

DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MEWAN STOCK OF CALIFORNIA

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INTRODUCTION

Of the twenty-four or more linguistic stocks of California Indians the *Me'-wan* (called by Powell *Moquelumnan*) is one of the largest, one of the most diversified, and one of the least known. In population, in number of tribes, in extent of territory, and in degree of differentiation it has only a single rival — the Piute.

While its early history and migrations, and the vicissitudes by which it became broken up and scattered may never be known, this much is certain: that for a period reaching far back into the past — so far indeed that there are no traditions to the contrary — it has consisted of four principal divisions, two of which are in geographical contact, the other two separated from the main stock and from one another by tribes speaking widely different languages. For many hundreds — perhaps thousands — of years it has occupied three distinct and disconnected areas — a large and broad area in the middle of the state, comprising the foothills and lower slopes of the middle Sierra, with an adjacent section of the great interior valley, and two small independent areas in the coast region north of San Francisco bay (see map).

The main body of the stock consists of two principal parts, which may be known as the *Me'-wuk* or Mountain people, and the *Mew'-ko* or Valley people — each comprising a number of tribes and subtribes.

The tribes north of San Francisco bay occupy two isolated areas — one, the coast region from the Petaluma marshes westerly to Point Reyes and north nearly to Russian river; the other, a narrow area reaching from the south end of Clear lake in Lake county southward to Pope valley in northern Napa county.

The coast people were of three tribes, differing somewhat in language — the *Hoo'-koo-e'-ko*, *Lek-kah'-te-wut'-ko*, and *O'-lah-ment'-ko*.

The Lake County people have no tribal name for themselves, but, like the Sierra Mewuk, use the various rancheria or village names. They may be called *Tu'-le-am-me* from their ancient settlement a little south of Lower lake, or *O'-lā-am-me* from their more recent settlement on Putah creek in Coyote valley.

The stock here called *Me'-wan* has been, in whole or in part and under various names — as *Mutsun*, *Moquelumnan*, and *Mewuk* — the subject of discussion by several authors, notably Powell, Powers, and Gatschet, although nothing approaching a correct statement of the distribution and relations of the tribes has as yet appeared. Of the stock names in use, *Mutsun* has been already dropped as belonging to another stock. *Moquelumnan* I reject for two reasons — its clumsiness, and the fact that it is based on the name of one of the smallest and most insignificant tribes of the entire group. In its place I here introduce the stock name MEWAN, derived from the root of the word for 'people' common to nearly all the tribes (as *Me'-wuk*, *Me'-wah*, *Mew'-wah*, *Me'-wə*, *Me-u'-ko*, *Me'-chah*). Mewan has the double merit of brevity and of conformity with the usual mode of ending stock names.

The aim of the present paper is to suggest a classification for Indian tribes, to apply this classification to the Mewan stock, and to record certain original observations on the distribution of its several divisions. Published material is neither repeated nor discussed; controversial matters are avoided, and in the lists of villages of the various tribes none are included save those given me by the Indians themselves.

Indian words are written in simple phonetic English, and diacritical marks have the phonetic values ordinarily given them — as in the Century Dictionary.

CLASSIFICATION

In attempting a classification of the Mewan stock one is confronted at the outset by the absolute non-existence of such a thing as a standard of classification for Indian groups. Ethnologists use

the terms "stock" and "family" interchangeably, regarding them as synonymous, and drop at once from stock to tribe, giving no heed to divisions of intermediate rank. And if evidence of relationship, however remote, is detected between two or more stocks the practice is to merge such stock under a common name and pool the contained tribes — as if the aims of science were served by the abolition of group names and by mixing together in a common jumble a rabble of tribes of diverse relationships!

Imagine the chaos in zoology and botany if families or genera were merged whenever relationships are established with other families or genera. Surely no one will dispute the assertion that the recognition by name of well defined groups in nature — whether in botany, zoology, or ethnology — is essential to a clear and ready comprehension of kinship — so essential indeed that without it progress in classification is out of the question.

Why not allow the well differentiated stocks to stand, irrespective of remote affiliations, and bring together allied stocks under the broader term "phylum"?

To the naturalist, accustomed to grouping forms of life into classes, orders, families, genera, and species, with subordinate divisions under each, the absence of classification in ethnology is most bewildering, and to the student of anthropology, whatever his antecedents, it must necessarily prove a serious obstacle to the clear perception of relationships.

The purpose of classification is to bring things of a kind together, to arrange related objects in such a manner as to show degrees of rank and affinity, and to supply convenient headings for categories of equal value. The number of categories needed depends on the number of groups of different rank requiring classification. In the case of Indian tribes, it is believed that all ordinary needs may be met by the use of the headings phylum, stock, family, subfamily, tribe, and subtribe. If in exceptional cases more are required, superfamily and supertribe may be added.

The following is submitted as a provisional classification of the Mewan stock:

Classification of the Mewan Stock

STOCK	FAMILY	SUBFAMILY	TRIBE
ME'-WAN	Me'-wuk	Me'-wuk	{ Northern Me'-wuk Middle Me'-wuk Southern Me'-wuk
		Mew'-ko	{ Hul-poom'-ne Mo-koz'-um-ne Mo-kal'-um-ne Chil-lum'-ne Si-a-kum-ne Tu-ol'-um-ne O'-che-hak Wi'-pā Han-ne'-suk Yatch-a-chum'-ne
	In-ne'-ko	Tu'-le-am'-me	Tu'-le-am'-me (or O'-lā-yo'-me)
		Hoo'-koo-e'-ko	{ O'-la-ment'-ko Le-kah'-te-wut'-ko Hoo'-koo-e'-ko

MEWUK FAMILY

The *Me'-wuk* family comprises the two largest divisions or sub-families of the stock — the *Me'-wuk* proper, inhabiting the Sierra foothills from the Middle Cosumnes southward to Fresno creek, and the *Mew'-ko*, inhabiting the adjacent interior plain from a few miles south of the lower part of American river southerly to Tuolumne river.

It is an interesting fact, as showing how both Indians and whites may be influenced by the same physical features, that the present boundary between the valley and mountain counties — the line separating Sacramento, San Joaquin, and Stanislaus counties of the plain from Amador, Calaveras, and Tuolumne counties of the foothills and mountains, coincides almost exactly with the time-honored boundary between the Mewko and Mewuk tribes.

THE MEWUK SUBFAMILY

The *Me'-wuk* subfamily occupies the timbered foothills and lower mountain slopes and valleys of the west flank of the Sierra from Middle fork of Cosumnes river southerly (following the trend

of the mountains) to Fresno creek — a distance in an air line of about 110 miles. The breadth of their territory averages about 30 miles, beyond which narrow tongues follow some of the river valleys for 15 or 20 miles to the eastward, penetrating well into the mountains — as along the Tuolumne and Merced rivers.

The Zone position of the Mewuk tribes, as pointed out by me several years ago,¹ is Upper Sonoran and low Transition. Most of them occupy the Digger Pine belt (dominant tree *Pinus sabiniana*); the remainder the lower edge of the Ponderosa pine belt (dominant tree *Pinus ponderosa*).

THE MEWUK TRIBES

The Mewuk people may be divided into three principal groups or tribes, of approximately equal extent and degree of differentiation, which, for lack of better names, are here called Northern, Middle, and Southern Mewuk. Their word or name for 'people' — by which they always mean their own people — is, in the northern division, *Me'-wuk*; in the middle division, *Me'-wah*; in the southern division, *Mē-wē* or *Mew'-wah*. The members of these tribes or supertribes have no names for themselves but are commonly known by the names of their principal rancherias or villages. They often called one another after the points of the compass, as *Tam'-moo-lek* or *Tah-mah-lā'-ko*, from *tah'-mah* north; *Choo'-mat-tuk*, *Choo'-ma-to'-ka*, from *choo'-match* south.

The villages are of two classes: (1) those in which the families of the head chiefs — the *Hi-am-po-ko* or "Royal families" — reside, and (2) those inhabited solely by the common people. The position of head chief is hereditary, and may descend from either father or mother to oldest son (or in some cases to a daughter). The head chief, called *hi-ah'-po* by the northern Mewuk (or if a woman, *mi'-ang-ah*), is a person of standing, power, and influence in the tribe, is recognized as head chief by the tributary villages, and must always be a member of a "Royal family."

The chiefs or "speakers" of the minor villages, called *le-wa'-pe* by the Northern Mewuk and *d'-oo-che* by the Middle Mewuk, are chosen from the common people and have no authority save in their own villages.

¹ *Science*, n. s. XIX, 912-917, June 17, 1904.

The villages of the first class are of much consequence ; they are the places where the principal ceremonies are held ; their names dominate the surrounding country and are used by the inhabitants of the adjacent minor villages — instead of their own local names — to designate the people and place to which they belong. Thus, if a resident of a minor village is asked the name of his tribe or home he gives the name, not of his actual residence but of the head village to which his village is tributary.

But this is not all, for the name of a village of the first class is applied not only to the village itself, to its inhabitants, and to the inhabitants of the minor villages tributary to it, but also to a definite tract of country, often of considerable size, constituting the domain of the tribe. Thus *Ah-wah'-ne* was the name of the principal village in Yosemite valley — the home of the great chief Tenia (*Tenni'-ah*) ; it was also the name of the valley itself, and of the inhabitants of all the villages, nearly a dozen in number. *Chow-chil'-lah* is a similar case. The name is that of a village of the first class, situated in Chowchilla canyon ; it is applied also to the inhabitants of all the tributary villages, of which there were many, and to a large tract of country, dominated by these people — a tract reaching from Fresno creek on the south to Merced river on the north.

These primary divisions were the political, social, ceremonial, and geographic units of the Mewuk ; their importance therefore can hardly be overestimated. Whether they should be regarded as tribes or subtribes is of less consequence. For the present I prefer to consider them as subtribes, though by no means disposed to quarrel with those who would hold them as tribes.

The tribal divisions I have adopted are based on similarity of language, it having been ascertained that while each village unit has dialectic peculiarities of its own, all of the village units may be assembled in three closely related linguistic groups, as follows :

THE NORTHERN MEWUK

The territory of the Northern Mewuk begins on the Middle fork of Cosumnes river and extends southerly to or a little beyond Calaveras creek. Its northeastern corner pushes across the Middle Cosumnes to Grizzly Flat whence its eastern boundary runs south-

erly to a point a little west of Big Trees, passing a few miles east of the present settlements of West Point and Railroad Flat. The easternmost settlement in the Mokelumne river region was *Pek-ken'-soo*, about four miles east of West Point.

The western boundary follows the lower border of the open forest of Digger pines and blue oaks from near Michigan Bar to May (near Carbondale), and thence, southerly, passing a little west of Ione, Buena Vista, Lancha Plana, and Comanche. The southern boundary is not so clearly defined but lies a little south of a line drawn from San Andreas to Mountain Ranch (otherwise known as Eldorado) in Calaveras county.

The hunting territory claimed by the Mewuk extends only about ten miles east of the villages. Beyond this they say that the country belongs to the Washoo — whom they call *He'-sā-tuk*, meaning 'up east people' (from *he'-sum*, east). They call the Piute *Koi'-yu-wāk* or *Koi'-aw'-we-ek*, from their fondness for salt, *koi'-ah*. By their neighbors on the north (the Nissenan) they are called *Ko'-ne-u-kon'-ne*.

Following are the names and locations of some of the villages of the Northern Mewuk :

Tam-moo-let-te-sā, near Oleta.

Omo, at Omo ranch.

No-mah, at Indian Diggings.

Chik-ke'-mē-ze, at Grizzly Flat.

Kun-nū'-sah, at West Point (also called *Mas'-sing wal'-le mas-se*).

Pen-ken'-soo, 4 miles east of West Point.

Hā'-e'-nah, at Sandy Gulch, 2 miles south of West Point.

Hā'-chā-nah, at Railroad Flat.

Saw'-po-che, at Big Flat, 5 miles west of West Point.

Witch-e-kol'-che, near Rich Gulch (called *Ahp-pan-tow'-we-lah* at West Point).

Mo-nas-sū, 1 mile east of Mokelumne Hill.

Tā-woo-muz'-ze and *Yū'-yut-to*, on Government reservation 4 miles north-east of Jackson. (*Tā-woo-muz'-ze* sounds like a Piute name.)

Pol-lī'-as-soo, at Scottsville, 1½ mile south of Jackson.

Yu-lō'-ne, at Sutter Creek (where the town of Sutter Creek now is).

Yu-lē, at old mill 1 mile west of Plymouth.

Chuk-kan'-ne-sū, at Ione.

Ū-poo'-san-ne, 1 mile south of Buena Vista.

Hoo-tah'-zoo, about 1 mile west of San Andreas.

THE MIDDLE MEWUK

The territory of the Middle Mewuk (or Me'-wah) begins on the north on or near Calaveras creek and extends southerly to Tuolumne river, which it follows easterly to a little beyond Hetch-hetchy valley. The western boundary runs southeasterly from near Jenny Lind to La Grange on Tuolumne river.

Following are the names and locations of some of the villages of the Middle Mewuk :

Yung'-ah-ko'-to, 1 mile below Averys (between Big Trees and Murphys).

Kut-too-gah, 1 mile north of Murphys.

Hang-e'-we-ē, on McKinney ranch, 14 miles northeast of Columbia.

Kah'-win-oo'-chah, on McCormick ranch, between North and Middle forks of Stanislaus river.

Tahk'-ā-mah, on main Stanislaus near old bridge (between McCormick and McKinney).

Ā-goot-ta-nuk-ka (or 'Koot-tā-nuk-ka), 2 miles west of Vallecito.

Ko-sā'-mah-nō'-noo, on Sixmile creek near Vallecito.

Wū'-ye, at Robinson's Ferry on Stanislaus river.

Te-baw-to-yah, on south side Stanislaus, 2 miles up river from Carson Hill.

Po'-tah, at Springfield (3 miles northwest of Sonora). Largest village.

Pā'-pah-lā'-no, at old Sonora Camp, 1 mile north of present Sonora.

He-le-oo (also called *Koo'-loo-te*), at Sonora (present rancheria).

Kes'-sah, at Phoenix Lake reservoir.

Hung'-ah, at Bald Rock, northeast of Soulsbyville (old original village).

Tā'-les-sā'-nah, present Bald Rock rancheria, 2½ miles northeast of Soulsbyville.

Kahp'-pah-nin'-nah, 2½ miles southwest of Jamestown.

Ko-tup'-plan-nah, at Rawhide, 2 miles northwest of Jamestown (across Table mountain).

Hetch-hetch'-e, in Hetch-hetchy valley on Tuolumne river.

THE SOUTHERN MEWUK

The territory of the Southern Mewuk (or Mew'-wah) extends from the south side of Tuolumne river southward to Fresno creek. On the east it pushes up the Merced to include Yosemite valley

and Wawona, and on the west passes southeasterly from a little south of LaGrange to near Raymond. The Chowchilla subtribe— apparently the largest and most powerful division of the Southern Mewuk— claim the country from Fresno creek to and beyond Mariposa creek, and from the easternmost limit of the tribe westerly to a point a little west of *No'-watch* rancheria, which is about 2 miles south of Indian peak (about 5 miles from Grub Gulch).

Following are the names and locations of a number of villages of the Southern Mewuk :

Tap-pin-ah'-go, on Big creek, 2 miles northeast of Groveland.

Pahng-ah-hung-che, at or near Garrote.

Ap'-lā-che, near *Pahng-ah-hung-che* (Garrote).

So-pen'-che, on Bull creek (east of Coulterville).

Ah-wah'-ne, near foot of Yosemite fall in Yosemite valley.

Pal-lah'-chan, at Wawona.

Sut-pōk, at Hites Cove.

How-wi-ne, at Cold Spring.

Chow-chi'l'-lah, in Chowchilla canyon.

Hitch-ā-wet-tah, 3 miles above Wassama.

Was-sa'-ma, on Wassama creek near Ahwahne stage station.

Ah-pah'-sah, at Fresno Flat (on north side Fresno creek).

Sé'-saw-che, at Horseshoe bend on Merced river (village occupied both sides of river).

Kit'-te-we'-nah, one mile above (east of) *Ow'-wal*, on Merced river.

Yah-wō'-kah-che, on Merced river halfway between *Kit'-te-we'-nah* and *Ow'-wal*.

Ow'-wal, at big water hole on Merced river at head of Pleasant valley.

Kuk'-kah-hoo-lah'-che, on Merced river in lower part of Pleasant valley.

Wil'-le-to, at pool on Merced river at Barret ranch, just below Pleasant valley.

O-we'-lin hah'-te hü, on Merced river 1 mile above dam of Exchequor mine.

Ang'-é-sa-wā-pah, on south side of Merced river opposite *He-kā'-nah*.

He-kā'-nah, on north side Merced river near Exchequor mine dam.

Koo-yu'-kah-che, on Merced river 3 miles above Merced falls.

Al-low'-lah-che, on Merced river 1½ mile above Merced falls.

Si-ang'-ah-se, at base of mountain of same name between head of Pleasant valley and LaGrange (near corner where Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced, and Mariposa counties come together).

Ko'-yo-che (salt people), 1½ mile from *Si-ang'-ah-se*.

Wal-lang'-te, location uncertain. (A former chief was called *Lo-tān'-yo* by the Spanish Mexicans).

Chahm-hahn'-che, on Mariposa creek in lower timber (on old road).

Lē'-ham-mit-te, on Mariposa creek in lower timber.

He-hut-to-che, " " " "

Tin-pā'-nah-che, " " " "

Nok'-too-tah-che, " " " "

Nu'-choo-che, " " " " (near present town of Mariposa).

Wahk-kal'-loo-tah-che, on Mariposa creek in lower timber.

Kos'-soo-mah-te, " " " " (½ mile above Mariposa).

Pe-lo'-ne-che, on Mariposa creek in lower timber.

Wā-hil-to, near Grub Gulch.

Oz'-we'-ah, 2 or 3 miles south of Indian peak, about 5 miles from Grub Gulch.

THE MEWKO SUBFAMILY

The tribes inhabiting the lower Sacramento and Joaquin plains, like the Mewuk of the foothills, had no collective name for themselves, but unlike the Mewuk had definite tribal names. In the absence of a group name they may be called *Mew'-ko* from *Me-u'-ko*, their word for their own people. They are now so nearly extinct that it is more accurate to speak of them in the past.

The territory of the Mewko began a few miles below the mouth of American river and reached south to Tuolumne river. Its eastern boundary ran from a point on Cosumnes river near Michigan Bar south to Calaveras river and thence southeasterly to near Knights Ferry on Stanislaus river, and to a point a little west of LaGrange on Tuolumne river. Its western boundary is uncertain. We know that Mewko tribes followed the east bank of Sacramento river southerly and southwesterly to its mouth at Suisun bay, occupying the islands between the Joaquin and Sacramento westerly all the way to the "big water"; that they inhabited the east side of the San Joaquin river continuously from the Tuolumne northward, and that at least one tribe — the *Han-ne'-suk* — lived west of the San Joaquin. It is almost certain that other tribes west of the San Joaquin — as the *Yetchachumne*, who lived between the San Joaquin and Mt

Diablo—belonged to the same group. These western tribes have been so long extinct that I have not been able to obtain trustworthy information as to their boundaries and relationships.

The territory of the Mewko was about 70 miles in length (north and south) and 30 to 40 in average breadth east of the San Joaquin river. But just north of latitude 38°, where a long tongue, comprising the *O'-che-hak* and *Wi'-pā* tribes, pushed westerly to Suisun bay, its breadth was fully 50 miles; and if, as seems almost certain, the tribes between the San Joaquin and Mt Diablo range belonged to the same family, the average breadth must have been close to 50 miles.

The Zone position of the Mewko tribes is Lower Sonoran, all except the Wipa occupying the hot plain of the lower Sacramento and lower San Joaquin rivers.

THE MEWKO TRIBES

The Mewko tribes concerning which I have succeeded in obtaining original information are the *Hul-poom'-ne*, *Mo-koz'-um-ne*, *Mo-kal'-um-ne*, *Chil-lum'-ne*, *Si-a-kum'-ne*, *Tu-ol'-um-ne*, *O'-che-hak* (or *O-che-kam'-ne*), *Wi'-pā*, and *Han-ne'-suk*.

All of these tribes spoke dialects of a common language. The *Yatch'-a-chum'-ne* probably belong with them.

THE HULPOOMNE

The *Hul-poom'-ne* occupied the east bank of the Sacramento river from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward to the Mokokzumne territory. Their principal rancheria was at or near the present town of Freeport, 9 miles south of Sacramento.

THE MOKOZUMNE

The *Mo-koz'-um-ne* (pronounced *Mo-koz'-zum-me*) occupied an extensive area to the south and east of the Hulpoomne, embracing the lower Cosumnes river and Deer creek, and extending from the Sacramento river easterly to near Michigan Bar. Cosumne, Slough House, Elk Grove, Franklin, Cortland, and Walnut Grove are in their territory. They are called *Ti'-nan* (west people) by the *Nis'-se-nan'*, and *Kaw'-so* by the *Pā'-we-nan*.

The Mokokzumne, with the possible exception of the Siakumne,

were the largest of the Mewko tribes and comprised the largest number of villages. Their center of distribution and density of population was along the lower Cosumnes and Deer creek, from Slough House down. In this region were the following villages :

Yoom-hoo'-e, at place now occupied by graveyard on knoll near Slough House, 1 mile below present Cosumne postoffice.

Yaw'-mit, on east bank Cosumnes river directly across from Sheldon's ranch.

Lool'-le-mül, on Deer creek near Sheldon's barn.

Soo-ke'-de-de, on southeast side Cosumnes river 1½ mile below *Yaw'-mit*.

Mi'-ä-man, on southeast side Cosumnes river 3 miles below *Soo-ke'-de-de*.

Low'-we-mül, on northwest side Cosumnes river opposite *Mi'-a-man*.

Choo-yoom'-kä-dut, on northwest side Cosumnes river 1 mile below *Mi'-a-man*.

Kah-kahm'-pi, on northwest side Cosumnes river ½ mile below *Choo-yoom'-kä-dut*.

Soo'-poo, on northwest side Cosumnes river 3 miles below *Choo-yoom'-kä-dut*.

Too'-koo-e, on northwest side Cosumnes river 5 miles below *Soo'-poo*.

Chah'-woh, on northwest side Cosumnes river ¼ mile below *Too'-koo-e*.

Tan'-nah-mah, on plain between Sacramento and Cosumnes river.

Ko-lo'-ne, on plain on southeast side of Cosumnes river.

Oo-moo'-chah, at Elk Grove.

So-lo'-lo, seven miles below Elk Grove.

Yu', a little northeast of Elk Grove.

Higher up the Cosumnes were two others :

Pal'-lam-mah, on Cosumnes plain — probably on Cosumnes river near Michigan Bar, which place in the Nis'senan language is *Pal'-lam-mül*, meaning 'valley oak place' (from *pal'-lam*, the valley or water oak, *Quercus lobata*).

Lo-pah-tah'-tah, on Cosumnes river near timber (may have been Mewuk).

The *Talatui* of Dana was a Mokokumne band which I have not yet been able to locate.

THE OCHAKUMNE

The *O'-che-hak* or *O'-che-hä-kum'-ne* (slurred to *O'-chä-kum'-ne*) occupied islands (apparently Brannan and Grand islands) between the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, above the Wipa and below the Mokokumne.

THE WIPA

The *Wi'-pā* occupied *No'-yooḡ* or Sherman island, between the mouths of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers immediately east of Suisun bay, and are the westernmost tribe of which anything positive is known.

THE HANNESUK

The *Han-ne'-suk* lived south or southeast of the Wipa. Their principal village was "on a big river"—doubtless either the main San Joaquin or one of the large branches that traverse the tule marshes, of which West Channel well fits the required direction. Their language was essentially the same as that of the Wipa and Mokozumne. They were near neighbors of the Yatchachumne, and lived between them and the Wipa.

THE YATCHACHUMNE

The *Yatch-ā-chum'-ne* lived west of the San Joaquin river, between Stockton and Mt Diablo, and ranged thence southerly—how far we do not know.

They are the only tribe included in the present paper concerning which I have not obtained original information from neighboring tribes. That they were closely related to the associated tribes here mentioned is at least probable, though perhaps not susceptible of proof.

According to the authorless *Illustrated History of San Joaquin County, California*, published in 1900, the *Yacheko* or *Yachekumnas* pushed eastward across the San Joaquin river between Calaveras river and French Camp creek and had a village near the place now occupied by Stockton. In this connection it should be borne in mind that Stockton is at the corner point where the *Chilumne*, *Yatchachumne*, and *Siakumne* tribes met, and that the ground has been claimed by each of these three tribes.

THE MOKALUMNE

The *Mo-kal'-um-ne* (*Muk-ke'-lum-ne* or *Muk-ke'-ko*) occupied the south side of Mokelumne river from a little above Lockford westerly past Lodi and Woodbridge to the San Joaquin tules. Their principal village, *Muk'-kel* (from which the tribe takes its name),

was on the bottomland a mile and a quarter west of the present site of Lockford, and was inhabited within the memory of many persons now living. Another village was situated on the same (south) side of the river a little higher up (east of Lockford) on the way to Clements; it was abandoned earlier than *Muk'-kel*.

Lā-lum'-ne, a rancheria near Clements (on the south side of Mokelumne river a little below the present bridge and a little back from the river), may be included under the Mokalumne tribe as its inhabitants spoke the same language.

THE CHILUMNE

The *Chil-um'-ne* (pronounced *Chil-lum'-ne*) occupied the lower Calaveras River country and reached north to the territory of the Mokalumne. The boundary between the two was a nearly east and west line between the Calaveras and Mokelumne rivers, but a little nearer the Mokelumne. The Chilumne reached from the San Joaquin tules easterly to a little beyond Linden. The present city of Stockton is in the southwest corner of their territory, at the point where the Chilumne, Siakumne, and Yatchachumne come together. Their language is essentially the same as that of the Tuolumne, and only slightly different from the Mokalumne.¹

THE SIAKUMNE

The *Si'-ā-kum'-ne* occupied a broad belt between the Calaveras and Stanislaus rivers, beginning on the north at or near Stockton and extending southerly to Stanislaus river and easterly to Knights Ferry.

THE TUOLUMNE

The *Tu-ol'-um-ne* (*Tow-ol'-lum'-ne*) occupied the territory between the lower Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers and extended from the San Joaquin tules on the west easterly to or a little beyond Knights Ferry on Stanislaus river.

THE INNEKO FAMILY

The *In-ne'-ko* family comprises two disconnected and quite different subfamilies — the *Hoo'-koo-e'-ko* of the coast region north of

¹ I am aware that the Chilumne have been referred to Yokuts stock, but a survivor of the tribe tells me that their language was almost identical with that of the Tuolumne.

San Francisco bay, and the *Tu'-le-am'-me* of the interior hill country south of Clear lake. The Tuleamme are somewhat intermediate between the Hookooeko of the coast region and the Mewko of the great interior valley, but their affinities with the Hookooeko are much the closer.

There being no recognized name for the family, I have adopted the word *In-ne'-ko*, which in the languages of the tribes north of San Francisco bay means 'the people,' or 'all the people.'

THE TULEAMME SUBFAMILY

The *Tu'-le-am'-me* (or *Tu'-le-yo'-me*) subfamily occupies a small isolated area among the Coast ranges of Lake and Napa counties. It is entirely cut off from other members of the stock and completely surrounded by tribes speaking widely different languages. To the north are the *Koi'-im-fo* of Lower lake; to the east and southeast the *Pat'-win*, a Wintoon tribe; while to the south and southwest, separating the Tuleamme from their relatives on the coast, are two stocks — first, the *Mi-ah'-kah-mah* or "*Wap'po*," inhabiting Alexander, Knights, and upper Napa valleys; and beyond these the *Kan-a-mā'-ra* of Russian River valley and the Santa Rosa plain. To the northwest are tribes of the so-called "*Pomo*" stock.

The territory of the Tuleamme extended from the south end of Lower lake southward to Pope valley — a distance in an air line of barely 25 miles. The center of distribution was Coyote valley on Putah creek and the neighboring smaller valley of Wennok lake. The country of the Tuleamme therefore was farther north than that of any other division of the Mewan stock, and there is no reason to believe that the stock ever reached any more northerly point.

The people have no tradition of any migration, but on the contrary stoutly maintain that they have "always" lived in the area above defined. Indeed, their creation myth fixes their origin at a point in the low hills about 3 miles south of the lower end of Clear lake. This place is the site of an ancient rancheria, called *Tu'-le-yo'-me po-koot*, which persisted until recent years but is now extinct. I have adopted its name for that of the subfamily. The subfamily comprises only a single tribe — unless the principal villages are held to be tribes.

THE TULEAMME OR OLAYOME

The members of the tribe have no tribal name for themselves but like the Mewuk call themselves after their principal villages. They may be named *Tu'-le-yo'-me* (or *Tu'-le-am'-me*) the same as the subfamily, or if preferred may be called *O'-lā-yo'-me* (or *O'-lā-am'-me*) after their principal village in Coyote valley. *O'-lā-am'-me* means 'Coyote people.'

The villages and their locations, according to the remnant of the tribe still living, were :

Tu'-le-yo'-me po-koot, about 3 miles south of Lower lake (the most ancient settlement of the tribe).

Lah-ki'-yo-me po-koot, near present town of Middletown.

Kil'-le-yo'-ke po-koot, at north end of Coyote or Guenoc valley.

O'-lā-yo'-me po-koot, in northern part of Coyote valley half a mile south of *Kil'-le-yo'-ke* but north of Guenoc.

Sah'-ti-yo-me po-koot, in a rocky place at south end of Coyote valley, about 2 miles south of Guenoc.

Hoo-kod'-yo-me po-koot, on knoll on southwest bank of Putah creek in Phelan Ranch valley. The people call themselves *Yo-me-ko'-tsah*. The last remnant of the tribe now inhabits this rancheria.

Hoo-kod'-too-mi po-koot, on east side of Putah creek less than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile north of Phelan ranch house.

Hol'-wah po-koot, on west side Putah creek close by present barn at Phelan ranch house.

Kā-boot' po-goot, on low point east of north end of Wennok lake.

Sahl'-sahl po-goot on flat at base of Cone peak (*Loo-peek' pow-we*) at southeast corner of Wennok lake.

Haw'-haw' po-goot, on north bank of outlet of Wennok lake, near the lake.

Tso'-kew po-goot, in Pope valley.

Wo-dé'-di-tep'-pe po goot, in Jerusalem valley.

The Tuleamme are called *E-lōk'-no'-mah* (or *Lōk'-no'-mah*) by the Wappo, and *Te'-om-fo* and *Kel-lew'-win-fo* by the *Koi'-in-fo* (or 'Ham-fo) of Lower lake. *Kel-lew'-win-fo* means 'Coyote people.'

THE HOOKOOEKO SUBFAMILY

The *Hoo'-koo-e'-ko* subfamily occupied the coast country from the north shore of Golden Gate and San Pablo bay northerly to

Duncan point, 4 miles south of the mouth of Russian river — a distance in an air line of about 50 miles. They belong to the Transition zone.

The subfamily comprises three tribes — the *O-la-ment'-ko* of Bodega bay; the *Lek-kah'-te-wut'-ko* of the open hill country from Freestone to Petaluma; and the *Hoo'-koo-e'-ko* of the region thence southward to San Francisco bay.

THE OLAMENTKO

The territory of the *O-la-ment'-ko* begins on the north at Duncan point, 4 miles south of the mouth of Russian river, and reaches southerly only to Valley Ford creek, in the open hill country midway between the mouths of Bodega and Tomales bays. The home of the *Olamentko* therefore was a very small area, only about ten miles in length along the coast, and not more than 8 or 9 miles in breadth at the widest part. The tribe lived mainly on the shore, going inland at certain seasons to hunt and gather acorns. Their center of distribution was *Yo'-le tam'-mal* — Bodega bay — which was encircled by their villages. The farthest seaward was at *Te'-wut hoo'-yah* (meaning 'willow point') on Bodega Head; another was on the bar, now partly washed away, at the entrance to the bay; and others were scattered about the shores at frequent intervals, particularly on the east side. From this center the villages followed the coast north to *Pool'-yah lä-kum* at the mouth of Salmon creek, and south to *Ah-wah'-che* at the mouth of Valley Ford creek.

The Olamentko are called *Ah'-kum-tut'-tah* by the Kanamara.

THE LEKAHTEWUTKO

The territory of the *Lek-kah'-te-wut'-ko* extended easterly from Freestone to a point about a mile north of Petaluma. It lay east of the *Olamentko* and north of the *Hookooeko*. The language was essentially the same as that of the *Hookooeko*. The principal villages were *Lek-kah-te-wut*, about a mile north of Petaluma, and *Po-tow'-wah-yo'-me*, at Freestone. *Po-tow'-wah-yo'-me* was on the old Indian mound just east of the present railroad station at Freestone, and was inhabited until some time in the eighties — till about

1885 I am told. There was also at least one other village, near Valley Ford.¹

The Lekahtewut are called *Pet-ā-loo-mah-che* by the Kanamara, and *Ōn-wal'-le-sah* by the Wappo.

THE HOOKOOEKO

The territory of the *Hoo'-koo-e'-ko* extends from Valley Ford creek southerly to the Golden Gate, and from Point Reyes peninsula easterly to Petaluma marshes and San Pablo bay. Its northern boundary ran from Valley Ford creek easterly to a point about a mile north of Petaluma—the same line forming the southern boundary of the *Olamentko* and *Lekahtewut*. The present bounds of Marin county are almost—but not quite—coextensive with the *Hookooeko* territory. Mount Tamalpais and the series of beautiful valleys about its base, from San Rafael on the east to Olema on the west, and the long, fiord-like Tomales bay all belonged to the *Hookooeko*; and some of the most familiar geographic names in California were taken directly from the vocabulary of the same tribe.²

It is of historic interest that the *Hookooeko* were the first west coast tribe to be discovered by Europeans. When Sir Francis Drake, in the summer of 1579, sailed along the south side of Point Reyes peninsula and put into the broad bay that now bears his name, he spent several weeks in their country and was much impressed by their friendliness and singular customs.

¹ Capt. M. C. Meeker of Occidental, Sonoma county, tells me that in the winter of 1861 or 1862 he witnessed a cremation near Valley Ford rancheria. Attracted by the loud wailing of the Indians he went to the spot and found them engaged in burning the body of a child.

² Among such names are Tamalpais, from *Tam'-mal* the bay country, and *pi'-es* a mountain (*Tam'-mal-pi'-es* or *Tam'-mal-pi's* is their own name for the mountain); Tamales bay from *Tam-mal* the bay country (*Tam-mal hoo-yah*, Tamales point; *Tam-mal-ko*, the people on Tamales bay in distinction to those of the interior); Olema, from *O-lā'-mah* the name of the place; Marin county, from *Marin*, a great chief of the *Hookooeko* tribe; Novato, from *No-vah'-to* another chief. The name Petaluma appears to have come from the Kanamara tribe on the north. Other familiar Indian place names on the north side of the bay region are Sonoma, Napa, Suskol, and Suisun—all original names for the same places in the language of the *Poo'-e-win*, the tribe next east of the *Hookooeko*. Mt Tamalpais is the only mountain in the land of the *Hookooeko*, but two others are visible—Sonoma peak which they call *Oo'-nah-pi's*, and St Helena, which they call *Chitch'-ah-pi's*.

A few of the many villages of the *Hookooeko* were :

Etch'-a-tam'-mal, at or near the present site of Nicasio.

Ah-wan'-me, at or near San Rafael.

Cho'-ketch-ah, at or near Novato.

Le'-wan-nel-lo-wah', at or near Sausalito.

Sāk'-lo'-ke, on the long point on east side of entrance to Tomales bay.

Oo'-troo-mi-ah, near present town of Tomales.

O-lā'-mah, near present town of Olema.

There were numerous others, along both shores of Tomales bay, and at various points in the interior valleys.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE TRIBES

Of the seventeen tribes comprising the Mewan stock, the three Mewuk or Sierra tribes are each represented by a considerable number of living men and women ; the Tuleamme of Lake county by possibly half a dozen persons ; while all of the valley and coast tribes, thirteen in number—namely, the Olamentko, Lekahtewut, Hookooeko, Hulpoomne, Ochehak, Wipa, Hannesuk, Yatchachumne, Mokokumne, Mokalumne, Chilumne, Siakumne, and Tuolumne—are either already extinct or are represented by only one or two survivors.

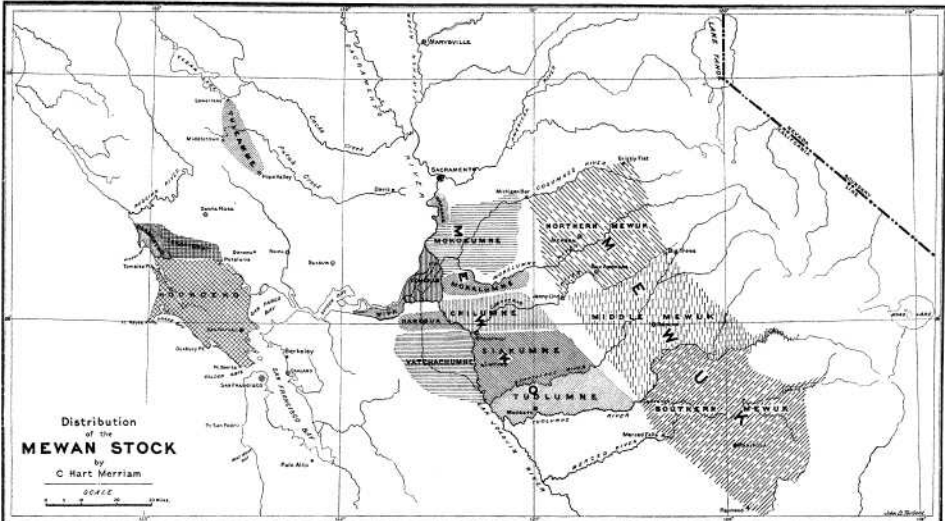
The conclusion is obvious, namely, that the resisting power of the tribes depends, not on numbers, not on extent of territory, not on aggressive or defensive habits, but solely on degree of accessibility to the whites. Contact with whites is deadly ; the Indians cannot hold out against it, and the rapidity of their disappearance is directly proportionate to the closeness and duration of the contact. Thus the valley tribes within easy reach of the early Spaniards were swept away first ; the coast tribes, next in accessibility, were next to perish ; while the Sierra tribes, inhabiting a rough mountainous country, were able to hold out longer and still survive in considerable numbers, though long since reduced to a miserable remnant of their former strength.¹

¹ For a discussion of the rate, amount, and causes of decrease of California Indians, see my paper entitled *The Indian Population of California*, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 7, pp. 594-606, 1905.

THE MAP

The tribal boundaries given on the accompanying map (plate xxv) are believed to be in the main correct. There is no doubt, however, as to the limits of the *Hannesuk* and *Yatchachumne*, as to the northern boundary of the *Lekahtewut*, and as to both northern and southern boundaries of the *Ochehak*.

BIOLOGICAL SURVEY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.



Distribution
of the
MEWAN STOCK
by
C Hart Merriam

SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Miles



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Dan Anderson