

HISTORICAL INSIGHTS INTO ABANDONMENT OF A SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA SHELL MOUND (CA-CCO-297)

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CA-CCO-297 is a large village site on the San Francisco Bay shore that was occupied ca. A.D. 1350-1800 during Phase II of the Late period. This article investigates the abandonment of the site during Spanish colonization of the region in the early Mission period (A.D. 1769-1800). Archaeological evidence and historical documentation reveal how the Spanish exploited and disrupted inter-tribal networks to recruit mission converts and quell resistance to colonization. Two events are proposed as catalysts for site abandonment: the 1794-1795 mass missionization of East Bay Ohlone and Bay Miwok, and Spanish military attacks on Richmond-area villages in 1797.

Archaeological investigations at CCO-297 indicate that this bay shore shell mound—today located in Richmond, California—was a large prehistoric Ohlone village site located on the shoreline of San Francisco Bay. The village was occupied between A.D. 1350 and 1800, during the time period immediately preceding Spanish settlement and missionization of the region (Banks and Orlins 1981; DeGeorgey 2013, 2015). This article investigates the possibility that the abandonment of the Stege Mound was the result of Spanish missionary, military, and settlement efforts in the San Francisco Bay area that began in the 1760s. Here, historical sources are used in tandem with the archaeological record to assess the effects of Spanish colonization on the inhabitants of CCO-297. Furthermore, this article offers insights into how the inter-tribal networks of the native inhabitants were manipulated by the Spanish to recruit mission converts and quell resistance to colonization. In the Late period, the Ohlone, Bay Miwok, and Coast Miwok heavily depended on regional exchange networks for economic, social, and ceremonial purposes. The Spanish disrupted these networks by missionizing and displacing Ohlone groups close to Spanish settlements, which had increasingly detrimental effects on native people throughout the region.

This investigation concludes that CCO-297 was most likely abandoned ca. 1794-1801, and that there were two historical catalysts for the abandonment of the site: the 1794-1795 mass missionization of East Bay Ohlone and Bay Miwok, and Spanish military attacks on Richmond-area villages in 1797. By 1801-1810, the portion of the eastern bay shore containing CCO-297 was completely depopulated.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ESTIMATIONS OF THE SITE OCCUPATION PERIOD

The period of occupation at CCO-297 has been estimated by Banks and Orlins (1981) and DeGeorgey (2013, 2015). Based on analyses of faunal remains and other indicators of dietary patterns, these studies concluded that the site was occupied year-round on a permanent or semipermanent basis (Banks and Orlins 1981:9.4; DeGeorgey 2013:247-250; Eerkins et al. 2014; Simons 2013; Wohlgemuth and Tingey 2013). Some 44 radiocarbon dates, 100 obsidian hydration rim samples, and 2,079 stylistically diagnostic artifacts were used to determine the time frame of site occupation. Banks and Orlins (1981:9.3-4) concluded that the site was occupied from A.D. 1370 to 1700. DeGeorgey (2013:162) made the conservative estimation that CCO-297 was inhabited from 1450 to 1700. Additional radiocarbon sampling and analysis indicates an approximate site occupation period of 1350-1800 (DeGeorgey 2015). Together, these archaeological investigations demonstrate strong evidence that CCO-297 was occupied throughout Phase 1C and Phase 2 of the Late period (cf. Groza 2002).

Although radiocarbon and obsidian hydration dating methods indicate possible site occupation as late as approximately A.D. 1800, historic artifacts do not appear in the archaeological assemblage recovered from CCO-297. Two possible exceptions are the presence of 12 dark green steatite beads that

exhibit straight cylindrical perforations that may have been drilled with a metal bit (DeGeorgey 2013:149), and the discovery of a burial that possibly shows symptoms of syphilis (Banks 1985). However, a large volume of intact midden from the top of the mound was pushed into the surrounding marshland in the early twentieth century, when the mound was leveled in anticipation of residential development (Loud 1924). The strata most likely to contain historic artifacts are those most likely to have been heavily disturbed by these activities. The non-recovery of artifacts deposited shortly before site abandonment is thus unsurprising. Where excavation fails us, however, historical documentation offers important insights into events that took place in the San Francisco Bay area in the late eighteenth century.

ETHNOHISTORICAL CONTEXT OF TERMINAL OCCUPATION

Given the evidence suggesting continuous site occupation into the historic period, the terminal occupation of CCO-297 may be analyzed through ethnographic and historical sources in addition to the archaeological record. This paper relies heavily upon the work done by Randy Milliken (1981, 1983, 1991, 1995, 1996) in his reconstruction of native sociopolitical groupings and lifeways in the San Francisco Bay area before and after Spanish colonization. As will be demonstrated below, examination of these and other sources provides valuable insights into events that took place in and around the Stege Mound complex during the early historic period. This section ultimately argues that site abandonment likely occurred between 1794 and 1801 as a result of Spanish missionary and military influence in the San Francisco Bay area.

The Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto

In the 1770s, CCO-297 was situated within the territory controlled by the Huchiun. The Huchiun are an Ohlone tribal group that held the eastern bay shore from Temescal Creek in present-day Oakland/Emeryville to the lower drainage of San Pablo Creek in the Richmond/San Pablo area (Figure 1). The Huchiun population at the time of European contact is estimated to have been between 600 and 800 people (Milliken 1981:59-62, 1995:243). Immediately to the northeast of the Huchiun were the Huchiun-Aguasto, who held the eastern side of San Pablo Bay. It is unclear whether the inhabitants of the Stege Mound considered themselves a separate group from their Huchiun relatives. Both groups spoke the Chochenyo dialect of the Costanoan language family; “Aguasto” is a Costanoan word for “northerners” (Milliken 1996:5). The word “Huchiun” is one of several spellings that Spanish missionaries used to record the group’s name. Others included Cuchillon, Juchum, Juchiun, and Juchillon (Milliken 1981:3). The Richmond/San Pablo ranchlands were known as “San Ysidro de los Juchiunes” prior to their takeover by the Castro family in the 1820s (Milliken 1995:243). Levy (1978:485) phonetically summarizes these variations into Xučyun. Following Milliken (1995), “Huchiun” and “Huchiun-Aguasto” will be used in this section.

Several village names are mentioned in historical sources, including Genau and Junchaque of the Huchiun, and Ssogoreate of the Huchiun-Aguasto (Milliken 1995:243-244). The Stege Mound complex has not been linked to any known village name, and there are no known historical accounts that specifically identify the locations of any Huchiun villages (Milliken 1981:62-72, 1995:243). There is only one cluster of Late period Phase II bay shore sites in Huchiun territory, which is comprised of the Stege Mound complex, Ellis Landing (CCO-295), and Point Isabel (CCO-301) (Lightfoot and Luby 2002:272, Figure 6). The Stege Mound complex is located at the center of this 4-km-long string of large bay shore villages, which appears to have been a major nucleus within Huchiun territory (Figure 1).

In the Late period, the Huchiun participated in an elaborate sociopolitical network of village communities that facilitated the exchange of commodities, participation in ceremonial events, and the arrangement of marriage partners. These networks were critical to the social, economic, and religious lifeways of the Huchiun. Ohlone trading networks extended out from the San Francisco Bay area to the Plains Miwok, Sierra Miwok, and Yokuts (Heizer 1978; Levy 1978:488). The Ohlone supplied mussels,



Figure 1. Late-eighteenth-century tribal territories of the San Francisco Bay area (after Milliken 1995:228).

abalone shells, salt, and dried abalone to the Yokuts and *Olivella* shells to the Sierra Miwok, and the Ohlone received pine nuts from the Yokuts (Davis 1961:23). Linguistic evidence implies that the Huchiun and other Chochenyo-speaking groups obtained clamshell disk beads from manufacturing centers in the east, because the Chochenyo word for “clamshell disk bead” is closely related to the Plains Miwok, Sierra Miwok, Nisenan, and Konkow terms (Levy 1978:489). Ethnographic and archaeological sources document that Pomo groups in the Clear Lake basin and Patwin groups in the delta region were the principal producers and purveyors of clamshell disk beads in central California (Barrett 1908; Kroeber 1925; Rosenthal 2011). Napa Valley is the predominant source of obsidian found at archaeological sites within Chochenyo territory.

There is archaeological evidence of these regional exchange networks at CCO-297. Waterfowl meat, fish meat, and sea otter pelts were processed at CCO-297, likely for exchange purposes (DeGeorgey and Simons 2014). Indeed, several nonlocal artifact types have been found at the site: obsidian tools; clamshell and *Olivella* shell beads; magnesite, steatite, and travertine stone beads; large, finely manufactured basalt mortars; red ochre (hematite); steatite pipes; and abalone pendants. There is no evidence that these goods were manufactured on-site, which strongly suggests that they were obtained through exchange (DeGeorgey 2013:252-256).

In addition to trade relationships, the Huchiun relied on neighboring groups for religious gatherings and for the provision of appropriate spousal candidates. Milliken's (1981, 1993, 1995) analysis of mission marriage records indicates that the Huchiun had significant kinship ties with groups immediately adjacent to their territory. The Franciscan priests recorded baptisms, marriages, and deaths at Mission San Francisco (1776), Mission Santa Clara (1777), and Mission San José (1797). These registers contain a variety of demographic information, including each individual's village name and tribal group (Early California Population Project Database 2006). Milliken (1981:80, 86) noted that perhaps up to 20 percent of Huchiun married into neighboring groups. Indeed, some of the first Huchiun to be baptized at Mission San Francisco came from villages on the San Francisco peninsula into which they had married. Milliken concludes that the Huchiun visited or traded directly with other tribelets from Richardson's Bay and the San Rafael area of Marin County to the west; Vallejo and Benicia on Carquinez Strait to the north; Concord and Walnut Creek to the east; and San Leandro and Daly City to the south and southwest—an area encompassing 1,600 km² of land area (Milliken 1981:81).

Thus, at the time of European contact, the Huchiun were part of a wide-ranging inter-tribal network that tied them to their neighbors in ways that were critical to the social, economic, and religious organization of Ohlone life. Ultimately, Spanish colonization and missionization had catastrophically disruptive effects on these crucial intergroup relationships.

European Exploration of the San Francisco Bay Area

Europeans began exploring the California coast in the mid-sixteenth century (Engstrand 1998; Kelsey 1986; Lightfoot 2005; Lightfoot and Simmons 1998; Mathes 1968; Wagner and Unamuno 1923). After 1565, Spanish trade from Manila brought ships across the Pacific Ocean and down the California coastline en route to Acapulco (Russell 2011; Schurz 1917). The Spanish considered establishing a port in Alta California in order to provide safe harbor to the large Manila galleons weighed down with valuable Southeast Asian goods, but financial and political factors in Europe prevented them from doing so. With the termination of Spanish exploration in the 1590s, no further interactions between native peoples and Europeans in northern California were documented until the 1760s. The Spanish returned in 1769 for the express purpose of establishing a series of mission colonies. There is no documentary evidence that the Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto directly engaged with any European until the Fages expedition of 1772.

Spanish Colonial Expeditions, 1769-1776

In the late eighteenth century, the Spanish system of presidios and missions was expanding from Baja California to Alta California. Using the newly settled harbors of San Diego (established in 1769) and Monterey (1770) as base camps, the Spanish made several exploratory forays into the San Francisco Bay area. Native Californian groups in the San Francisco Bay area suddenly found themselves in contact with annual parties of Spanish soldiers, sailors, Franciscan missionaries, and natives of the central California coast and the Baja California peninsula (Crespí 1927 [1772]; Font 1930 [1776]; Galvin 1971; Palóu 1926 [1773-1783]; Stanger and Brown 1969).

The Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto conducted amicable relations with the Spanish throughout this period. As the Fages of expedition of 1772 traveled north and east around the East Bay shore—the first Europeans to travel in the East Bay—expedition diarist and Franciscan priest Juan Crespí recorded the first direct European interactions with the Huchiun and the Huchiun-Aguasto. On March 28, 1772, the Fages party reached a Huchiun village, most likely on either Wildcat Creek or San Pablo Creek:

[W]e left the plain and entered some hills, and descended by them to a deep arroyo, whose ford had to be fixed on account of its steepness. It had plenty of water, and on its banks we found a good village of heathen, very fair and bearded, who did not know what to do, they were so happy to see us in their village. They gave us many cacomites, amoles, and two dead geese, dried and stuffed with grass to use as decoys in hunting

others, large numbers being attracted in this way. We returned the gift with beads, for which they were very grateful, and some of them went with us to another village nearby [Crespí 1927 [1772]:291].

Later that day, they reached the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay. “As soon as we arrived eight heathen came bringing us gifts, and we reciprocated” (Crespí 1927 [1772]:291). The Spanish received similar friendly treatment from the Carquin on south side of Carquinez Strait and Huchiun-Aguasto on the north side of the strait:

On the banks of the other side we made out many villages, whose Indians [Huchiun-Aguasto] called to us and invited us to go to their country, but we were prevented by a stretch of water about a quarter of a league wide; and many of them, seeing that we were going away, came to this side, crossing over on rafts, and gave us some of their wild food [Crespí in Milliken 1995:37].

The Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto did not have direct contact with Europeans again until August 1775, when the ship *San Carlos*, under the command of Juan Manuel de Ayala, was the first European ship to enter the harbor of San Francisco Bay (Galvin 1971). The *San Carlos*'s crew first interacted with the Huchiun when José Cañizares left the ship to map San Pablo Bay by longboat. The Huchiun-Aguasto once again attempted to make contact with the foreigners, and 57 people came to deliver gifts of food. Over the course of the next week, Cañizares visited Huchiun-Aguasto in villages in the Pinole/Rodeo area and exchanged glass beads and cloth with them in exchange for food (Milliken 1981:84-85, 1995:45). A few days later, Huimen from Richardson Bay—with whom the *San Carlos* had been conducting friendly relations since its arrival—came aboard with a Huchiun man. The Coast Miwok-speaking Huimen spoke Chochenyo with the Spanish, likely due to the presence of their Huchiun companion (Milliken 1995:44-46). The next day, two tule boats carrying a total of eight Huchiun arrived at the *San Carlos*. The Huchiun welcomed the Spanish and offered them food. The Spanish reciprocated with glass beads and other gift items (Milliken 1995:46-47). The Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto men returned the following day, and the Spanish explorers recorded their names: Sumu, Jausos, Supitacse, Tilacse, Mutuc, Logeacse, Guecpostole, and Xacacse. Most of these men were later baptized in Mission San Francisco. The *San Carlos* anchored near Angel Island, receiving Huchiun, Huimen, and other visitors who arrived in tule boats, while Cañizares continued to map San Francisco Bay (Milliken 1995:49-50).

The next group of Spaniards that the Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto encountered was the Anza expedition. Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza left Monterey in the spring of 1776 to scout locations for a presidio and a mission on San Francisco Bay. Traveling up the eastern bay shore, the expedition arrived at San Pablo Bay in April 1776, to be received by the same Huchiun-Aguasto villages that Cañizares had visited the previous year. They were welcomed and stayed overnight before heading east along the southern shore of Carquinez Strait (Milliken 1995:55-56).

Early historic accounts do not indicate that the Stege Mound complex and the other active Huchiun bay shore sites were visited during the Spanish expeditions of 1769-1776. When traveling overland, the Spanish preferred to follow inland freshwater drainages rather than exploring the bay shore salt marshes on which the shell mounds were built. Furthermore, Spanish sailors likely avoided the muddy intertidal shallows between the open water and the marsh for fear of running aground. However, the Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto villages visited by the Fages, Ayala, and Anza parties were, at their farthest, less than a day's journey (30 km) from the Stege Mound.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

Despite the amiable relations that the early Spanish expeditions cultivated with the native inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay area, these incursions were ultimately directed at identifying ideal locations upon which to establish presidios, missions, ports, and pueblos. The fact that native groups

generally received the Spanish as guests and not enemies appears to have only encouraged the Spanish in their plans to colonize the region.

In June 1776—only two months after the Anza expedition returned to Monterey—a group set out from the Monterey presidio to establish a mission and presidio on the San Francisco peninsula. The party was comprised of Franciscan missionary priests, citizen settlers from Sonora, and a military unit. They arrived in present-day San Francisco, inland of Mission Bay, and set up camp next to the Yelamu village of Chutchui, near the villages of Sitlintac, Amuctac, and Tubsin. The Spanish established a temporary settlement while waiting for the *San Carlos* to arrive from Monterey with supplies and men for the presidio to be built at the northern tip of the peninsula. Construction of the San Francisco Presidio began in late July, and construction on Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores) began in August (Milliken 1995:61-63). Just before construction on the mission began, the Yelamu villages were attacked and burned by the Ssalson of the San Bruno/San Mateo area. The Yelamu were driven off the peninsula and found refuge with their Huchiun relatives in the East Bay (Milliken 1995:63-64).

In January 1777, Mission Santa Clara was established in Tamien territory on the Guadalupe River (Milliken 1995:65-67). The following November, Spanish citizens from Mexico took the land a few miles upstream from the mission to found the pueblo of San José. The settlers began ranching, which created significant tensions with local Ohlone groups due to the destruction of native plant resources by livestock. Spanish soldiers were tasked with arresting and beating Ohlone who killed grazing animals belonging to the new settlers (Milliken 1995:71-75).

Despite growing tensions between the Ohlone and the Spanish, the first Ohlone baptisms took place at Mission Santa Clara in early June 1777. These converts were dying infants who were likely infected by contaminated water. The first baptisms of catechized Ohlone adults took place at Mission San Francisco three weeks later. These baptisms mark a transition point in Spanish/Ohlone relations:

From the Spanish point of view, the three young Yelamu men crossed over into a new realm of possibilities and obligations at the moment of baptism. They were swearing fealty to a new deity who would give them eternal life in a wonderful, desirable place in the heavens. In return, the neophytes must struggle while here on earth to follow a particular set of rules in everyday behavior. The young people did not know it, but the Franciscan priests felt obliged to use force in order to make these new Christians live in accordance with their rules, in order to save them from Hell. Thus, at the moment of baptism, the missionaries saw themselves as legal secular guardians as well as spiritual mentors [Milliken 1995:69].

In the ensuing decades, this paternalistic relationship became a major source of the violence perpetrated upon the Ohlone, baptized or not. At the missions, neophytes were expected to conform to a rigorous daily schedule of agricultural labor and Catholic ritual practices. Neophytes were not allowed to leave the mission except on authorized *paseos* to return to their homelands for brief periods of time. The missionaries were often preoccupied with bringing runaway neophytes back to the missions, for native converts often used the *paseo* as an opportunity to escape the mission system.

Given successful revolts in other parts of New Spain, the missionaries and the Spanish military wanted to avoid outright coercion of the native population for fear of violent reaction. Instead, they partly relied on a soft power approach. For instance, the missionaries would send neophytes to persuade runaways to return before sending out military parties to arrest them (Milliken 1995:97). Furthermore, native converts loyal to the missionaries were an important part of the missions' authoritarian institutional hierarchy. The priests had Hispanic *mayordomos* who directed native *alcaldes*, who in turn enforced the daily routines of the regular neophytes (Milliken 1995:92-93). The *alcaldes* were tasked with the critical role of making the missionaries' desires legible to the native convert community and administering corporeal punishment when they saw fit (Newell 2009:70-71). One of Mission San Francisco's *alcaldes*

in the 1790s was a Huchiun man with the Christian name of Rogerio (Mission San Francisco baptismal number 350).

MISSIONIZATION OF THE HUCHIUN

The Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto were among the first Ohlone to meet the early Spanish inland expeditions of 1769-1776, but due to the groups' geographical distance from Mission San Francisco and Mission Santa Clara, very few of them entered the mission system in the first two decades of the Mission period. Although the Huchiun had early knowledge of Spanish missionary efforts, they did not join the missions in large numbers until the 1790s, after their regional inter-tribal network had been severely disrupted.

Indeed, very few East Bay people were missionized in the 1770s and 1780s while the missions focused their energies on the native populations of the San Francisco peninsula and the Santa Clara Valley. The few families that arrived at Mission San Francisco came from within a radius of a half-day's journey from the mission. Mission Santa Clara was much less successful in its early recruitment efforts, and the South Bay was not missionized until the mid-1790s (Milliken 1995:107-112). However, critical parts of the Huchiun's regional network had disintegrated by the early 1790s with the missionization of the Yelamu and other peninsula groups. These changing regional circumstances likely influenced the first large group of Huchiun to leave the eastern bay shore and join Mission San Francisco in 1792.

Mass Missionization, 1794-1795

While a relatively small number of Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto were baptized at Mission San Francisco from 1777 to 1793 (approximately 54 individuals), the winter of 1794-1795 saw a massive regional migration of East Bay people into Mission San Francisco and Mission Santa Clara. Numerous large native villages were abandoned during this time. Multiple factors at play in 1794 suddenly made the missions attractive to the Ohlone and Bay Miwok of the East Bay. A regional drought led to the failure of the year's seed crop, and native groups faced food surplus shortfalls. At the same time, many native inhabitants of the East Bay began attending catechism classes at the encouragement of their missionized relatives. As a result, hundreds of Huchiun and other East Bay people decided to enter the mission system in 1794-1795 (Milliken 1995:135-136).

In the fall of 1794, Huchiun villages were visited by groups of evangelizing native neophytes, including at least one Huchiun. These missionary parties were sent out by the Spanish priests to encourage native attendance of catechism classes at Mission San Francisco. By November, whole Huchiun villages were leaving the East Bay for Mission San Francisco. Some 165 Huchiun were baptized at Mission San Francisco in the winter and spring of 1794-1795 (Figure 2). These Huchiun represented almost 50 percent of the 1794-1795 baptisms from East Bay villages, and the neighboring Saclan comprised 40 percent. As illustrated in Figure 3, this is the largest spike in baptisms from the East Bay villages in the Mission period (Milliken 1995:129-131, 272). With a maximum population of 600-800 at the time of European contact (Milliken 1981:59), 200 Huchiun would have represented one-quarter to one-third of the non-Christian East Bay Huchiun population in 1794. Among the Huchiun from East Bay villages to enter Mission San Francisco during the influx of 1794 were three of the men who visited the *San Carlos* in 1775, the first of the *San Carlos* group to enter the mission system (Milliken 1995:49, 131).

While Mission San Francisco had missionized almost all of the northern peninsula groups prior to 1794, many Ohlone in close proximity to Mission Santa Clara remained non-Christian up to that point. Between November 1794 and May 1795, however, 463 people were baptized at Santa Clara from the southern peninsula and the Santa Clara Valley and from the East Bay as far north as the Fremont plain (Milliken 1995:125-129).

The winter of 1794-1795 was a tumultuous time for the Huchiun as many families left village life for Mission San Francisco. The arrival of so many Huchiun, Saclan, and other East Bay families at

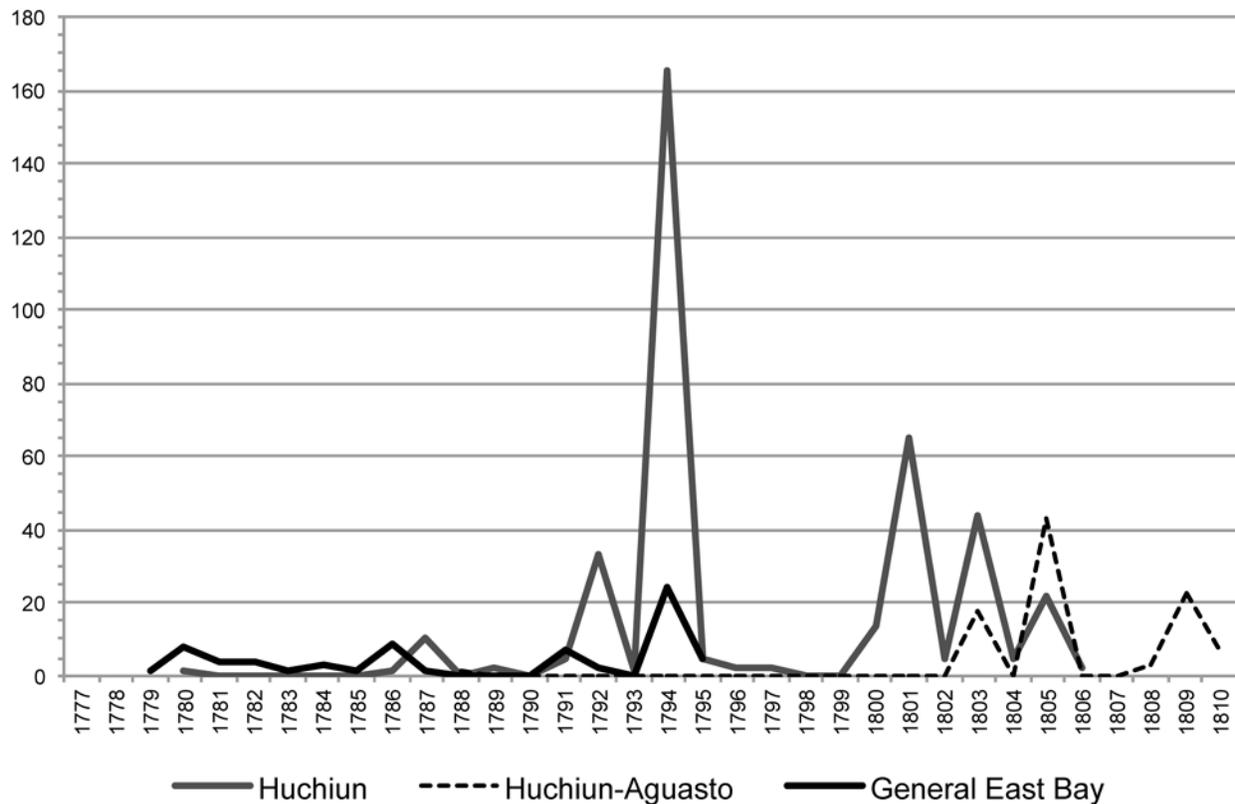


Figure 2. Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto baptisms at Mission San Francisco, 1777-1810 (Milliken 1995:272). “Huchiun” likely includes some Huchiun-Aguasto, especially after 1802. “General East Bay” refers to individuals from the northern East Bay/Carquinez Strait area that could not be identified with a specific group, and likely includes some Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto. No identified Huchiun or Huchiun-Aguasto were baptized at Missions Santa Clara and San José, although they may have been baptized under other tribal or group names.

Mission San Francisco and Mission Santa Clara in the winter of 1794-1795 suggests that all or part of an extensive regional network migrated together at this time. It is likely that the inhabitants of the Stege Mound (CCO-297) abandoned the village at this time and joined the mass migration into the mission system.

Exodus, Resistance, and Repression, 1795-1797

Although the mass missionization of 1794-1795 was wildly successful for the Spanish missionaries, the situation soon turned sour for the neophyte community at Mission San Francisco. Given poor living conditions, harsh work environments, and food shortages, the new converts quickly became disenchanted with mission life and contemplated returning to their homelands. To compound matters, an epidemic—likely typhus—broke out at Mission San Francisco in the spring of 1795. During the months of March and April, the death rate rose to as many as 20 individuals per week (Milliken 1995:138-139). Testimony from captured runaways describes the poor living conditions, high death rates, and authoritarian cruelty from the *alcaldes*, all of which created a dire situation for the new converts (Milliken 1995:144, 299-303). In the spring of 1795, many Huchiun and other neophytes began leaving the mission to return to their home territories. Over 280 people had fled Mission San Francisco by the end of the summer of 1795 (Milliken 1995:142).

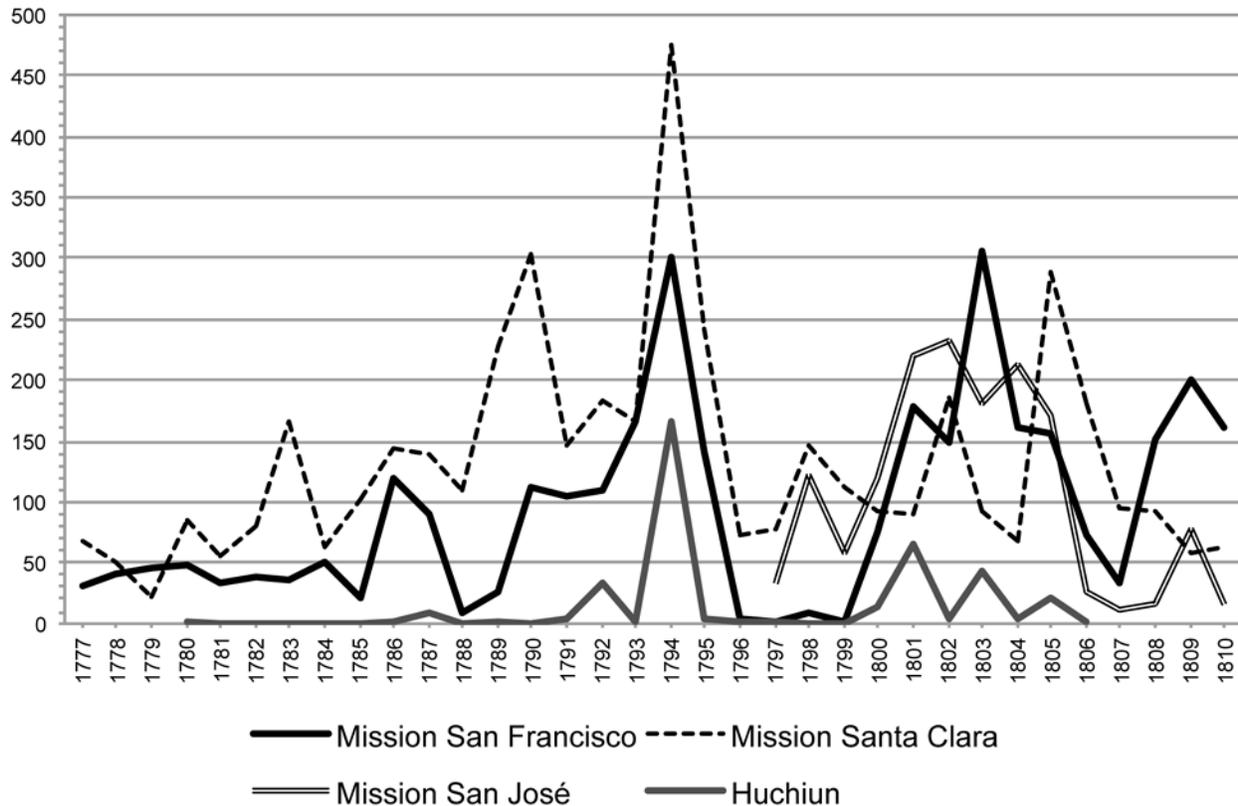


Figure 3. Huchiun baptisms versus total baptisms at Mission San Francisco, Mission Santa Clara, and Mission San José, 1777-1810 (Milliken 1995:266-268, 272).

An additional catalyst for the exodus from Mission San Francisco was a 1795 incident in which native neophytes were killed while attempting to return Saclan runaways to the mission. The Huchiun found themselves on both sides of this conflict. A group of Saclan neophytes overstayed a sanctioned *paseo* to visit the East Bay in April 1795, and 14 native converts—Huchiun, Yelamu, and Saclan men—were sent to return them. The party included Rogerio (mentioned above), one of Mission San Francisco’s *alcaldes* at the time. They followed the runaway Saclan to the Napa River, where the Saclan were attending a ceremonial event held by the Chimenes. The runaways attacked the mission party and killed seven of them, including Rogerio and four other Huchiun (Bancroft 1884:547; Milliken 1995:138-140). The Spanish feared rebellion and decided not to take revenge upon the Saclan and Chimenes. However, this event increased the exodus of mission neophytes back to their homelands and halted the mass migration into the missions. After the events of April 1795, no couples or families joined Mission San Francisco until 1800, and only a few dozen individuals were baptized in that period (Milliken 1995:146).

Huchiun village life was significantly altered after the mass migration of 1794-1795 from homeland villages to the Spanish mission across the bay. It does not appear that all of the villages were reoccupied when the San Francisco Mission neophytes returned to the East Bay in mid-1795. A Spanish survey party in November 1795 found “almost no native inhabitants” on the eastern bay shore between Milpitas and Richmond (Cook 1957:146). However, Spanish military commander Pedro Amador stated in July 1797 that the Huchiun had “numerous villages and large ones” (Milliken 1995:289). Amador, under orders not to use violence, may have exaggerated Huchiun numbers in order to justify his attacks on their villages. Milliken (1995:156) estimated that there were a total of 400 Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto in the East Bay in 1797, including mission runaways—significantly less than the estimated pre-contact

Huchiun population of 600-800. High death rates in the missions also contributed to population loss among the Huchiun (Milliken 1995:172-176). The remaining Huchiun also found refuge with their Huchiun-Aguasto relatives to the north, who held on to their lands on the eastern side of San Pablo Bay (Milliken 1995:189-191).

In 1797, the Spanish began expanding their settlements up the bay shore from Mission Santa Clara. That summer, the Huchiun and Saclan formed part of a growing regional resistance faction to missionization and Spanish settlement. The beginning of construction on Mission San José in May 1797 marked an intensification of runaway hunting and military incursions in the East Bay. In July 1797, Raymundo el Californio—a native Baja Californian hated by the East Bay Huchiun and a brother-in-law of the late Huchiun *alcalde* Rogerio—led 30 native neophytes from Mission San Francisco across the bay to capture runaway Huchiun. They captured runaways in three Huchiun villages, but encountered armed resistance when they attempted to return to the mission. The runaways escaped with the assistance of other Huchiun. Meanwhile, rumors circulated at Mission San José that the Huchiun and a group from Livermore Valley were preparing to attack the mission (Bancroft 1884:547-548; Milliken 1995:153-155).

Sergeant Pedro Amador arrived at Mission San José in July 1797 and received permission from Governor Borica to raid Saclan and Huchiun territory. Amador's stated intention was to capture runaways and those involved in the 1795 Chimenes skirmish. Amador was given explicit orders to avoid bloodshed and use force only in self-defense. On July 15, 20 Spanish on horseback attacked a Saclan village in the Lafayette/Moraga area. Amador's men killed seven Saclan before the village surrendered, and the Spanish took 32 prisoners. The Spanish then moved northward and encountered additional Saclan resistance. The Saclan retreated after one person was killed.

Amador continued towards Huchiun territory—somewhere between the mouth of Carquinez Strait and the Richmond plain—and spent the night at a forested arroyo, likely San Pablo Creek.

We followed our course in the direction we were going and concealed ourselves in a ravine near the beach. It has much timber, water, and firewood, good for a settlement. There we spent all the day hidden until nightfall when we went on to the *ranchería* of the Juchillones. At dawn we reached the place where were gathered all the Christians whom we wanted, together with those pagans who had participated in the attempt to kill Raymundo and his people. We struck the first, second, and third village during the same morning. As we reconnoitered the Indians of the last village, which is very large, the inhabitants were just about to open hostilities. But being admonished by the interpreters that we had not come to harm them but to hunt for Christians, they were pacified [Amador [1797] in Milliken 1995:291].

As in Raymundo's incursion earlier in the year, the Huchiun were forced by violence or threats of violence to give up their Christian relatives to Amador. Following the attack on the Huchiun, Amador returned with the Saclan and Huchiun prisoners to Mission San José and then to Mission San Francisco. The men captured by Amador were tried by a military trial at the San Francisco Presidio in August 1797. They were found guilty of the 1795 attack on Rogerio and the 1797 attack on Raymundo, and they were beaten and imprisoned (Milliken 1995:157-160). Milliken (1995:292-305) has presented numerous translations of the recorded testimony of captured Huchiun runaways.

Although Raymundo and Amador did not describe the locations of the Huchiun villages that they harassed and attacked, they were situated in the Huchiun's traditional territory on the bay shore plain somewhere between Richmond and Emeryville. Thus, the Stege complex and CCO-297 may have been the locations of some of these events, although other Huchiun village sites would also meet the geographic criteria. The Amador sortie did not completely subjugate the Saclan and the other East Bay tribes, but it prevented an effective resistance faction from forming in the East Bay. These events likely influenced the decisions of runaways who returned to the missions on their own following the Spanish show of force.

Subjugation and Depopulation, 1798-1810

The eastern bay shore—including the Stege Mound complex—was depopulated over the course of 1798-1801. The Saclan and other East Bay groups continued to attack the missions sporadically for several more years. The Spanish responded with military incursions into the East Bay hills. Many runaways returned to the missions, in part because of the missionaries' threats of violent capture.

Between 1798 and 1801, the dwindling population of Huchiun either went to Mission San Francisco or moved north to live with the Huchiun-Aguasto and other relatives. Forty-eight Huchiun and Saclan runaways arrived at the San Francisco Presidio in June 1798 with two neophytes who had returned home on *paseo*. According to Spanish accounts, these runaways were not punished, because they returned to the Spanish sphere voluntarily (Milliken 1995:160-166). More Huchiun and Saclan runaways returned in early 1800 with their families. However, other Saclan made threats against Ohlone who considered entering the mission system. In February 1800, some Saclan killed two native converts at Mission San José. Amador attacked villages in Livermore Valley as retribution (Milliken 1995:168-170). In 1801, the missions received an influx of complete families that was similar to, though much smaller in scale than, the mass migration of 1794-1795. Huchiun married couples were baptized at Mission San Francisco in the spring of 1801—the first major influx of Huchiun to the mission since 1795. By the end of the summer of 1801, the East Bay shore plain was almost completely depopulated (Milliken 1995:170-171).

With the depopulation of the bay shore between the San Francisco peninsula and Carquinez Strait, the Huchiun-Aguasto found themselves without any groups to buffer them from Mission San Francisco. In addition to the ongoing depopulation and ecological destruction of the region, disease continued to take a toll on the San Francisco Bay area. An epidemic of an unknown pulmonary disease from the missions to the south struck Mission San Francisco and Mission Santa Clara in 1802 (Milliken 1995:173-174). The first large group of Huchiun-Aguasto joined Mission San Francisco in 1803. However, this area was not quickly missionized. In 1804, 14 neophytes from Mission San Francisco—including two Huchiun—disappeared while on *paseo* at Carquinez Strait. Although the circumstances are uncertain, it is possible that they were killed by an anti-mission faction of Suisun (Milliken 1995:180-181). By 1806, the Carquin and the Chupcan were the only relatively intact tribal groups remaining in the East Bay (Figure 4). Any remaining unconverted Huchiun-Aguasto would have moved north across Carquinez Strait by that time (Milliken 1995:189-191).

A measles epidemic struck in spring of 1806, killing one-quarter of the Ohlone in the mission system (Milliken 1995:194-200). In May 1810, Second Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga successfully attacked a Suisun village whose members had killed multiple Christian Indians on *paseo* in the area. This effectively ended any future resistance in the San Francisco Bay area as the missions continued to extend their influence to the north and to the east. The last few Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto baptisms took place in 1808-1810 (Milliken 1995:204-211). By 1810, the Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto had completely abandoned their traditional lands. Faced with regional depopulation, Spanish military incursions, and epidemics of infectious diseases, the remaining Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto either went to the missions or fled northward.

Huchiun territory lay essentially vacant from 1803 through the mid-1810s, although missionized Huchiun may have visited the area while on *paseo*. Only 49 Huchiun were in the mission system in 1822, according to the *padrón* (census) of that year. Sometime between 1813 and 1817, Mission San Francisco established an outstation in San Pablo run by missionized Ohlone, including Huchiun-Aguasto. The area was known as “San Ysidro de los Juchiunes” at that time. In 1820, Luis Peralta requested a land grant for most of the East Bay shore. The priests of Mission San Francisco refused to give up the land, telling the governor that they needed the area between San Pablo and Temescal Creek—traditional Huchiun lands, including CCO-297—for agriculture and grazing. In 1823, however, Father Altamira of Mission San Francisco relinquished the ranch lands to the request of Francisco Castro, who established Rancho San Pablo (Milliken 1981:93-97). All of the villages in the San Francisco Bay area were empty by the early

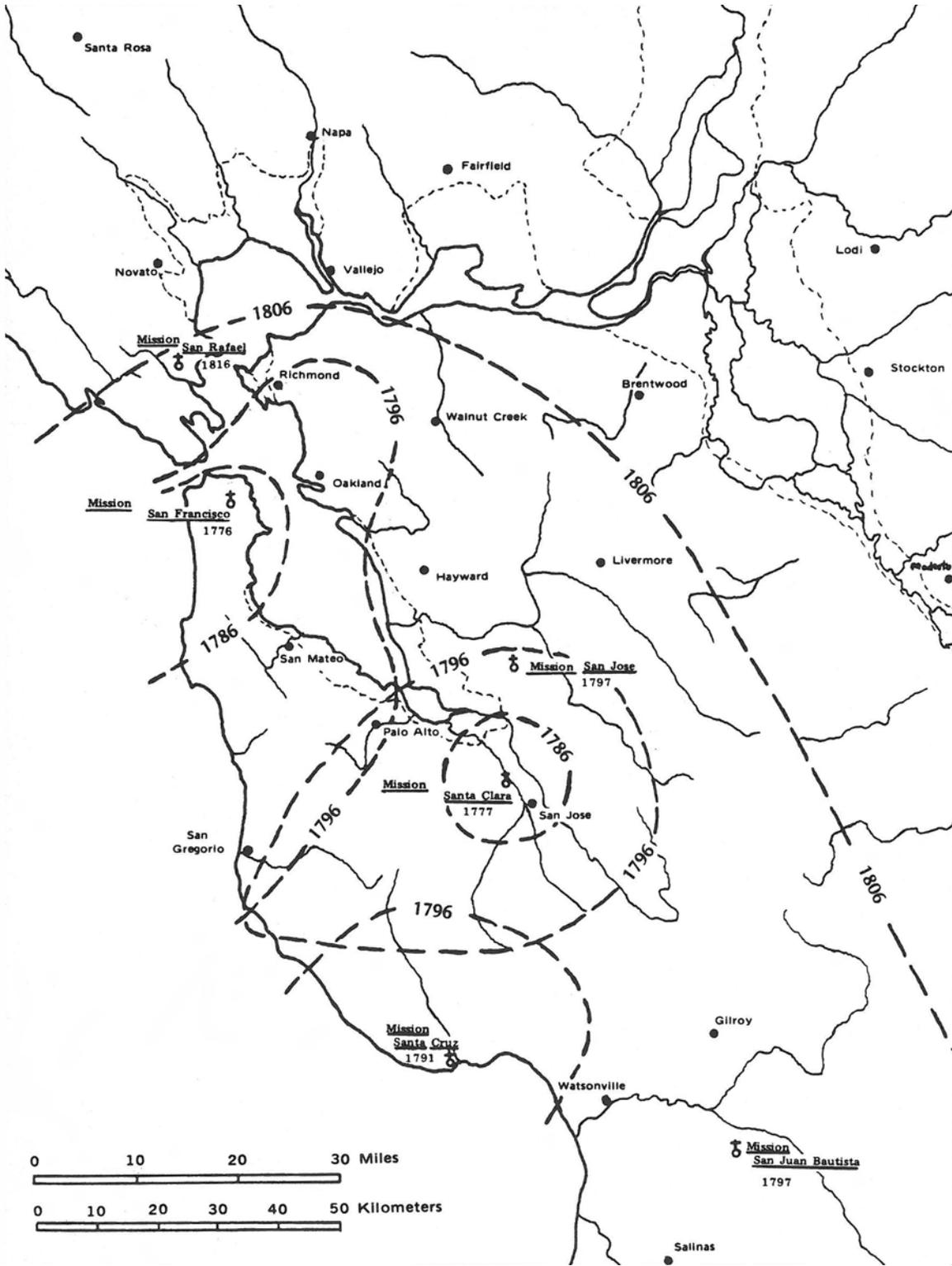


Figure 4. San Francisco Bay mission conversion areas, 1776-1806 (Milliken (1983:138).

1830s (Milliken 1995:220). The Ohlone mission outstation workers and their descendants likely stayed to work on Rancho San Pablo until the American takeover in the 1850s, following the Mexican-American War.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological evidence (radiocarbon dating, obsidian hydration, and protohistoric artifacts) suggests that CCO-297 was occupied into the late eighteenth century. Historical sources offer insights into the possible causes and timing of site abandonment. At the time of the first Spanish forays into the San Francisco Bay area, the Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto maintained a number of thriving, year-round bay shore villages occupied by hundreds of people. They welcomed early Spanish explorers as guests and appear to have remained on friendly terms with the missionaries and the military throughout the early years of missionization. By the early 1790s, San Francisco Bay area groups were feeling the effects of Spanish missionization as critical trade, marriage, and ceremonial networks were disrupted. In 1794, severe drought and effective missionary strategies sparked a mass migration of Huchiun and other East Bay groups to Mission San Francisco. During this period (the winter of 1794-1795) many large Huchiun villages were abandoned. It is possible that CCO-297 was abandoned at this time. Due to inhumane conditions at the mission, violent conflicts, and outbreak of epidemic diseases, many Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto returned to their homelands in the spring and summer of 1795.

By the late 1790s, the Huchiun population was greatly diminished, perhaps by 50 percent or more. Although many Huchiun runaways returned to village life, village complexes were sparsely populated. Some Huchiun joined the Saclan in resisting missionization and Spanish military repression. In 1797, Spanish runaway-hunting parties led by Raymundo and Amador attacked multiple Huchiun villages in the area between Richmond and Emeryville. If Huchiun people still occupied CCO-297 at this time, then it is possible that the Spanish may have attacked the village, resulting in final abandonment of the site. By 1801, the eastern bay shore was completely depopulated. Any remaining non-Christian Huchiun likely joined their Huchiun-Aguasto relatives on the north side of San Pablo Bay. The last Huchiun and Huchiun-Aguasto were baptized in 1810, after traditional lifeways had become essentially impossible in their territories. Some Huchiun-Aguasto returned to the San Pablo area to work at the mission outstation and the Castro ranch.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Stege Mound (CCO-297) was continuously occupied for a period of approximately 450 years, ca. 1350-1800. This historical investigation into the terminal occupation of CCO-297 suggests that site abandonment likely occurred between 1794 and 1801 as a result of Spanish missionary and military influence in the region.

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