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CHAPTER IV

MATALAN ETHNOHISTORY

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This study represents a continuation of research reported in a paper entitled "Northern Santa Clara County Ethnogeography" (King 1974b) to use historic sources to reconstruct the distribution of native populations in the Santa Clara Valley at the time of Spanish colonization. An understanding of the distribution of native populations has been shown to be of utility in interpreting the distribution of archaeological sites in a number of areas of California; Bennyhoff (1977) and Brown (1967) provide examples of research using both archaeological and ethnohistoric data on population distribution. This report concentrates on describing the distribution of populations in the area of the Santa Clara Valley north of Morgan Hill and south of Ford Road in San Jose. The planned construction of a new route for Highway 101 will have adverse impacts on archaeological resources in this area. This paper is prepared for A.C.R.S. toward the end of evaluating these resources. Father McKevit of the Santa Clara University Archives is to be thanked for his assistance in providing much of the information used in this study, as are the staff of the Bancroft Library and my research assistants Trish Lee and Fidel Martinez.

Most of the research in this study involved the collection of information concerning the people baptised from the Santa Clara Valley at Santa Clara Mission. In my previous research with the Santa Clara Mission Register I had observed that the missionaries had divided the

Ohlone Indians* baptised at the mission into ten groups which were called *rancherias*. On the basis of information internal to the registers, I was able to roughly locate each of these groups, and I gathered information to determine the relative size of the populations of these different groups. In this study I have concentrated on one of the groups called *San Carlos* (or *Matalan*, a native term) by the missionaries. This group is identified with the Coyote Valley area in the mission registers. I also gathered information on the smaller groups to the northwest of the San Carlos group which were closely related to each other and San Carlos. For this study I gathered for the San Carlos group all the information from the baptismal and death registers which could be used to relate people to each other as family groups, and which could potentially be used to reconstruct the size of the native population prior to the Spanish invasion. The complete analysis of the *San Carlos* group information will require much more archival research and the collection of mission register data for the groups living in the Santa Cruz area and the San Antonio area of the mountains east of San Jose, as well as the analysis of the marriage register data for persons baptised as *San Carlos* at Santa Clara Mission. In addition to the collection of this additional data, the development of mathematical models which can test for types of population changes which can be observed in the register data as well as models which can then be used to reconstruct the size of the pre-mission period native populations are necessary to do a complete analysis of the population data which I have collected. In this paper I shall discuss the relationship of the *San Carlos* or *Matalan* group to other surrounding native groups and the internal organization of the *Matalan* tribe on the

*The author's use of this term as a designation of Costanoan or Costaño Indian groups has been retained in this chapter.

basis of the data which has so far been obtained.

Northwestern Ohlone

All of the drainages of the Santa Cruz Mountains excepting the southernmost portion in the vicinity of Watsonville were owned at the time of Spanish contact by people whom historic accounts inform us spoke the same language or dialect. Several tribal centers contained a large portion of the population in this area. Starting at San Francisco and going south, the first large tribal center was on San Mateo Creek. The main tribe in the area was the *Salson*. The *Salson* were mentioned in a report by Father Palou from San Francisco Mission:

> We were surrounded on all sides by sea, except on the south and southeast, where the greatest number of heathens was located, in the space between this and that of Santa Clara, the first big villages being six leagues (about sixteen miles) away, where the countryside was more plentiful in acorns and wild seeds. . . (Brown 1974)

The San Francisquito Creek drainage was the next area of population concentration encountered to the south. The headwaters of the creek were controlled by a group called *Quirostes* (*Wiroste*) by the priests at San Francisco Mission (Brown 1974) and called *San Bernardino* by the priests at Santa Clara and Santa Cruz Missions. The lower portion of the drainage was controlled by groups called *Santa Agueda* at Santa Clara and Santa Cruz Missions and *Ssaucones* (*Saucon*) and *Quelmelantos* (*Wemelanto*) at San Francisco Mission.

The foothills in the area of Stevens Creek were occupied by a tribelet about a quarter the size of the *San Bernardino* groups to the northwest. The next larger group is the subject of this study and was called *San Carlos* or *Matalan* by the missionaries at Santa Clara Mission. According

to the mission registers, the *Matalan* were centered at *La Laguna Seca* in the northwest portion of Coyote Valley. The *San Carlos* and *San Bernardino* groups were evidently of approximately the same size and were the largest groups living in the Santa Cruz Mountains. Father Lasuen reported:

> At San Francisco they name *Matalanes*, *Salsones*, and *Quirotes*, but these names denote well only distinct directions or places where there are portions of heathen who are distinct as *naciones* but have the same language (Microfilm, *Archivo General de la Nacion*, *Mexico*, Ramo Misiones, Vol. 2:148).

Father Lasuen, probably based on information from Father Palou, listed large population centers of the Northwestern Ohlone which I have so far listed. The converts from the area southeast of the Coyote Valley were listed as people from the place of *San Juan* at Santa Cruz Mission and the southern portion of this group was called *Unijaima* at San Juan Bautista Mission. The baptismal records indicate that there were two or three centers in this area similar in size to *San Juan Cupertino* (i.e. about one-fourth to one third the size of the *San Carlos* or *San Bernardino* groups).

On the coast from Aptos to San Francisco Mission were a number of villages which had close ties with their neighbors on the interior side of the Santa Cruz Mountains.

Pedro Fages clearly considered the Northwest Ohlone to be the most sedentary of the Ohlone groups. He observed:

> Speaking now of the natives who are . . . (to the north of the Pajaro River). It is first to be noted that those of the Valle de San Francisco (Santa Clara Valley) are the ones who have the most culture and are the least savage. They have their hemispherical houses of about four yards in diameter, and live very sociably, fixing their residences in large villages which, since they become infested with fleas

> in the springtime, they abandon for the purpose of passing this uncomfortable season in little brush houses which they construct at a short distance from their villages (Priestley 1937:70).

There were a large number of these villages in the Santa Clara Valley. At the end of 1777 Fathers Murguia and Pena observed:

> Around the site (of the Mission) are many heathen so that we have judged that there exists forty rancherias (settlements) within five leagues; their *nacion* (nationality) can be called the *Tares* for that is the name the (the ohlone) call the men (*Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico, Misiones de Alto California*, Series 2a, Vol 2).

What were called *rancherias* in the Santa Clara Mission records were, with the exception of the one or two closest, actually concentrations of villages which were closely related to each other as tribal or tribelet groups. The ten *rancherias* consistently listed in the Santa Clara Mission registers included all of the forty settlements mentioned by Fathers Murguia and Pena as well as others located outside of the five league radius.

The rancheria which was closest to the mission was called Our Mother Santa Clara and was composed of only four households. It was clearly a single small settlement which could probably be best grouped in a larger group called *San Jose Cupertino* which was centered at the point where Stevens Creek flows out of the Santa Cruz Mountains. The larger groups baptised at Santa Clara Mission clearly fit Kroeber's description of village-communities or tribelets.

> The difference between village-community or tribelet and the village or settlement is that the former may contain several settlements. These several settlements-there might be three or four or five of them-sometimes more or less the same in size, but more often one was dominant or permanent, the other more like suburbs of it. They might be situated some miles away. The smaller settlements were likely to be inhabited seasonally, or by certain families only perhaps for a stretch of years, after which their population might drift back to the main settlement. Also, whenever

> there was anything like a council of the group, when war was threatening, or especially when a festival was announced and a dance was to be held, it was the largest, principal, or most permanent settlement within the tribelet that would be the gathering point for all members of the group (Kroeber 1963:95).

The priests at San Francisco Mission recorded more information of explicit ethnographic value than those at Santa Cruz and Santa Clara Missions. The priests at Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista Missions also recorded more detailed information than those at Santa Clara Mission since they often recorded the baptisms of neophytes by village settlement. The San Francisco records indicate that everyone was a member of a *familia* or *nacion* which can be translated as lineage or clan. These kinship groups were usually associated with particular villages. At some times members of these groups lived in association with other groups at large settlements which were often associated with large *familias* or *naciones* (cf. Brown 1974, Merriam 1967).

At Santa Clara Mission, Fathers Noboa and Pena observed of the Ohlone at the beginning of 1790:

> In all directions in fifteen to twenty leagues they speak the same language with very small variations in suffixes and accents . . . *apellidos* (surnames) (*Archivo General de la Nacion Mexico Misiones de Alto California*, Series 2A, Vol. 2).

A statement in the Santa Clara Mission records indicates the close association between kin group and settlement. The entry for baptism 5111 for San Carlos describes the relationship of the person baptised previously by stating "of the same *familia* or *rancheria*" as the preceeeding.

Chieftanship

Father Amoros at San Carlos Mission in 1814 wrote of the Indians in the vicinity of the missions:

> The prominent Indians are the captains or kings. There is one for each tribe. They command obedience and respect during their life-time. This office is hereditary, or, in default of an heir by direct descent, it goes to the closest relative. This chief alone among the pagans could retain or desert a number of unmarried women; but if he had children by one of them, she was held in higher esteem and he lived permanently with her (Heizer 1974:41).

The priests at Santa Clara Mission refused to explicitly recognize the native political system and never refer to anyone baptised from the Santa Clara Valley as a chief. They did, however, record the names of the parents of almost every child born, and at times explicitly state that some children are half sibs with the same father. It is therefore possible to define the presence of polygymous marriages. It is also possible to document a number of cases of tribal exogamy. A number of exogamous marriages which I have been able to define are with a husband who has more than one wife. The presence of kin ties between chiefly families is documented for the groups at San Juan Bautista (King 1974a). Lowell Bean has summarized the role of chiefs in California:

> (The chief's) primary function was to control the collection, distribution and exchange of food stores, money and valuables for the benefit of the group, the chief needed ties with other corporate groups, since every group was in danger of occasional food stress in the absence of economic exchange . . . He usually married several women (often from different tribelets), daughters of other chiefly or wealthy families, and thus provided himself and his children with kin among the elite of other communities (1976:111-112).

The Santa Clara Mission registers indicate that some men had as many as four wives at a time. Most polygymous marriages, however, evidently included no more than two wives. The chiefs of some of the smaller villages such as the chief of Our Mother Santa Clara, *Sichcan* (Balthasar) ♂ 35 (298), who was married to *Chorcorate* (679) from *San Jose Cupertino*, were married to only one woman. Further analysis of the data I have

collected, as well as the collection of mo
necessary before the political organizatio
constructed. The information included in t
adjacent groups provides some specific dat
tionships with the surrounding groups.

The *Matalan* Tribe

On the basis of the information which I have so far studied, it appears that all of the archaeological resources to be impacted by the construction of the 101 bypass lie within the area owned by the people baptised at Santa Clara Mission as from rancherias of *San Carlos*. The records clearly indicate that the village of *Matalan*, located at Laguna Seca in the northwestern portion of Coyote Valley, was the dominant central village of the *San Carlos* group. The distribution of surrounding groups indicates that sites in the Almaden Valley between the Santa Teresa Hills and Coyote Creek and the entire Coyote Valley area were occupied by the *San Carlos* group. On the basis of Mission register data, the *San Carlos* and *San Bernardino* groups baptised at Santa Clara Mission were clearly the largest Ohlone tribal groups at the time of historic contact.

Archaeological data from the area of the *Matalan* tribe indicate that at some times as many as twenty village settlements may have been present within the tribe. It is, however, probable that during most times, between four and ten sites were occupied in the *Matalan* tribal area. Of these, the village at Laguna Seca was the largest and most permanent, and possibly often contained as much as half of the population of the tribe. Archaeological data indicate that three to five villages were located around five miles away from *La Laguna Seca*. Some of these villages (especially in the Middle Period) evidently rivaled the settlement at *La*

Laguna Seca in size. During the historic period I doubt that they were more than a quarter the size of the village at *La Laguna Seca*. There are about five third order settlements in a radius of around two or three miles from *La Laguna Seca*. It is one or two of these settlements, as well as more seasonal camps used by the *San Carlos* group while fishing and waterfowl hunting along Coyote Creek, which would be impacted by the construction of the 101 bypass.

On November 28, 1774, Father Palou traveled north from Morgan Hill where he

> . . . came to a large bed of a reiver (Coyote Creek), well grown with cottonwoods, alders, and willows, but without water. We followed this bed along its bank, which was very high and steep, and we made out across the river on a hill to the north of a village of heathen.
>
> We followed the bed of the river and came to a thick wood of several kinds of rees and blackberry bramble which it was necessary to cross, and in it we found some little houses of the heathen, who at the noise we made, left their things and concealed themselves in the thick woods. We crossed, near a village, a good brook of running water, which we soon saw no more, and we judged that it sank into the sand (Bolton 1926:260).

The group of houses in the thick wood was probably near the center of Coyote Valley. Probably about a mile north of Tulare Hill along Coyote Creek, Palou found "vestiges of a village which showed evidence of having recently been moved" (Bolton 1926:261).

On March 23, 1770, Pedro Fages travelled through Coyote Valley and reported:

> This day we saw many antelopes and some deer. No heathen were seen, though we did see clouds of smoke on both sides, which we thought made by heathen, but we did not see them.

Fages mentioned that they camped near to a place where the soldiers saw a large lake of fresh water which was *La Laguna Seca* (Treutlein 1972:345).

what is now Alamitos Creek as Arroyo de Los Capitancillos. Others identify the Arroyo de los Capitancillos with Guadalupe Creek. This name probably refers to the presence of a number of settlements in the Almaden Valley headed by subchiefs who were under a head chief who probably lived at Laguna Seca.

Ceremonial Sites

Historical data provides us with the description of several types of cultural sites which occur away from habitation sites. The presence of these types of sites possibly cannot be determined using the procedures most archaeologists have used in locating occupation areas. The following information is presented to enable archaeologists to anticipate the presence of these site types.

At what was probably the village of *Thithirii* (*Carnadero*), just south of Gilroy, Pedro Font observed in 1776:

> On passing near the village which I mentioned on the road we saw on the edge of it something like a cemetery. It was made of several small poles, although it was not like the cemeteries which we saw on the Channel. On the poles were hung some things like snails and some tule skirts which the women wear. Some arrows were stuck in the ground, and there were some feathers which perhaps were treasures of the persons buried there (Bolton 1933:322).

Probably at least all of the large village sites in the Coyote Valley had similar cemeteries adjacent to them. Fages observed that the Ohlone in the Santa Cruz Mountain area buried their dead in places like regular cemeteries (Priestley 1972:70). Besides cemeteries, the Ohlone in the Santa Clara Valley also had shrines which were often apart from the vil- sites.

In 1812, the missionaries at San Francisco wrote of the Indians in the mission's jurisdiction:

> Some Indians employ superstitious practices when they go hunting or fishing. They will not hunt or fish unless they have done something of the kind, such as planting a stick surmounted with feathers and wild seeds; abstaining from meat, etc. . . . (Heizer 1974:65-66).

In 1776, the De Anza expedition reached the banks of Llagas Creek northwest of San Martin. Font recorded:

> At this place we found still standing the poles of the little bower erected in the journey which in September of last year was made by ship captain Don Bruno de Hezeta and Father Palou. . . . We found that the Indians had made a fence of little poles around them, and in the middle had set up a thick post about three spans long, decorated with many feathers tied in something like a net, as if dressed, and with an arrow stuck through them. On one pole many arrows were tied and from another were hung three or four balls of grass like tamales, filled with pinole made of their seeds and of acorns, or of others of their foods which we did not recognize. In the middle of a long stake there was hung a tuft of several goose feathers, but we were not able to understand what mystery this decoration concealed (Bolton 1933:321-322).

Further along on their journey, just before reaching San Francisquito Creek near Palo Alto, Font observed:

> Near here we saw something that looked to us like a building. Going to see what it was, we found a very round enclosure made of laurel branches well woven together and about six spans high, with a door somewhat higher by which to enter, and opposite it near the ground another small one like a little window. On top of the enclosure there were four tufts of dry grass like beaten hemp, and within, on one side, a bundle of poles about two varas long without points, stuck in the ground and with feathers at the end like arrows, and other sticks that were shorter, all tied together. But there was no Indian about, and from the sign of fire in the middle we concluded that this enclosure was some sort of a plaza for dancing (Bolton 1933: 326).

Matalan Relationships with Adjacent Groups

The analysis which I have done thus far with the mission register data I collected concerning the *San Carlos* is still very preliminary. I have defined a number of kin ties with adjacent groups. The following

section presents a summary of what I presently know concerning these relationships.

The people mentioned here from baptismal registers are presented in the following manner and order: First is given the native name of the person if known (in italics), then if of interest their Spanish name. If the native name is not known, the Spanish name only is given. Following the name is a symbol indicating the sex of the person. The number which follows is the age at baptism in years or, if so designated, in months or days. The number in brackets which concludes the individual's identification is the number of their baptismal entry.

Relationships to the Northeast

San Antonio

The largest number of relatives of people from *San Carlos* baptised from other groups at Santa Clara were from the *San Antonio* group which was centered in the mountains to the east of San Jose. Some of these relationships may be with people living at the village of chief Palac on the Coyote Creek near San Jose where hemp was raised by Indians for the Presidio of Monterey, although it appears that ties between the groups reflect pre-Spanish relationships.

Tumucla of *San Antonio* was said to be the step-father of *Chaluacsi* ♂ 3 (3434) of *San Carlos* whose mother was *Tapium* ♀ 24 (3713) of *San Carlos*.

Sauxum ♀ 30 (3854) of *San Carlos* was a wife of *Cuniri* of *San Antonio* (a man with several wives) and had a child *Tupis* ♂ 2 (3829). This child was baptised as a *San Antonio* child but the baptismal entry states "in the day he lives at the 'Laguna'". The death entry (d2569) made about a

year and a half later for this child enters him as from *San Carlos*.

Saycom ♀ adult (3819) of *San Carlos* was married to *Sachute* (*Saychute*) ♂ 30 (4471) of *San Antonio* and had a child ♀ 1 *Sepchen* (3755) baptised from *San Antonio*. A later baptism from *San Carlos* of *Tupup* ♂ 14 (4537) said he was a relative of Francisca Romana ♀ 3 (4469) of *San Antonio* whose father was *Sachute* (4471) and whose mother was *Sepum* ♀ 30 (4472) of *San Antonio*, the wife of *Sachute* recognized by the mission.

Guiguite ♀ 20 (3908) of *San Carlos* was a sister (Prima erm[a]) of *Titente* ♀ 18 (4389) of *San Antonio*. *Titente* had a brother *Aycha* ♂ 6 (4610) who was baptized as from *San Antonio* but whose death entry was made almost 10 years later listed him as from *San Carlos*. *Guiguite* was the mother of Leto Antonio ♂ 3 mo. (3906) of *San Antonio*; his father was *Chamana*.

Tolets ♂ 18 (3914) was baptised as from *San Antonio*. His death entry made about three years later at the end of 1803 says it had been determined with certainty that he had been killed by the heathens by arrows. This death entry (d. 3118) lists *Tolets* (Benito) as being from *San Carlos*. *Tolets* was the brother at least by father of Olegaria ♀ 7 (3945) of *San Carlos*.

Saygete (*Saguet*) ♀ 28 (4313) is listed as being from *San Antonio* in her baptismal entry and from *San Carlos* in her death entry (d. 4827) made over 14 years later. She is said to be the sister (Prima erm[a]) of Fabiana ♀ 13 (4615) of *San Carlos*. *Saygete* was a wife to *Salich* and the mother of *Meniom* ♀ 11 (4281) of *San Antonio*. *Meniom* was baptised along with other *San Antonio* baptisms all evidently from the *rancheria* of *Pala* on Coyote Creek near San Jose. Fabiana (4615) was a daughter of *Lomosi* and a dead mother. *Lomosi* is possibly *Lomoxi* ♂ 40 recorded at Santa

Cruz (1081) from the village of *Sitectac*.

Chigiesi ♀ 50 (4348) of *San Carlos* was the wife of *Cumulan* (4336) of *San Antonio*.

Megiem ♂ 50 (5784) was baptised as from *San Antonio* and his death entry (d. 4986) lists him as from *San Carlos*. *Megiem* was the father of Maria ♀ 1 mo. (3925) at *San Carlos*. Her mother was *Tosnem* (4341) who at her baptism was married to *Veroste* ♂ 60 (43[illegible]) of *San Carlos*.

Eighteen persons who were baptised from *San Antonio* other than those so far mentioned had death entries which listed them as being from *San Carlos*. Some of these, however, may be errors. I suspect that most indicate the presence of kin ties between the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* groups.

Santa Ysabel

One person baptised as from *Santa Ysabel* was listed in the death register (d. 4301) as from *San Carlos*.

Taysenes (*Aunenes*)

On the east side of the mountains to the east of San Jose were a number of Yokut groups. The *Taysenes* were the closest of these to the *Matalan*.

Ceucete ♀ 30 (4832) of the *Taysenes* was the wife of *Potenat* ♂ 30 (5431), and the sister of *Huinete* ♀ 30 (5620) who was baptised as from *San Carlos* where *Huinete* was married to *Ligslisi* ♂ 34, also of *San Carlos*. *Potenat* (*Petenats*) ♂ 30 was baptised as from *Taysenes* but his death entry (d. 6506) listed him as being from *San Carlos*. *Potenat* was the husband of *Ceucete* when he was baptised.

Four women were baptised as *Taysenes* but were listed in the death

register as from *San Carlos*.

Relationships to the Northwest

San Bernardino de Sena

In the Santa Clara records the *San Bernardino* group ranks second to the *San Antonio* group in frequency of known ties with the *San Carlos* group.

Guachan (Francisco Primo) ♂ 18 (1430) of *San Bernardino* was the husband of Adriana ♀ 20 (1431) of *San Carlos*.

Ronsen ♀ 22 (1900) of *San Carlos* was said to be the mother of Juan Jose ♂ 1 mo. (1775) who was baptised as from *San Bernardino* in the *rancheria* of the *Salagenas*. Juan Jose's parents were listed as being *Guanpaguis* (father) and *Sicercim* (mother).

Camilo ♂ 1 mo. (1232) of *San Bernardino* was said to be a brother by his father *Poguesem* of Potenciana ♀ 11 (1558) of *San Carlos*, whose mother was dead at the time of her baptism.

Seven people who were baptised as from *San Bernardino* were recorded in the death register as being from *San Carlos*.

San Francisco Our Patron Saint

Pisoliu, or *Villela* ♂ adult (4115) and *Olegen* ♀ 40 (4123) from *San Carlos* had three children Nicasio ♂ 3 (657), Jph. Prospero ♂ 2 mo. (1273), and Dario ♂ 1 mo. (2381), who were baptised as from Our Patron Saint San Francisco. *Pisoliu* had another child Pancracio ♂ 1 mo. (1412) whose mother was *Liayaye* ♀ 25 (2009) who was baptised as from San Francisco Our Patron Saint.

Our Mother Santa Clara

Yzcosis ♀ 32 (2353) baptised as from Our Mother Santa Clara was the

wife of *Sapil* ♂ 36 (2351) from *San Carlos*.

Conrado Maria ♂ 12 (149), the first baptism from *San Carlos* whose father was *Cahlui* and whose mother was dead, was said to be a cousin on the father's side (Prima carnal) of Vicente Ant° ♂ 3 (46) of Our Mother Santa Clara.

San Jose Cupertino

The father of Lucas Francisco ♂ 5 (394) and Luciano Antonio ♂ 6 mo. (793), *Sipun*, was baptised from *San Jose Cupertino*. He may have been the same *Sipun* ♂ 66 who was baptised as from *San Carlos* (4315).

Two persons baptised as from *San Jose Cupertino* were listed in the death register as from *San Carlos*, and two old men baptised as from *San Juan Bautista* were listed as from *San Carlos* in the death register.

Relationships to the Southwest

Probably more relationships to the Santa Cruz coastal area will be apparent when the data on these groups in the mission registers from Santa Cruz Mission are studied.

Maria Lorenza ♀ 9 (1904) of *San Carlos* was said to be the sister by her father of ♀ 1 (1897) of *Uypi*. Maria Lorenza's father was *Suguex* and her mother was *Rosuem*. *Suguex* ♂ 34 (2 at Santa Cruz) and his wife *Yxiem* ♀ 34 (3 at Santa Cruz) were both baptised as from *Uypi*. The mother of (1897) was said to be *Loruim* (?) which may be the same person as *Yxiem*.

Tiguem ♀ 20 (4109) of *San Carlos* was the wife of *Sotoya* ♂ 23 (900 at Santa Cruz) of the *rancheria* of *Sayataca* (*Sayanta?*). (Octaviano) married *Tiguem* at Santa Clara Mission where the marriage was recorded as No. 900.

Relationships to the Southeast

An analysis of the death registers at Santa Cruz Mission will probably enable us to make more certain statements concerning relationships with groups which were baptised at Santa Cruz Mission. The death registers at Santa Clara Mission list a few individuals who were baptised as from *San Carlos* as being buried at Santa Cruz Mission. It is possible that many of these people were baptised from areas to the south of the Coyote Valley and were from the same villages as those at Santa Cruz. This seems especially probable because the best ties with Santa Cruz Mission are with people who are found in groups baptised in one or two days. None of the people baptised in these groups (Bap. 3698-3705, Dec. 8 and 15, 1798; and 2010-2018, Jan. 8, 1792) were buried at Santa Clara Mission before 1830; a few are said in the death registers to have died in their native *rancherias* and a few are said to have been buried at Santa Cruz Mission.

Carchas ♂ 9 (3699) baptised at Santa Clara Mission as from *San Carlos* had a father named *Elelis*. *Elelis* ♂ 28 was baptised at Santa Cruz Mission (1143) as from the *rancheria* of *Chipuctac* (place of San Juan west of Llagas Creek?)

The father of Elzeario ♂ 2 (2012) baptised in 1792 at Santa Clara Mission was named *Caiche*. *Cachichi* ♂ 70, baptised in 1792 at Santa Cruz Mission in 1805 (1147), was from the *rancheria* of *Pitac* (place of San Juan=west of Llagas Creek?).

Two other tentative identifications with parents of children baptised at Santa Clara Mission in the group of baptisms 2010-2018 can be made.

The mother of Firmina ♀ 1 (2017) baptised at Santa Clara Mission

was *Patsquite*. *Pachquite* ♀ 30 was baptised at Santa Cruz Mission (828) as being from the place of San Juan (west of Llagas Creek).

The mother of Balbina ♀ 5 (2016) was *Guiguam* ♀ 30, who was baptised at Santa Cruz Mission (1116) as from the rancheria of *Sayup* in the place of San Francisco Xavier (east of Llagas Creek?).

Persons baptised 3803-3809 (July 23 and 28, 1799) at Santa Clara Mission, like the other two groups just discussed, except one person who died within three months of baptism in 1799, also are conspicuously absent in the death register entries for San Carlos before 1830.

The mother of *Chalema* ♀ 7 (3803) at Santa Clara Mission was *Casirom*. *Cosorom* ♀ 27 was baptised at Santa Cruz (1005) as from the place of San Juan.

The origins of three other people baptised at Santa Cruz Mission can possibly be identified on the basis of their names. The identifications are, at this time, considered to be very tentative. This is because even though names, especially adult male names, were seldom duplicated in the tribe or tribelet in the *Matalan* area, they may be repeated in distant villages. Names of important people seem to be the most frequently used. Since these three people do not occur along with other persons whose death record has not been located as did those in the three groups which have been described, it is more probable that if the identifications are correct they represent inter-settlement kin relationships. Two of the people tentatively identified as parents were baptised as from the *rancheria* of *Chitatac* (place of San Juan) at Santa Cruz. The death entry of one of their possible children at Santa Clara was not entered under *San Carlos* in the Santa Clara death register before 1830. The other parent was a father from the *rancheria* of *Sitectac* which was closely

tied to *Tomoi* (place of San Francisco Xavier). At present I suspect that these *rancherias* are further south than the *rancherias* listed for the more certain identifications given above, although they are all to the north of the latitude of Gilroy.

On May 13, 1796 at San Carlos Mission (Carmel), a young man of about 18 years was baptised (2116) as Jose de la Cruz. His father was said to be named *Tuguixums* and he was said to be from the *rancheria* of *Matlan* at the Laguna. In the margin Jose de la Cruz is said to be from *Katlenda-Ruc*, a term used by the missionaries at Carmel for Ohlone people baptised from north of the Salinas River (cf, King 1974a). Jose de las Cruz was buried (d. 4870) in 1817 at Santa Clara Mission and was noted as having come from San Carlos Mission. Jose de la Cruz was perhaps in Monterey as a prisoner. His history needs to be further researched to determine if he was married into a southern Ohlone village or was a Spanish prisoner from the La Laguna Seca village.

It is clear from the baptismal records that most marriages were endogamous at the tribal level and that small village settlements within a tribe were tied together by kin ties.

Conclusions

Matalan was an important large Ohlone tribelet in the Coyote Valley and adjacent areas. Archaeological sites which would be impacted by the 101 Bypass project evidently all lie in the territory occupied by the Matalan and their ancestors. Coyote Creek represented a unique resource to the Matalan. The nature of the occupations along it and the resources obtained from it are presently only conjectural and have not been archaeologically documented. The destruction of cultural resources along Coyote Creek will decrease the potential for us to have

a thorough description of land use by the *Matalan* as well as of the changes which occurred in land use in the area during prehistoric time periods. It is safe to say that the *Matalan* tribelet numbered over 1,000 people. More accurate population counts will require further research and the development of mathematical models which can be used to reconstruct the pre-1777 population.