is a translation made in 1917 from a copy of Fr. Ordaz's diary in the Bancroft Library entitled "Diario de la Expedicion del Sr. Don. Luis Arguëllo 1821," Arch. Sta. Barbara Mission, Vol. IV, pp. 161-190, 1806-1821. It was carefully compared [by S. R. Clemence] in 1919 with the original MS at the Mission of Sta. Barbara, a 32-page 8vo document, numbered 824. Typographical errors in rancheria names in the copy of the diary at the Bancroft Library are given in footnotes to the following translation.

Dr. H. I. Priestley in an article on Expeditions sent out from California Missions (in galley proof, not published) gives an abstract of this diary, and his identifications of localities are here given in footnotes.

An account of the expedition with an abstract of the Ordaz Diary is given in Bancroft, History of California, Vol. II, pp. 446-449, 1885.

Pedro Amador, who accompanied the expedition also gives an account of it in his Memorias sobre Historical California, MS, Bancroft Library, 1877.

Diary of the Expedition of Don Luis Arguello Commander: written by Fr. Blas Ordaz, chaplain of the Expedition.

October 19.-- Set out from the port at 11 in the morning with course into the N, which direction was followed until 5 or 6 in the afternoon arriving at the boundaries of the asistencia of San Rafael, contiguous to the estero...thence course to the E to one of the boundaries of San Pablo called Ruyuta where we rested tonight having arrived between 9 and 10 at night, on which site we made permanent camp until the following day.

Oct. 19.-- Set sail to the E, to the Carquines river, where we saw on the right of the coast the boat San Francisco Solano which arrived the previous night.

Oct. 20.-- Last night one of the boats arrived from the Mission of San Josef, which was in the Pulpunes manned by three vestantes, to begin to transport the horses which in truth was done, the troops occupying themselves with this as the time permitted. It also happened that some Ululatos and Canucaymos appeared who were going to make a visit in their country, and it was determined to transport them in order that they might hear mass on the following feast day.

Oct. 21.-- This day Sunday, celebrated mass, all the troops assisting, formed in two sections together with the Ululatos and Canucaymos Indians, who for this purpose had been transported the preceding day. But from the urgent necessity of beginning the journey, it was necessary, as soon as mass was over, for the troops to employ themselves in ferrying over the rest of the horses that had remained the day before, and the order was given to the Ululatos and Canucaymos Indians to withdraw to their lands, advising the neighboring rancherias by means of runners, not to leave their houses, for although the troops would tread their boundaries, they were not going to seek them to do them harm, and so they were to be quiet; and we would be very glad to find them peaceful.

Oct. 22.-- Took road to the E that leads to the Suisun, in whose proximity there was a water hole at the foot of a hill, which was named Poza de San Blas: there we camped for a time and after a limited sojourn, undertook the march following the plain of the Suisun until 5 in the afternoon, where a site was found to pass the night.

Oct. 23.-- Marched at 8 in the morning taking the road to the N and at 3 in the afternoon arrived at the rancheria of the Ululatos where we rested for a short time. Tried to investigate this rancheria to see if

there were any dangerously sick, and in truth there was a child about to die which was baptised with the name of Antonio. But astonished at the small number of gentiles that there were in this rancheria (for there were not more than 30). I asked some of the Christians who were there to explain to me the reason; to which they answered that they had just arrived, but according to the story of their neighbors, it seemed they had had war with the Gualactos whom that havoc had wearied. With these assurances I went away when I repeatedly heard the call to take up the march and we immediately went on. And at 6 in the afternoon arrived at the rancheria of Libaytos, who previously notified of the troops received us without fear, . . . In this rancheria I should say there are about 50 Indians, the rest being away for the time to gather seeds, but according to the houses there might be 400 Indians of both sexes. Adjoining this rancheria there is a river of considerable size to which we gave the name of San Pedro,¹ on the opposite side of which we camped to pass the night.

Oct. 24.-- At nine in the morning when the troop was all ready, we had news that the next rancheria was well peopled and that the inhabitants were warlike, a fact which had been little appreciated. . . We took the road to the N having taken some guides, and at one or two in the afternoon sighted a rancheria named Ehita; on the way some Indians were found gathering seeds, who having been warned of our coming ran away although we overtook some of them. This rancheria is situated on the shores of a river² facing a grove covered with oaks and live oaks which protect it. Our visit would have been pleasant but for the cries of the voices of its inhabitants . . . Peace assured the troops filed to the right at a short distance from the rancheria, where some chiefs came up who were called with the idea of taking them for guides and at 3 or 4 of the same afternoon, the march was resumed on the same road, camping after two leagues where they passed the night. This rancheria from the number of houses would have about 900 people.

Oct. 25.-- At 9 o'clock resumed march with road to N and to the E, following it up to 12 in the morning when we came to a rancheria named Goroy,³ situated on the banks of the river Jesus Maria and fortified by a stockade that formed a wall. Our visit here was very pleasant; the land although uncultivated seemed very good, for wild grapes abounded. It had more than a thousand inhabitants, who as soon as the troop was seen immediately began to give voice to welcome our arrival (they had

¹ Priestly: Putah Creek.

² Priestly: Cache Creek.

³ Priestly: On Sacramento River, at a spot not far north of Grimes.

been previously told by one of the Gentiles that we promised to do them no harm). They showed their welcome in the terms by which they called us, which they used sparingly for we heard nothing except these words, Buey, Guerete, Guerete, which according to the interpreter Rafael is the same as to say, welcome, welcome, it is good. These gentiles formed themselves on the fort which served them as a wall; but the troop that traveled in column went to the right on the left side of the rancheria in order to take the bank of the river on a little hill that was beautified by a grove. It was very high in this place so more comfortable in the excessive heat; there immediately visited us a chief with his gang who brought the present (a custom no doubt among them); the present consisted of guego of coras, several different secles and some mecates. Several questions were asked them about the establishment we were looking for, to which they answered that at the rancheria Guiritoy¹ two men like us had arrived and that there we could get more definite information. This caused us sufficient pleasure and made us want to find out the truth. We resumed the march between 2 and 3 in the afternoon carrying some guides that these natives offered us with road to the NW, and at 8 at night after having traveled 4 leagues camped on the bank of the aforesaid river where we passed the night.²

Oct. 26.-- At 9 in the morning we resumed the march road to the NW until 5 in the afternoon, when we sighted the rancheria Guiritoy, situated on the bank of the river Jesus Maria in a spacious plain. It has in front of it about a gunshot's distance away a spacious grove of large oaks that form a line of almost 10 leagues. The inhabitants amount to more than 1600 people of both sexes, counting the 3 rancherias that are like suburbs of this. One is about a cannon shot away on the left; one other in the rear and very near, and the third on the opposite side of the river. Two leagues before arriving we discerned 5 signal smokes which they have to assemble the people. The troop followed their march according to the direction of the guides and having arrived at the oak wood that dominated it, immediately heard the formidable voices and mingled cries of several threats and other indications of war breaking out, but did not attach much value to it for they were accustomed to hear them. So knowing their obstinacy (for they did not want to assist or even give ear to their supplications which were made by means of the interpreter, the neophyte Rafael of the Mission of San Francisco, before they broke forth into threats) the Commander saw the necessity of having the troops fall back, drew his troops into line of battle, ordered the cannon brought up to frighten them and at the same time charged on them. At this all became silent and fled precipitately, part through the adjoining woods and part by the river adjacent to their houses where it was presumed (from the story of some soldiers that two gentiles who were wounded were submerged in the running water.

¹ Erroneously spelled Guitistoy in copy in Bancroft Library.

² Priestly: Probably not above Colusa.

(Baptized a wounded gentile) ... Camped on the banks of the river near the river where we spent the night.¹

Oct. 27.--The night before while at prayers it was observed that the Indians who went away to the opposite side of the river, shot some arrows at our camp, two of them in fact falling a short distance from the circle that the troop formed. For this reason the commander doubled the guard, with express orders at the least noise that was heard, to shoot for the purpose of frightening them, which were executed, but nothing occurred during the night. The next morning after reveille, a considerable number of gentiles were seen on the opposite side of the river, who attracted by curiosity, were undecided about crossing the river, divided between fear of the attack of the previous day and the novelty that a people unknown to them caused. It was necessary for the commander to send out the interpreter Rafael in order to quiet them and make them lose their fear. This was done and they, perceiving that no harm would be done them, according to the admonitions made, some of them decided to cross the river although with suspicion and fear as their appearance indicated. As soon as they saw the civility with which they were treated, they called to the others camped on the opposite side of the river, giving them fribolas reasons which induced them. The greater part of the morning passed in this way, until following the guides, we resumed the march at 1 or 2 in the afternoon with road to the N and at 5 or 6 reached our goal, the rancheria of Capá without meeting the least resistance.²

Oct. 28.-- After mass resumed march at 10 in the morning, road to N and at 5 in the afternoon the troop camped in the rancheria of Cha, where we were received with great content by the inhabitants, who set out with several banners to meet us. All of the children up to the age of 14 years were arranged in the vicinity of the houses, forming an oval in each one of them, from which form their number was calculated to be 400 or 500; and of older people there seemed to be about 1,000. And on the way here there was another rancheria near this named Corú with a sufficient number of inhabitants, where a short stop was made to glean information relative to our departure.

Oct. 29.--Resumed march at 9 in the morning after having followed some guides that took the road to the N in which passage were found the rancherias named Teroti, Hutulrabe, Dacdac and Pachi', where we did not make any stop until at five in the afternoon we perceived the rancheria Sunūs and not being able to pass on because of the scarcity of pasture and water, the troop camped in the rancheria Sunūs remaining here until the following day.

¹ Priestly: "They reached the latitude of Glenn."

² Priestly: "Bancroft queries as modern Capay, opposite Chico. This would make the journey average 17 miles a day, which is not impossible."

Oct. 30.-- Having arrived at the point where the interpreters were ignorant of the language of the natives, it was necessary to talk to them by signs, to make them understand that some guides were asked for. For which purpose some were offered, and between 8 and 9 we began the march to the N and on the way we found the rancherías Cheno and Llali at a short distance from which the troop camped at 5 in the afternoon, the place being suitable. The place where we found ourselves was at the foot of the Sierra Madre where, as we were informed by the English interpreter Juan Antonio, can be seen two mountains named Los Quates [=the twins] on the opposite side of which was the presidio and river of the Columbia. The rancherías mentioned up to now were situated on the banks of the river Jesus Maria¹ from where in the morning we took a different direction according to the signs which the natives indicated.

Oct. 31.-- Between 8 and 9 in the morning we resumed the march with road to the W until coming to the foot of a mountain 15 leagues distant from the Sierra Nevada which runs from S to N ending in the site of Bodega (Russian possession) and between 7 and 8 at night, we found a rancheria of whose name we were ignorant because of the lack of an interpreter of the language of the natives, who as soon as they learned from the noise that the troops were in the vicinity of their houses, began to shoot arrows and immediately voices were heard so confused that we could not understand what they said. We opened fire on them and made them retreat. But it was not enough; they kept on following, although at some distance, with their usual cries, that lasted for the space of two hours. As we could not determine the victims who died because the night was getting dark, the commander ordered the troop to withdraw a gunshot away from the rancheria and to camp in suitable site where we remained until the following day.

Nov. 1.-- In the morning we heard the outcry like that of the preceding night and in a short time saw some gentiles who were approaching the camp, showing by their various gestures that they forgave us, for they had proceeded in ignorance judging us to be gentiles from another rancheria, their enemies. At which I gave them satisfaction, showing them that we would not do them any harm and that our coming was in search of other people, like ourselves; that we were sorry that our approach frightened them, but that we thought they would give us guides for the road, which was accomplished although with some difficulty because of our ignorance of the language. A short time after mass, we resumed the march, road to the S, which followed the base of the sierra by the bank of the river, which was adjacent to this

¹ Priestly: Sacramento River. "If they were now at Red Bluff, as Bancroft surmises, they would have turned W. by Cottonwood Creek, and probably did not go north as far as Shasta or Weaver-ville."

rancheria, to which [the river] was given the name of Todos Santos.¹ And at 5 in the afternoon the troop camped on the bank of this river, having previously found a rancheria with a small number of inhabitants, who were found to have scattered. Passed the night in the aforesaid site.

Nov. 2.-- At 8 or 9 in the morning resumed the march road to S between two rugged sierras until 5 in the afternoon where we found a rancheria (we remained ignorant of the names of most of them because the interpreter did not understand the language) named Tuyaja where the neophyte interpreter Rafael could understand one of their inhabitants, by which means some information was acquired....Camped at this rancheria on the bank of the river, which gentiles agree is that of the Todos Santos, where we remained until the following day.

Nov. 3.-- Resumed the march at 9 in the morning after having acquired 3 guides, road to the S following the course over the mountain that each day became more difficult, and at 5 in the afternoon saw a rancheria named Benenuc having passed the rancherias Lonita, Gapetely and Poqueto, all peopled with gentiles, from which natives we found that some time ago four men on horseback had passed. In this rancheria Benenuc one of the natives was seen with a vara of blue cloth and a tunic of the same color; asked where he got it, he said from other gentiles on the coast who had communication with the establishments and lived there and from the direction which they pointed it would seem to be the establishment of Bodega . . . Desiring to know something more with more certainty, the commander ordered the night to be passed in this rancheria named Benenuc.

Nov. 4.-- After mass marched at 10 in the morning direction SW. On the way after having passed two mountains adjacent to the first, two valleys were found of appreciable situation and fertility, to the first of which we gave the name of Sta. Chatalina and to the second Na. Sa. del Carmen: before arriving at that of Carmen we found a rancheria named Chugelempa, leaving out two others that were omitted because so small, all inhabited according to their size, and at 6 at night camped to pass the night in the valley of Na. Sa. del Carmen.

Nov. 5.-- Resumed the march at 9 in the morning direction S which direction undertaken, by the natives of this transit, followed the same mountain, although more elevated and rough; in which roughness we passed the greater part of the day, until we found a little valley where an arroyo comes out, then ends between this and another mountain higher than the pre-

¹ Priestly: "Might have been Trinity, as Pedro Amador, who was on the expedition, afterward wrote [Memorias, 19-23]...more likely Eel River."

vious one, which locality because so difficult was named mountain of Maltrato and Arroyo de Sal si Puedes where there was a rancheria by name Chuguelempa, situated on its banks. Where having arrived between 6 and 7 we camped for the night.

Nov. 6.-- At 8 in the morning the troop moved, guided by some natives of the rancheria Chuguelempa toward the S along the same mountain until we found ourselves fha, without seeing anything except a sheer precipice, which in truth proved itself, 4 mules laden with food having fallen as far as an arroyo that there was in its depths, and we were able to extricate them with much difficulty. For this reason, in order not to lose our beasts, the troop went on foot through several places although with some risk until 12 when we made camp... In consideration of the difficulty of the mountain and the risks that it offered, the watering place was named the arroyo of the dangers (Arroyo de los Peligros) from where a more propitious side was seen at which short distance there was a small rancheria named Caguillomé¹ from where we took a guide that directed us by those of the Satuntutillami and Gualactole where we arrived at 6 in the afternoon and camped to pass the night. From this place several soldiers of the expedition searched the coast for the establishment of the Russian Bodega.

Nov. 7.-- At 8 in the morning began march direction S, some of the natives of the rancheria Guiaguillomi going as guides led us as far as that of Catalillomi where they were put at liberty, and we took others from this last. Between these two there is another rancheria named Oleyomi, all inhabited by gentiles; and at 6 in the afternoon we came to a rancheria called Chiyasayacume where we stopped to pass the night. This day we saw from one of the mountains of the sierra the sea coast and Cape Mendocino,² which was at the right about 15 or 20 leagues away whose passage was so steep and dangerous that it has been named El Espinazo del Diablo.

Nov. 8.-- At 9 resumed the march by the same road to the S over the sierra already mentioned and having arrived at a rancheria named Magma which was about 2 leagues away, two guides fled and we could not find them because of the rough character of the mountain. We remained in this place, when there was occasion to go a few steps 4 gentiles, fugitives from the neighboring rancherias, showed rebellion, discharging some arrows at two soldiers whom they had anticipated and the troop immediately arriving took them prisoners, but rather than do them any harm they gave two their liberty and the others remained as guides, continuing the journey with them until 6 in the afternoon when we arrived at a valley to which we gave the name Buena Esperanza in which

¹ Erroneously spelled Caguitlomé in copy in Bancroft Library.

² Priestly: "Point Arena?"

neighborhood there was an arroyo that we named San Ygnacio¹ where we camped for the night.

Nov. 9.-- Between 10 and 11 resumed march in the same S direction taking as guide a gentile who took the direction penetrating the rest of the sierra until arriving at a sublime eminence, from where we saw larger and more dangerous mountains than the ones previously passed and so we remained on high without knowing what means to take. Until having taken stock of the food of which there was enough for only three days and most of the horses remaining dead on the road from much work, scarcity of pasture and difficult passage, it was thought best that the guide should take another direction to go down to a valley in which another ended called Libantiliyami, contiguous to this mountain on whose elevation it was growing dark; the guide took this means of fleeing by some very steep gorges with bushes. But God be praised, some of the soldiers started after him as soon as they saw him and overtook him, punishing him. Already the shades of night were falling and in this difficult situation in which we found ourselves . . . the horses could scarcely keep their feet on account of the many leaves of trees with which the ground was covered. At 10 at night we arrived at the aforesaid site of the valley where we passed the night. After having turned in the direction for the valley, we received the news that there were gentiles in ambush a short distance from where we took the opposite direction, from whose top could be seen with all clearness the Russian presidio.

No. 10.-- This day began our retreat toward the S for the Asistencia of San Rafael, following the valley of Libantiliyami that is contiguous to the mountain that we left today with the title of Buen Retiro. In this valley we found the remains of a skull of one of the Christian neophytes of San Rafael, that was killed by the gentiles and carried there for the purpose of burial. Also we set free the last gentile who served as guide. After two leagues of our retreat we saw a multitude of gentiles on the opposite side of the arroyo that runs at the foot of the mountain, whose rancharia² has the same name as the valley, gathered in a thick wood, of which situation they had made use to utter their accustomed cries with gestures of attacking. But as soon as they recognized the troop they had not the daring to come out of the site they had chosen, although some more intrepid put themselves in a position to throw stones, notwithstanding the troop was formed to see if they went out to the plain and to punish their boldness, and having known their timidity the commander ordered us to keep

¹ Priestley: "Russian River; perhaps a little N of Cloverdale as Bancroft thought."

² Priestley: Libantiliyami; "near modern Santa Rosa".

on our way back, and at 6 in the afternoon arrived at a spring to which the name of San Jorge was given, situated in this same valley where we made camp for the night.

Nov. 11.-- After mass resumed march at 11 o'clock following the same direction of retreat, toward the ~~Asistencia~~ of San Rafael. At 6 in the afternoon we came to the site named Olompali,¹ 6 leagues distant from San Rafael where we stopped to pass the night.

Nov. 12.-- At 8 in the morning resumed march toward the mission of San Rafael.

[No further events of interest. The expedition returned to San Francisco Presidio Nov. 15.]

[Signed] Fr. Blas Ordaz

¹ Erroneously spelled Alompali in copy in Bancroft Library.

Documents 3a-c. Some Early Treaties With California Indians

No adequate study of treaties between whites and Indians in California has been carried out. The Spaniards and their successors, the Mexicans, made no treaties because the land was theirs by right of discovery, pre-emption by performance of the Act of Possession and settlement. With the seizure of California in 1846 by the Americans a brief period of treaty-making set in, the major effort being the 18 treaties entered into by U.S. Treaty Commissioners Barbour, McKee and Wozencraft in 1851-52 and which the U.S. Senate in 1852 refused to ratify.

With the acquisition of California by U.S. forces in 1846 and the establishment of a military government (which lasted until September, 1850 when California was admitted to the Union with the consent of Congress) many local governmental matters had to be managed. Among these was the problem of dealing with the Indians. Long-time settlers were appointed Sub-Indian Agents. Among these in Northern California was John A. Sutter who was a principal in the discovery of gold at his sawmill at Coloma on January 24, 1848. Within eleven days of that historic event, on February 4, 1848, Sutter and his partner in the sawmill operation, James Marshall, entered into an agreement with four chiefs of the Yalesumney tribe which was intended to be a legal document through which Sutter and Marshall leased a triangular section of land extending from Coloma to Placerville, and which gave the lessees the exclusive privilege of operating the sawmill, cutting timber and "open such mines and work the same." Sutter and Marshall knew that they were in a rich gold-producing area, but Mexican law was no longer recognized, and they were aware that the U.S. military governor of California had no power to make land grants. In the hope of protecting their discovery they attempted to use Sutter's official position as Sub-Indian Agent to enter into the agreement with the occupying Indians. Col. R. B. Mason, Military Governor of California, refused to approve the lease by observing that the United States did not recognize the right of the Indians to lease, sell or rent their lands. The original copy of the Sutter-Marshall lease is in the California State Library and has been published in a limited edition as No. 2, Letters of the Gold Discovery, by the Book Club of California with introductory notes by Charles Olson, 1948. It is presented here as Document 3b. J. S. Hittell in his Mining in the Pacific States of North America (San Francisco, 1861, pp. 12, 14) adds some information on the Sutter-Marshall lease. Hittell quotes from a letter from Marshall to Charles Pickett, dated January 28, 1856: "In February the Captain [Sutter] came to the mountains for the first time. Then we consummated a treaty with the Indians, which had been previously negotiated. The tenor of

this was that we were to pay them \$200 yearly in goods, at Yerba Buena prices, for the joint possession and occupation of the land with them; they agreeing not to kill our stock, viz: horses, cattle, hogs or sheep, nor burn the grass within the limits fixed by the treaty". Hittell also refers to the Coloma Argus which published a statement in 1855 said to have been derived from Weimer of Coloma which reads in part: "Shortly after, Captain Sutter came to Coloma, when he and Marshall assembled the Indians, and bought them a large tract of country about Coloma, in exchange for a lot of beads and a few cotton handkerchiefs. They, under color of this Indian title, required one-third of all the gold dug on their domain, and collected at this rate until the fall of 1848, when a mining party from Oregon declined paying 'tithes' as they called it".

Another long time resident, M. G. Vallejo, entered into a treaty with eleven "tribes" (actually either villages or tribelets), but this "treaty" was aimed at nothing more than keeping the peace, so no official action on it was required. The Vallejo treaty was made five months after the Sutter-Marshall agreement. This document, not before published is in the U.S. National Archives, Records of the War Department, RG 98, Letters Received, 10th Military Department, 1848.

The complicated story of the 18 unratified treaties of 1851-52 will not be gone into here.

As late as 1867 a treaty of peace between the Mohave and Chemehuevi was executed at La Paz, Arizona, the official sanction being afforded by J. W. Dent, Special Indian Agent for the Colorado River Indians. The original manuscript copy of the treaty is filed with the Annual Report of the Commander of the Department of California, 1867. It is presented here as Document 3b.

Document 3a. Treaty Between the Americans and the Indians On The
"Sonoma Frontier," 1848.

In the U.S. National Archives there exists a one page document which is titled on its outer face: "Sonoma California, June 1, 1848. Treaty made between Genl. Vallejo and Major Hardie with eleven Indian chiefs of the Big Lakes near Sonoma. Rec'd. June 14." No effort has been made to identify the groups listed, but a brief check shows some of these to be southern Pomo and Lake Miwok. The treaty reads:

To whomsoever it may concern:

Be it known that we the undersigned chief of Tribes and Rancherias in

and about the Big Lakes on the Sonoma Frontier of Upper California do solemnly affirm and declare that we are friends with good hearts towards the whites our powerful friends and neighbours, that we will make no aggression upon them nor their property and if injured ourselves by anybody we will apply to the proper authorities of the whites for protection and redress.

Sonoma California

June 1, 1848

Witnesses. M. G. Vallejo

Sub-Ind. Agt.

Jas. A. Hardie, Major 1 NY Regt.

Comdg. Northern District California

Menac X of Atenok

Thayte X of Chiliyomi

Cuyagui X of Tuiyomi

Shonepoca X of Limaema

Hilali X of Mosliyomi

Namostk X of Tsaysymayomi

Tsapat X of Chitimocmyomi

Tum Tum X of Molguyacyomi

Calgui X of Holhonpiyomi

Calichem X of Meynimocmayomi

Hutznun X of Lupiyomi

Document 3b. The Sutter-Marshall Lease with the
Yalesumney Indians, 1848.

This indenture made the first day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and fourty eight between Pulpuli and Gesu, Chiefs. Colule and Sole, Alcaldes of the Yalesumney tribe on the part of said tribe of the Territory of Upper California of the one part, and John A. Sutter and James W. Marshall of the Territory of Upper California, Sacramento District of the other part. Witnesseth. That the said Pulpuli, Gesu, and Colule & Sole for and in consideration of the yearly rents and covenants hereinafter mentioned and reserved on the part and behalf of the said Pulpuli, Gesu, Colule, & Sole as agents for the Yalesumney tribe their heirs, executors and administrators doth rent and lease unto Sutter and Marshall the following described track [tract] of Land for the term of twenty years, beginning at the mouth of a small creek [Webber Creek] known by the Indian name of Pumpumul where said creek empties into the south branch of the American fork, a tributary of the Sacramento River thence north one mile thence up said fork on the north side at the distance of one mile from said stream to a point three miles above a saw mill building by said Sutter and Marshall thence in a south east direction until it strikes crossing the south

branch the said Pumpumel Creek thence down the same to the point of beginning and likewise grant to the said Sutter and Marshall the right and privilege of cutting lumber at any point on or near the said south fork and to float the same down the said stream and the privilege of making a road from said mill to New Helvetia the same grant being made for the following purposes and conditions, viz. the said Sutter and Marshall to have the right to erect a saw mill and what other machinery necessary for their purpose and cultivate such land as they may think proper and likewise open such mines and work the same as the said aforesaid tract of land may contain, the said tribe reserving to themselves the individual residence of said tract of land excepting such as may be enclosed by said Sutter and Marshall. The said Sutter & Marshall doth bind themselves to erect one pair of mill stones and to grind the grain for said tribe taking one bushel in eight and to pay on the first day of January each year one hundred and fifty dollars to Pulpuli, Gesu, Colule & Sole their heirs and assigns for the use of said Yalesumney tribe during the term aforesaid said payment to be made in clothing and farming utensils for the common use and benefit of said tribe at the fair market value; and the said Sutter and Marshall of the second part to the expiration of said term agree and bind themselves their heirs and assigns to give quiet and peaceable possession of the aforesaid premises unto the said Pulpuli, Gesu, Colule and Sole their heirs and assigns they paying the said Sutter and Marshall a reasonable price for the mill and buildings that may be put on the said premises by them.

In witness whereof the said parties of the first and second part set their names and seals. Done this the fourth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and fourty eight.

WITNESSES

Charles Bennet.	HIS Pulpuli X Chief	SEAL
	MARK	
William Scott	HIS Gesu X Chief	SEAL
	MARK	
	HIS Colule X Alcalde	SEAL
	MARK	
	HIS Sole X Alcalde	SEAL
	MARK	
	J. A. Sutter	SEAL
	James W. Marshall	SEAL

Done in the presence and with my aprobation

J. A. Sutter
SUB INDIAN AGENT

Document 3c. Treaty Between Mohave and Chem-e-huevis Tribes, 1867

"At a convention held at the office of the Arizona Superintendency at La Paz on the 21st day of March A.D., 1867, in presence of G. W. Dent, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, between delegations of the Mohave Tribe of Indians and the Chem-e-huevis tribe of Indians for the purpose of concluding peace between these two bands, and restoring and confirming amity.

The Chem-e-huevis were personally present by "Pan Coyer," their Head chief, and certain of his Captains and Headmen -- and the Mohaves were personally present by "Iretaba," their Head chief, and certain of his Captains and Headmen, and after full conference the 2 bands agreed upon the following terms:

to wit: --

First - - All hostilities heretofore existing between Mohaves and Chemehuevis cease on and after this day and perpetual amity shall exist between the two bands.

Second -- The Mohaves shall occupy and cultivate the lands on the left bank of the Colorado River, and the Chemehuevis the lands of the right bank of the Colorado River. Provided, that Indians of either tribe may freely visit or travel over either country, and shall not be molested therein either in their person or their property.

Third -- It is also agreed between the parties to this agreement that they will use their best exertions to prevent the members of either of (the) tribes from committing an(y) depredations upon the persons or property of American citizens in the country occupied by them, and should any such depredations be committed, that they will endeavor to recover property taken and bring offenders and deliver them to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at La Paz.

In testimony to the above agreement we have set our hands and our seals at La Paz, Arizona, on the day and year just written.

(Signed) his
Iretaba X Head Chief of Mohaves
mark

SEAL

(Signed) his
Pan Coyer X Head Chief of Chemehuevis
mark

SEAL

Signed and sealed in presence of --

(Signed) J. W. Dent
Special Indian Agent, Colorado River Indians.

Documents 4a-b. Two Sutter Letters on Indians.

Document 4a. Letter from J. A. Sutter to Col. T. J. Henley, December 1, 1856.
Original in U. S. National Archives, Letters received from California,
1856, O.I.A., 1092.

Hock Farm, Dec. 1st., 1856.

Col. Thos. J. Henley
Supt. Indⁿ Aff^s
San Fran.

Dr. Sir:

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you in Yuba City, the Indians of Hock, Yukulmey, Sishum, and Olash Tribes, consisting altogether, of between 55 and 60 persons, including women and children, presented themselves several times, last week. They said that they wish very much to be not removed from the soil on which they are born, and where their forefathers have resided; and pledged themselves that they would behave well, be obedient, and work, and go no more to Marysville. They would be willing to fence in a large field, and would like to have a large crop of wheat, next summer. I told them that I would let them have the land just in front of the rancheria, joining my enclosure, and would do the plowing and sowing for them, with my teams, if you would be so kind and let them have the seed wheat. I told them that I would write to you about it. I think that about 50 busels [of seed wheat] would be not too much - because with the surplus they could pay the expenses and get it into flour. I have plenty of my old reaping hooks, which I would let them have; and with them they have been accustomed to work. I think this would be a very good plan, because when the acorns fail, they live very miserable - which happens very frequently; and even if the acorn crop is good, like this year, the oak trees are very much disappearing, in our vicinity; and some ungenerous settlers will even not allow them to take acorns, near their houses, and want to save them for their hogs.

They told me that they would be willing to work, again - that is, their young men - long time. I did not more ask them to work for me, as they made great pretensions, so that I did prefer to employ white people. Now, they promise to work, at reasonable prices; and so they can always find employment, and would receive their pay in clothing and provisions, and not in money.

If the Yubu Indians are removed, I have no doubt that they [the Indians of Hock, Yukulmey, Sishum and Olash tribes] will behave well; and I hope that I can make them good and useful to the community. Very often they had spendd whole weeks with the Hubu Indians, in drinking and gambling; and

by day time they amused themselves in Marysville.

If you approve this plan and grant their prayers, you will be pleased to let me know in time.

Should these Indians have continued in their bad habits, I would have been most desirous to see them removed from here; but as they will be good and manageable, I have no objection to their remaining here, and so will nobody in this neighborhood. I would then make a full report of their proceedings and behavior, and send it to you, every two or three months.

Your presence had a very good and wholesome effect. They have seen, now, that they can be removed; -- before, they would not believe it.

I remain, with the highest esteem and respect,

Your most odt. servant,

J. A. Sutter

P.S. Oregon [seed] wheat will not answer. I sowed some last year, like a good many farmers, but it proved to be a failure.

Document 4b. Letter from J. A. Sutter to Col. T. J. Henley, February 9, 1856. Original in U.S. National Archives, Letters recieved from California, 1856. O.I.A., 1089.

Hock Farm February 9th, 1856

Col. Th.^s J. Henley Super Intendant of Indian Affairs in the State of California.

Sir:

I take the liberty of giving you some information on the Indians on this [Feather] river as far as Marysville and environs. At Nicolaus are the Olash Indians consisting of only a few consisting in all about 14 or 15 Souls. The Yumulmey three miles below Hock Farm is nearly extinct and the few survivors are here united with the Hock tribe, the Yukulmey, and Hock are about in all about 35 Souls Men, Women and Children, then about 3 miles higher are the Sishum consisting of very few, which are now united with the Yubu tribe, in Yubu City, higher up on the right and left bank of Feather

River are the Bogas, Daichera's, Tomcha's, Bubu's, of them I know very little only that they come from time to time to the City of Marysville, and conduct themselves nearly but not quite so bad as the before mentioned tribes. In the first place the Indians are all idle and don't like more to work unless they are paid more as they earn, it is now a year ago that I had every week from 4 to 6 to work at one Dollar cash per day, this I could no more stand, and since employed them no more longer, as I found it not advantageous, as for a small amount more I can get good white laborers and have not the trouble to watch them, and one Indian eat more provision as 2 or 3 white men will, and then, when they work one week, the next they will rest and others come in their place. First they will say they go to Marysville and buy bad Rhum or Whiskey and get drunk and disorderly. Formerly I paid them in clothing and provisions, but this would no longer more answer them, nothing, as the Dollars could bring them to work. Because in Marysville they go to do a little something fetching Water or Wood in a kitchen of a Hotel or boarding house, there they get to eat and perhaps 25 or 50 cts. according their work, which of course goes immediately for Grog, and the clothing they pick up in the backyards, which people do bring away, and sometimes they are in possession of *more money which they get for their bows and arrows which they sell to high prices*, likewise other curiosities, fish, fowls, berries, etc. when they are not too lazy to get them; and then, there goes their Money for bad liquor, which they drink to such an excess; that when they don't fight and kill another, the bad liquor will kill them; it happened about 3 weeks past, that 5 Men and two women died in the Hubu Rancheria (not in the Hock Rancheria and not in one but two days, like the "Dem: Inquirer" in Marysville said) in two days from the effect of Liquor. It is not quite a Year when the Sishum and Yubu and a few of the Hock's had a fight when desperately drunk, in which four had been killed and about 5 or 6 badly wounded, but are well again; of such things Civil Authorities don't take Notice at all and Nobody take care of them. A most cruel Act happened about two years ago in the Hock Rancheria, one of the Yukulme tribe, who have a wife and children, wanted absolutely another woman of the same tribe she was a widow of the deceased Olash Chief, and of the Yukulmey tribe, the Woman did not like nor want him, and particular as she was pregnant, this fellow took his Gun (they have even fire Arms, some of them) and shot the Woman twice once in the Abdomen and second time in the legs, and then massacred her most cruelly with his knife till she was dead, during this it was night the whole Rancheria was deadly drunk, Men and Women even boys, you can hardly imagine what far scenes happen when they are intoxicated, and what far a Noise, then the fights begin about the Women, because not all of them have Women, they take them on their hair and drag them naked over the ground to their holes [semi-subterranean houses] etc.

The Man who had killed the above mentioned Woman, left immediately to parts unknown, as I intended to take him a prisoner.

These Indians are just now doing what they please, and I am not a little afraid for next summer and fall, for my Orchards and Vineyards, if they can act so independent as now, they will steal continually, how they have done it already, and will steal at any time when they have a chance. Such things happened no more when they has been under my control. I wish now you would do me the great favor to remove these few tribes which behave so badly to the next reservation. I cannot stand it any longer; and how longer the worse it will be, as the largest part of the timber is cut down, so they cannot more get their Acorns and Grass seed like before, the Squatters drove them away last fall when they want to acorns, they told them that they want them for their hogs etc. so it is with the Grass seed, the people will no more allow them even this, they say they need the Grass for Hay.

They are nearly all time in want of food now, and formerly they had a plenty. I am informed that Major Bidwell, M. Neil and a good many others in the Valley have the Indians under Control and make them work for small compensation.

It is certainly hard to take them away against their will to a reservation, but there are only two ways to take them away make them work and provide for them, or if you would give me the control only of the Hock and Yukulmey Indians, I would make them work and pay them a reasonable compensation, in food and clothing, and when they know that is your Order, they will do so, in preference of leaving the Grounds where they are born and where their ancestors have dwelled.

If you honor me with an Answer, I shall feel much obliged to you. I am with your highest Respect

Your

Most Obed^t Servant

J. A. Sutter

(rubric)

Document 5.

An 1850 "Census" of Feather River Villages

Portion of article appearing in Sacramento City Daily Transcript,
August 17, 1850.

The Indian Agent

Mr. Johnson, agent for the United States Government, has been engaged in visiting the Indians in Northern California for the past few months. He is now in this city, preparing to make a tour through the Indians in Central and Lower California. From a hasty conversation with Mr. Johnson, we have learned a few particulars of the present condition of the Indians, which will interest many. First, we will give a list of the tribes visited by him, commencing with

The Hock tribe, - number, 70 to 100 - located at Hock Farm, on Feather river.

The Yubas, - number, about 180 - located at the mouth of Yuba river.

The O-lip-as, - number, 80 to 100 - located about thirty-two miles above the mouth of Feather river. There is another rancho near by, called the Bogars.

The Jolibos, - number, 150 - located at the foot of the mountains, on Feather river, about sixty miles above Yuba City.

The Erskines, - number, 60 - located on Butte Creek, near Lawson's Ranch.

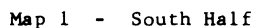
The Ma-chucks, - number, 70 to 90 - located in the same valley.

The Cush-nas, - located on the Rio Chino, near Bidwell's and Potter's, on the south branch of the Yuba.

The above tribes all speak a similar language, though in the pronunciation words vary. They use many Spanish, French, and English words, which are corrupted by an indistinct, guttural articulation.

Mr. Johnson took much pains to learn the wants of this people, and to inquire into their customs and belief. At first he labored under great disadvantages, for the want of a good interpreter. But he has latterly come to understand their language sufficiently for all practical purposes. The Indians generally complain that the palefaces are occupying their fishing places, overrunning their country, and rapidly taking from them the resources that have heretofore been their support. They have got the idea that their support is due them from the United States, as an indemnity for their lands. Mr. Johnson has assured them of the desire of our government to remain at peace, and he thinks, by a proper course, the most friendly relations will always exist between them and our people.

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