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**Abstract:**

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# Walking Along Deer Trails: A Contribution to Salinan Ethnogeography Based on the Field Notes of John Peabody Harrington

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**T**HE study of central California native cultures has been complicated by attempts to reconcile conflicting historical descriptions of language, geography, and political organization, especially among groups subjected to Spanish missionization. This resolution has been particularly difficult for speakers of the Salinan language. The Salinan peoples resided in an area of roughly 7,800 km.<sup>2</sup> (3,000 mi.<sup>2</sup>), extending from the Pacific shoreline inland 80 km. (Fig. 1), and encompassing much of the Santa Lucia and Diablo ranges and the rugged headwaters of the Salinas River (Kroeber 1925: 546; Hester 1978:501). Mission San Antonio de Padua was established in the heart of Salinan territory in 1771. Mission San Miguel, Arcangel followed in 1797. Early descriptions of the Salinan language suggested two and possibly three dialects: a Playaño dialect spoken on the coast, another in the vicinity of Mission San Antonio (Antoniaño), and a third in the area of Mission San Miguel (Migueliño). Detailed linguistic analyses (Mason 1918; Turner 1987) have confirmed only the latter two, and Gibson (1983:106) suggested that the coastal dialect reported by the Spanish padres was actually a variant of northern Chumash. Uncertainty concerning the distribution of these dialects has until recently (Gibson 1983, 1985; Milliken 1990) confounded attempts to develop a realistic reconstruction of Salinan ethnogeography and sociopolitical structure.

Salinan speakers continued to reside in their homeland after contact, but the constant expansion of Euro-American settlement and the disease-induced decline of native populations relegated them to isolated refuges. One of these lay near the headwaters of the San Antonio River, in an area referred to by Anglo-American settlers as "The Indians" (Fig. 2). A community of Salinan speakers re-established themselves here after the secularization of Mission San Antonio in 1834. Anthropologists, seeking to record remnants of pre-contact culture, began visiting this community in the late nineteenth century (see Turner [1987:4-10, 1988] and Gibson [1983] for histories of this work). These projects continued well into the early part of the twentieth century, and most of recorded Salinan ethnography is based on memories of residents of the San Antonio Valley area. John Peabody Harrington was among the last of these workers, but by far the most thorough.

During field visits in 1922 and 1930-1932, Harrington recorded approximately 4,500 pages of field notes which provide a wealth of information, including detailed ethnogeographic material. Harrington's notes, used in conjunction with local histories (Smith 1932; Casey 1957; Engelhardt 1972), mission records (Gibson 1983, 1985; Milliken 1990), and the archaeological record, have made possible a reasonably secure mapping of a portion of the

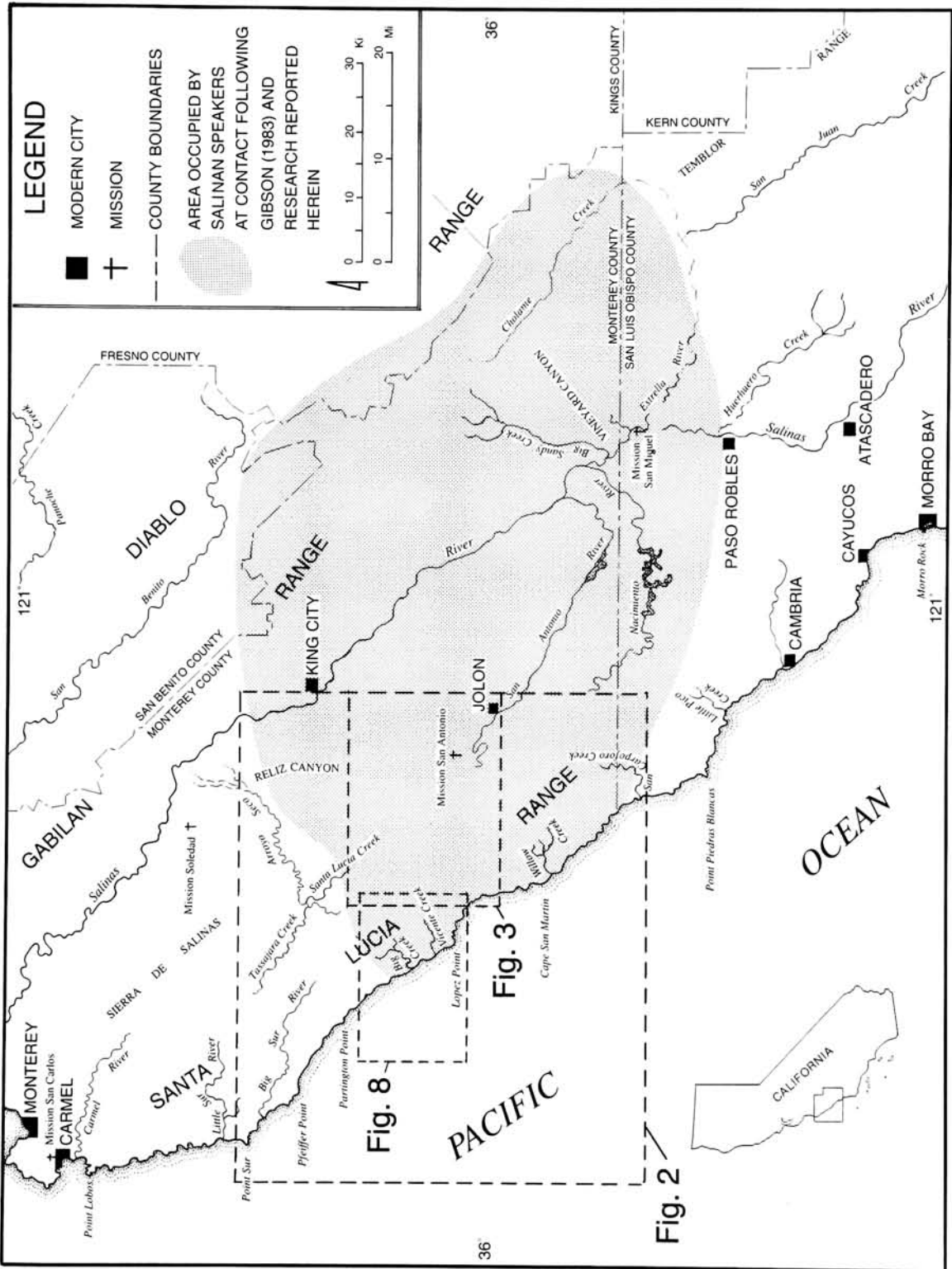


Fig. 1. Approximate location of the Salinan language area at the time of Spanish contact.

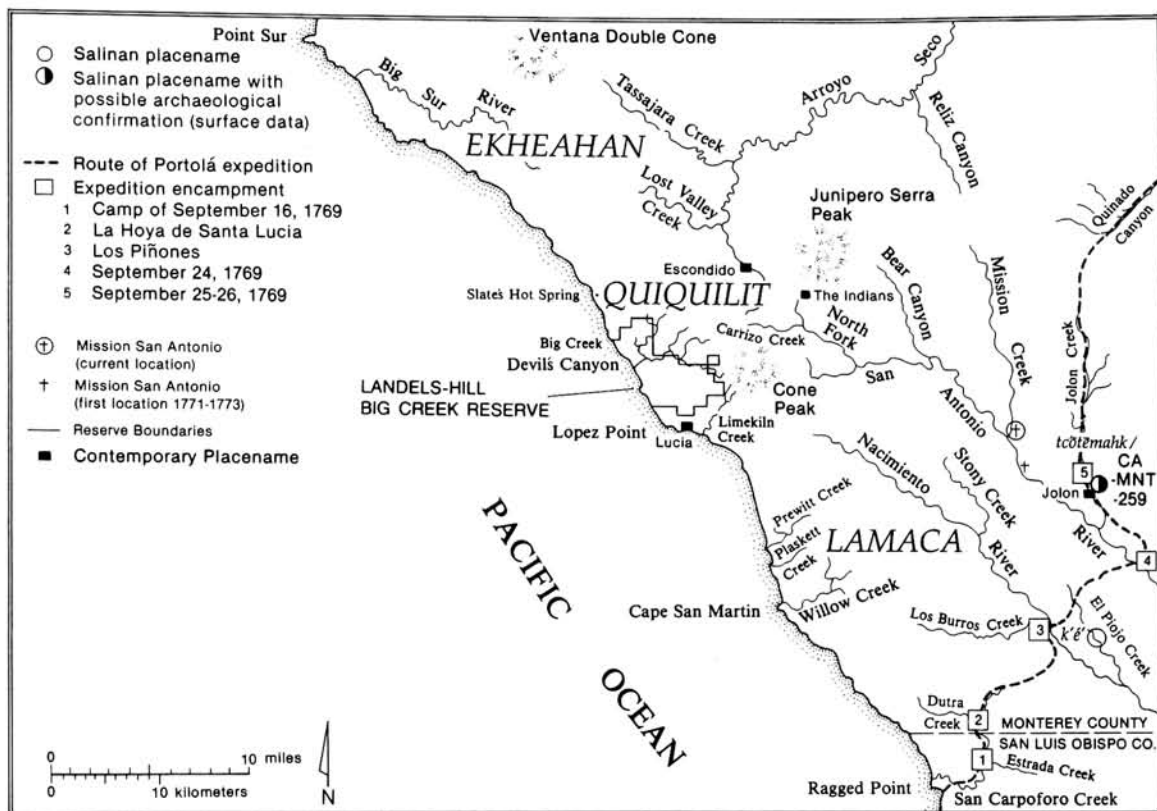


Fig. 2. Coastal tribelets of the northern Santa Lucia (after Milliken 1990); route of the Portolá expedition of 1769 (after Bolton 1927; Smith 1932; Brown 1991).

Salinan landscape at the time of historic contact. In this paper we have focused on the northern Santa Lucia Range, where archaeological surveys and excavations, completed during the last decade, provide on-the-ground validation of settlements and cultural features suggested in the Harrington notes and records.

### ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE SANTA LUCIA RANGE

As in most parts of California, archaeological inventory for the Salinan region is far from complete, but a modest amount of work has been accomplished and numerous sites have been recorded. Survey of the interior Santa Lucias was undertaken as early as 1900 (Jones MS). Since then, surface inventories have been conducted on lands encompassed by the Los Padres National Forest (Baldwin 1971; Proctor

1978; Brandoff-Kerr 1982) and Hunter-Liggett Military Base (Edwards et al. 1973; Zahniser and Roberts 1979; Swernoff 1981). Early descriptions of rock art found in this province (Steward 1929) have been augmented by more recent technical study (Breschini and Haversat 1980).

Survey of the coastal flank of the Santa Lucias was initiated in the 1940s by Pilling (1955) who employed a largely intuitive survey strategy. His work has been supplemented by Baldwin (1971) as well as by a series of University of California field schools (Garcia and Jones 1987; Jones et al. 1989; Huddleson and Jones 1992). Surveyors working in the cultural resource management (CRM) era (ca. post-1970) have also recorded historic sites, many of which have proven invaluable as landmarks noted by Harrington and his informants.

Archaeological excavation work in the Santa Lucias has been considerably more limited than survey projects. Early work on prehistoric coastal sites (Abrams 1968; Pohorecky 1976) has been supplemented by avocational reports (Howard 1972a, 1972b, 1973) and a number of CRM testing programs in interior (Swernoff 1981) and coastal settings (Gibson et al. 1976; Pierce 1977; Gibson 1979a, 1979b, 1979c; Rudolph 1983; Hines 1986; Jones 1988; Bouey and Basgall 1991; Jones and Haney 1992). Excavation of a post-contact mission refuge was reported by Meighan (1955) in the northern Santa Lucias, beyond the area attributed to Salinan-speakers. Excavations have been completed at Mission San Antonio (Howard 1972a; Hoover 1979; Hoover and Costello 1985) which have included recovery of materials attributable to both neophytes and the mission fathers. Based on this work, Hoover (1977, 1980) documented the material manifestations of acculturation, both in ideology and subsistence.

### ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The term "Salinan" is a misleading convention, inasmuch as it refers only to language, not to any political or social association recognized by the prehistoric inhabitants of the Santa Lucias. Research makes it clear that prior to contact, the central California coast from Point Piedras Blancas to San Francisco Bay was occupied by a large number of relatively small, autonomous, native communities, each associated with a clearly defined territory. Kroeber used the term "tribelet" to describe these land-holding groups, stating that they generally

contain several settlements -- there might be three or four or five of them -- sometimes more or less the same size, but more often one was dominant or permanent, the others more like suburbs of it [Kroeber 1962:33].

However, as Milliken (1988:61) pointed out, California ethnographers, under the influence of Kroeber, have tried to use language as a means

of aggregating these communities into larger, culturally unified, tribe-like units. This aggregation is a semantic convenience that readily accommodates the development of historical linguistic models, but which also fosters a misleading image of large-scale cultural integration in central California. In point of fact, the communities or districts, bonded together politically if not otherwise, and referred to as tribelets by Kroeber (1955) were the single most important unit of political, social, and cultural organization in this region. Milliken (1990) identified the names and approximate locations of three tribelets of Salinan speakers in the northern Santa Lucia Range, and our research, discussed below, has served to define the northernmost coastal Salinan tribelet more precisely.

### Historical Accounts

The first recorded contact between Spaniards and the native inhabitants of the Santa Lucias occurred during the 1769 expedition of Gaspar de Portolá. With a group including Miguel Costanso, Pedro Fages, and Father Juan Crespi, Portolá was traveling northward from San Diego in search of Monterey Bay. This entourage reached the southern end of the Santa Lucias on September 13, when they turned inland from a coastal route. The group eventually reached their destination later that year, and passed through the Santa Lucias again during the trip south in December. The diaries of the expedition include descriptions, albeit brief, of encounters with native people in the Santa Lucias. The available documents include translations of the diaries of Crespi (Bolton 1927; Piette 1947), Costanso (Teggart 1911), and Portolá (Boneu Companys 1983), as well as a previously untranslated version of Crespi by Alan Brown (personal communication 1991). The official report of the expedition, completed by Fages in 1775, also contains valuable information and is available in translation (Fages 1972). The locations of encampments

described in the diaries have been identified by Smith (1932), Gibson (1983:199-211), and most recently by Brown (1991), who retraced much of the route on foot (Fig. 2).

### Early Ethnohistoric Research

The earliest ethnohistoric work in this region was undertaken in 1884 by Henshaw, but full details of his work are not available. Kroeber visited the region in 1901. Both researchers employed methods which were generally consistent with the practices of the time: the oldest natives with either first-hand or handed-down memories of the past were sought out and interviewed. It cannot be overemphasized that language was the cultural element most heavily recorded. From this work, Kroeber derived his concept of the Salinan language family, based on the earlier statements of Powell (1891). Kroeber's description of the culture of Salinan speakers, aside from language, is wholly impressionistic and woefully lacking in detail.

Kroeber recognized the inadequacy of this work, particularly given the wealth of knowledge that appeared to be held by remaining Salinan speakers. He sent J. Alden Mason to conduct further work among the group in 1910. Mason seems to have been ill-prepared for the task, as indicated in the introduction to his linguistic monograph:

This study . . . was begun in September 1910, when I made a visit to the neighborhood of the old Mission of San Antonio in Monterey County, where live the remaining members of this group. Here a little work was done with the oldest members of each of the two divisions, Jose Cruz of the Antoniano and Perfecta Encinales of the Migueleno dialect. An incomplete acquaintance with Spanish, the medium of communication, coupled with a lack of satisfactory interpreters and other disappointing circumstances, rendered this visit not wholly profitable [Mason 1918:4].

C. Hart Merriam conducted work among the Salinan in 1902 and again in 1933-1934

(Hester 1978:504), the results of which have only been partially published (Merriam 1955, 1968). His notes remain in manuscript form at the University of California, Berkeley (Hester 1978:504), with other original notebooks and diaries housed at the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C. (Turner 1988:267). Merriam also commissioned S. R. Clements to record all of the names of rancherias listed in the records of various missions, including Mission San Antonio.

That the research of Kroeber and his colleagues had failed to provide substantial knowledge of the cultural lifeways of Salinan-speaking peoples of the Santa Lucias is demonstrated by the allotment of a mere four pages to this group in Kroeber's (1925) summary of California Indians. He stated:

The Salinan Indians are one of those bodies of natives whom four generations of contact with civilization have practically extinguished. Some 40 remain, but among these the children do not speak the language, and even the oldest retain only fragmentary memories of the national customs of their great-grandfathers. Missionaries and explorers happen to have left only the scantiest notices of the group; and thus it is that posterity can form but a vague impression of their distinctive traits. Even a name for the tribe or for their language has not been recorded or remembered; so that they have come to be called from the Spanish and modern designation of the river which drains most of their territory [Kroeber 1925:546].

### Recent Ethnogeographic Research

Recent studies have contributed significantly to our understanding of the ethnogeography of Salinan-speaking peoples of the Santa Lucias. Most noteworthy are the mission register analyses reported by Gibson (1983; 1985) and Milliken (1990). Using samples of the records available at Missions San Carlos, Soledad, and San Antonio (Milliken), and Soledad, San Antonio, San Miguel, and San Luis Obispo (Gibson), these workers reached similar conclusions regarding the names and locations of

communities present during the early mission era. Identifications are almost wholly dependent upon references to villages and the nation or district (tribelet) to which the persons belonged as recorded in mission birth, death, and marriage records. While there are rampant inconsistencies in the terminology used by the padres in these documents (Milliken 1990:21), it has nonetheless been possible to identify districts and their constituent villages through the use of the occasional records that include supplemental descriptions of locations. Because of their volume, none of the records available from the missions have yet been studied in their entirety, but enough detailed work has been completed to identify the general location of Salinan tribelets (Fig. 2).

Of particular interest here are two northern Salinan-speaking tribelets, referred to by the Spanish padres in the mission records variously as *Quiquilit* (Gibson 1983:213), *Guiguil*, or *Quiguil* (Merriam 1968:79), and *Lamaca*. Merriam (1968:79) understood *Quiquilit* to include the following four rancherias:

*chitazama*, *chitacano* (probably same as *chitama*, near sea on old road of expedition [to Monterey])

*ssica*

*papuco*, about a league from Mission, at boundary of 'Nacion' *Guiguil*

*squem*, about 4 leagues from Mission through territory of *Quiguil* which is toward the N [Merriam 1968:72].

Of these, evidence for inclusion within the *Guiguil* district is actually presented only for the latter two. No supporting evidence is presented for *ssica*, and *chitazama* is assigned on the basis of its description of being "near the sea" and the fact that *Guiguil* was partially a coastal district. Since *Guiguil* was also clearly north of the Mission, while the old road of the expedition connected to the sea to the south (Fig. 2), this assignment is most likely incorrect.

Gibson (1983, 1985) and Milliken<sup>1</sup> (1990) also identified *Quiquilit* and *Lamaca* as the two

coastal districts of Salinan-speaking peoples, with *Lamaca* being in the south. Gibson further confirmed *chitama* as a rancheria of the latter (Gibson 1985:198), distinguishing it from *chita zama* of *Quiquilit*. He ascribed ten additional villages to *Lamaca* and five to *Quiquilit*. Most of the *Lamaca* assignments were made on the basis of either notations indicating this affiliation (e.g., Baptism No. 464 from Mission San Antonio listed a native of *onet* in *Lamaca* [Gibson 1985:199]), or locational descriptions (e.g., Baptism No. 2661 listed *esmerileua* to the west and No. 2820 listed *esmerileua* of the beach [Gibson 1985:199]). Three villages, *caulom*, *iisstexa*, and *scamal techa*, were assigned solely on the basis of their being associated with the beach. Villages affiliated with *Quiquilit* include *chacomex* or *te!axomec*, *chitacauo* or *chita zama*, *escama* or *scama*, *ezquen* (*eZquem*, *squem*, *esjuei*, or *skem* [meaning ocean, according to Harrington]), and *zmaal* (*emal*, *zemaal*, or *etzmal*). Important locational data were included with these listings: *te!axomec* is "a village eight miles northwest of San Antonio Mission" (cited from Mason 1912: 107).

Milliken's (1990) analysis yielded results that deviate only slightly from those of Gibson. He defined the *Quiquilit* district as covering both coastal and inland lands north and west of Mission San Antonio. Villages ascribed to this district include *ssica* (which he equated with *chita*, *chita zama*, and *chitacauo*), and *squem* or *esquem*. The affiliation of the former within *Quiquilit*, reported but undocumented by Merriam (1968:79), was confirmed by San Antonio Baptism No. 962, which reads, "in the rancheria of *ssicaquiquil*" (Milliken 1990:44). Merriam's locational description of *squem* was also repeated "11 miles from this Mission by the part of *Quiguil* that is in the north" (Merriam 1968:72); Milliken suggested that this village may have been situated on the present-day Merle Ranch near The Indians (Fig. 3).

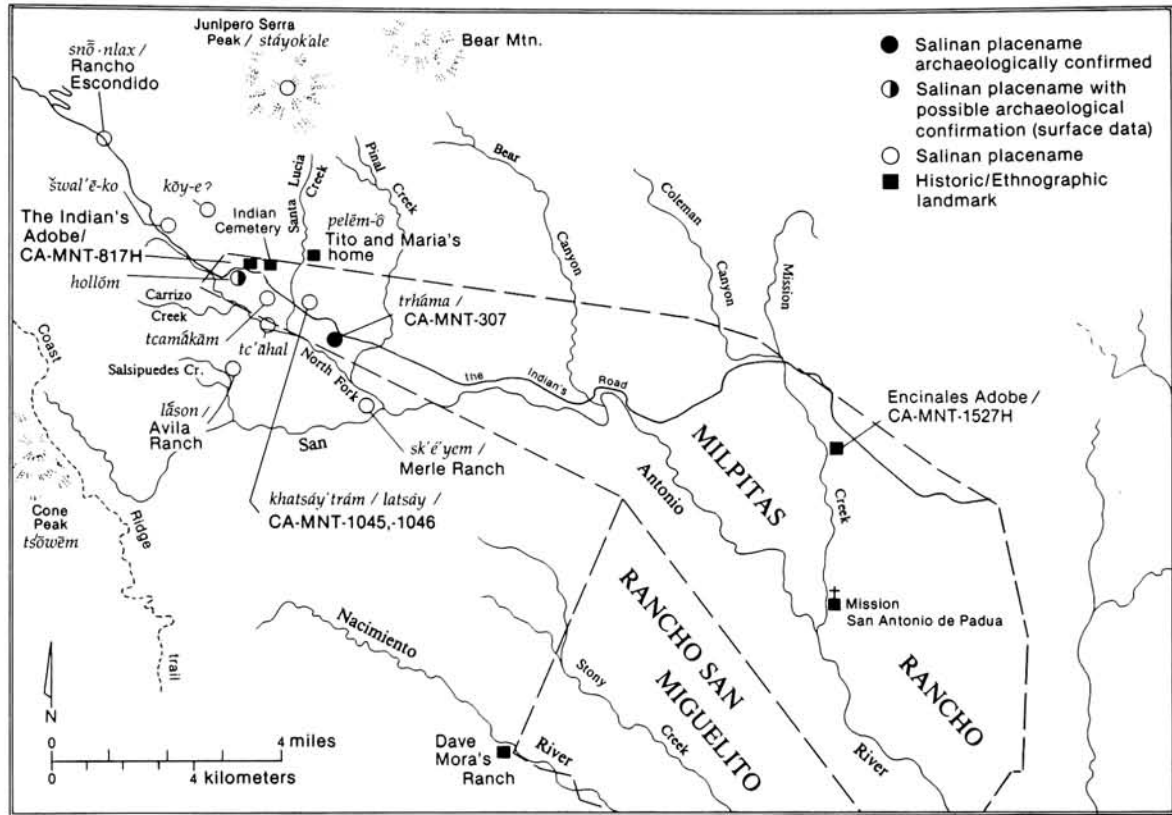


Fig. 3. Inland segment of *Quiquilit*, with archaeological sites correlated with Salinan placenames, and landmarks noted by J. P. Harrington.

One further important contribution of this analysis is a disputation of Gibson's (1985) inclusion within *Quiquilit* of the rancheria of *zmaal* or *etsmal*. Milliken (1990) felt that this settlement, clearly situated on the beach to the north, was more likely a part of the *ekheahan* community of Esselen speakers, situated adjacent to *Quiquilit* on the north.

#### THE ENCINALES FAMILY AND MASON'S WORK

Until the publication of Harrington's field notes, the most inclusive work on Salinan-speaking peoples was that of Mason (1912, 1918). Mason and Harrington came to Salinan country with widely differing expectations; they diverged markedly in viewpoint, ethnographic procedures, and information recorded, and the

information they took away is in part complementary and in part contradictory.

Differences between Mason and Harrington are particularly striking in that both men worked with the same extended family. Three children of Eusebio and Perfecta Encinales, their son-in-law, David Mora, and daughter-in-law, Maria de Los Angeles Baylon Ocarpia Encinales, served as major informants for Mason and/or Harrington. These five individuals provided most of what is known of Salinan cultural survival and much of the recorded language. Brief histories and photographs of some of Harrington's Salinan informants have been published previously (Hoover and Hoover 1985).

The father of the Encinales (Encinal) family, Eusebio, was born ca. 1820 in the Mission San Antonio area. Like other California Indian men



who were displaced by the dissolution of the mission system, he became a vaquero. He married and had a family, but had been widowed by some time in the 1850s, when he married Perfecta (U. S. Census 1870: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, p. 6; 1880: as above, p. 20; Wollesen 1976:28; Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0325).

Perfecta, born ca. 1830, was raised in the area around Mission San Miguel, and also lived on the ranch of Rafael Villa, near Cayucos. Antonio Durazo, an elderly Miguelino descendant, explained that, "The Migueleno Indians, having been driven off elsewhere, found a kind of refuge on the Villa ranch, and had a big rancheria there" (U.S. Census 1870: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, p. 6; 1880: as above, p. 20; Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0325; Rl. 88, Frs. 0548, 0565).

Like Eusebio, Perfecta was widowed early. Maria Jesusa, the youngest of the Encinales children, reported that when Perfecta "lost her first husband, she lived with the *viejos* and *viejias*, and when these came to San Antonio mission to go to mass, Father Ambriz wanted to marry her to [Maria Jesusa's] father, who was vaquero for Fr. Ambriz" (Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0325).

Eusebio and Perfecta had seven children: Pedro, Felipe, Tito, Petronila, Josedo Dolores, Miguela, and Maria Jesusa. Their home on Mission Creek (a little over a mile northeast of the mission) may originally have been an outpost of San Antonio, but became known as the Encinales adobe (Fig. 3). In the 1870s the family moved to the area now called "The Indians." Maria Jesusa was born in the adobe home there, about 1876 (U.S. Census 1880: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, p. 20; Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Frs. 0355, 0386).

Apparently the Encinales family prospered. In July 1882, Eusebio purchased 100 acres, including land around The Indians adobe, in the northwest corner of the old Milpitas land grant.

In 1884, Eusebio, Felipe, and Tito homesteaded another 410 acres in adjoining sections; their claims were patented in 1893. Adjoining land was patented in 1907 by Perfecta, in 1909 by Petronila, and in 1910 by Pedro (Fleming 1976: 10; patent certificates cited in Fleming 1976: 11).

Eusebio was reported as "successfully working his 500 acres, with ditches to irrigate his vineyard and orchards" during 1885. Within a few years his stock included 50 horses, 200 cattle, and 75 sheep (Casey 1957:28; Jones et al. 1989:132). The Encinales family evidently had difficulty in maintaining their ranch, however, after Eusebio's death, ca. 1890. The "estate of E. Encinal" was mortgaged in 1892 to Sabino Gamboa, an early settler in the Big Creek country. The mortgage was eventually foreclosed, but Perfecta was apparently given lifetime tenancy on what had been the Encinales land (U.S. Census 1910: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Indian Population; Casey 1957:37; Jones et al. 1989:132).

Perfecta, as the eldest speaker of Miguelino in the Mission San Antonio area, was interviewed by Mason in September 1910. He worked briefly with Perfecta and José Cruz, an elderly Antoniaño. Mason then arranged for Pedro, Perfecta's oldest son, to work with him in San Francisco "from Thanksgiving until Christmas" (Mason 1918:4).

Pedro Encinales was at this time about 50 years old, living with his wife Francisca and their five children in Reliz Canyon. He was described in the 1900 census as a farmer, owning his farm. Mason may have employed him as an informant not only because of Pedro's knowledge of Antoniaño, but because he was at the time the only one of Perfecta's children who spoke English (U.S. Census 1900, 1910: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Indian Population; Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0448).

In San Francisco, Mason was disappointed to find Pedro "totally ignorant of all myth-

ology." Pedro contributed linguistic material, however, including several contemporary narratives in Antoniaño. He was also measured, and "was rather disturbed by the novelty of the experience" when Mason administered psychological tests (Mason 1912:204; 1918:4, 92-104).

Mason, in the work resulting from his studies in 1910, agreed with Kroeber on the paucity of information available on the Salinan. Mason wrote that "data on many important points was entirely missing, due to the almost complete loss of aboriginal culture among the present Indians of the northern missions. . . ." Most of the information in Mason's Salinan ethnology was taken from secondary sources (Mason 1912:99; Kroeber 1925:546).

Mason returned to Salinan country in 1916. Perfecta had died in 1913; José Cruz was also dead. Mason collected a few more stories from Pedro, as well as translations into the Antoniaño dialect by Maria Jesusa, Pedro's sister, from the mythology given in Spanish by Juan Quintana. Mason's principal informants, however, were David (Dave) Mora and Maria Ocarpia (California Department of Health, 1905-1929, Vol. II:3142; Mason 1918:4).

Dave Mora was born ca. 1870 near Mission Creek. In 1880, however, his family was living in the San Miguel area, in the Salinas township of San Luis Obispo County. Dave's mother died when he was fourteen; his father apparently remarried (U.S. Census 1880: San Luis Obispo County, Salinas Township, p. 8; 1900: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Entry No. 168; Harrington 1985:RI. 84, Fr. 0358).

Like the members of the Encinales family, Dave was a devout Catholic. Mission San Antonio records for 1897 and 1898 show him sponsoring infants for baptism (Casey 1957:30, 31). In 1900, he was listed as single, a farm laborer, and the head of a household which included his brother, four sisters, a brother-in-law, three young nieces, and a nephew. His ranch was located on the Nacimiento River,

south and west of Mission San Antonio, in what is now Hunter Liggett Military Reservation (U.S. Census 1900: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Entry No. 168; Harrington 1985:RI. 88, Fr. 0622).

Dave was apparently still single when he provided information to Mason in 1916. Between this time and January 1922, when he worked with Harrington, Dave married Maria Jesusa Encinales (Fig. 4) (Mason 1918:4; Harrington 1985:RI. 84, Fr. 0259).

Maria de Los Angeles Baylon Ocarpia also married into the Encinales family. She was born in Vineyard Canyon, at Vineyard (Mission) Springs, in the Mission San Miguel area. Her mother came from San Miguel. Maria's father, Anesmo Baylon, who served as the principal Miguelino informant for Henshaw, was Salinan on his father's side; his mother came "from the Tular" (Mason 1912:107; Harrington 1985:RI. 87, Frs. 0213, 0323, 0983; RI. 88, Fr. 0437).

We have firmly established the year of Maria Ocarpia's birth, because previous estimates of her age appeared greatly exaggerated. In an epoch when an exact birthdate was not always known, or was considered unimportant, age was apparently often assigned at random. Maria Ocarpia, for example, remarked of Perfecta that she "still rode horseback when 115 years old." Perfecta was about 83 when she died. Maria Ocarpia's age at her death in 1936 was reported by Wolleson (1976) as 120 and by Hester (1978:503) as 127; actually Maria would have been in her late 80s (Gillett 1976:32; Harrington 1985:RI. 87, Fr. 0992).

San Miguel Mission's Baptismal Record No. 2899 is that of Maria de los Angeles, daughter of Paula and Enesimo, Natives. She was four days old on August 6, 1853. The 1860 census for San Luis Obispo County shows "Anisemo" (no last name given) as an Indian, a farmer, aged 27. In his household are his son, Juan de Los Reyes, age ten, and his daughter, Maria de



Fig. 4. Dave and Maria Jesusa Encinales Mora at their ranch in 1933. Photograph by C. Hart Merriam. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

Los Angeles, age eight (San Miguel Mission Baptismal Records; U.S. Census 1860: San Luis Obispo County [General], p. 9).

Maria would have been only four years old at the time of this experience which she dictated (in Miguelino) to Mason:

When I was a child there was an earthquake; the earth shook and the ground cracked in Cholam. We were frightened and thought that the end of the world had come. It was many years ago. The fish came out of the ground; it was a great earthquake. The oak trees bent to the earth and

the people were frightened and fell on their faces and prayed [Mason 1918:120].

This was the devastating earthquake of January 9, 1857, a shock described as “one of the greatest which ever occurred in California. It was felt from Sacramento to the southern border of the state.” The earthquake, whose epicenter lay near Fort Tejon, was caused by “a displacement or fault in the San Andreas Rift, along its extent from Cholame Valley to the San Bernardino Valley, a distance of about 225 miles”

(Townley and Allen 1939:35-36). The Miguelino texts given to Mason by Maria also include descriptions of a tornado and a famine (which may reflect conditions in the Great Valley during the terrible drought of 1862-1864), and a brief narrative of an eclipse she had witnessed in San Luis Obispo. By 1870, Maria had moved out to the coast. Like Perfecta, she lived for awhile in the rancharia on the Villa property, owned at that time by Rafael's son, Roberto (U.S. Census 1870: San Luis Obispo County, Morro Township [Old Creek], p. 4; Mason 1918: 118-120; Harrington 1985: Rl. 87, Fr. 0026; Rl. 88, Fr. 0536).

Maria Baylon Ocarpia had evidently settled in the San Antonio area by 1893, when she is shown as a sponsor at the baptism of Maria, the first child of Felipe and Maria Encinales. The 1900 census listed Maria Ocarpia among the San Antonio Indians. She was widowed, with four children living (U.S. Census 1900: Monterey County, San Antonio township, Indian Population; Casey 1957:30). Something of her way of life is evident in her story of the tornado. The story ended:

Then I went and got wood and kindled the fire. Then I threw out the ashes and went to get water. When I arrived with the water I cooked breakfast. Then I ate and became filled and then went and chopped wood and brought it to the house on my shoulder [Mason 1918:119].

Maria was apparently still single when she worked with Mason, but she and Tito Encinales made a late-life marriage some time in the 1920s (Fig. 5) (Mason 1918:4).

Mason collected stories in Miguelino from Maria and in Antoniaño from Dave Mora. From this work Mason produced an excellent, systematic study of both Salinan dialects, and a collection of myths and contemporary narratives. Like his first report, however, the second gave no indication that any other knowledge of Salinan culture had survived (Mason 1918).

## HARRINGTON'S SALINAN FIELD WORK

Harrington began his work with the Salinan in 1912 and 1913, interviewing Juan Solano and Pacifico Gallego, two Miguelino speakers living in western San Luis Obispo County. He did not arrive in the San Antonio area until January 1922 (Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Frs. 0002-0257, 0259; Mills 1985:130, 132).

Pedro Encinales had died six months previously. The King City Herald ran a front-page article (King City Herald, July 22, 1921:1):

One of the Last of the San Antonio  
Indians Dies in King City

Pedro Encinales, one of the remaining few of the San Antonio Indians, died in King City Monday afternoon after having been sick for a number of days. Several years ago Encinales was hired by the California University which was making a record of the languages of the different Indian tribes of the state. He was taken to Berkeley, as were Indians from other sections, and the research workers made a study of the language of the tribe, now well-nigh extinct. It is said that Encinales, at the approach of death, followed the Indian instinct against dying in a house and had himself dressed and went outside where he passed away.

Ironically, the notice of Pedro Encinales' death adjoined an article describing a festive ceremony at Mission San Antonio. The names of local participants and visiting dignitaries were listed, with the remark that "Interest was added to the scene in that a number of the San Antonio tribe of Indians took part in the pageant" (King City Herald, July 22, 1921:1).

In January and February of 1922, Harrington worked intensively with Dave and Maria Jesusa Encinales Mora, and to a lesser extent with Petronilo Gomez. Like Mason, Harrington collected Salinan vocabulary, with Dave providing most of the Antoniaño terms, and Maria, the Miguelino versions. Gomez, an Antoniaño whose language was "very rusty," contributed information in English on the plants and animals

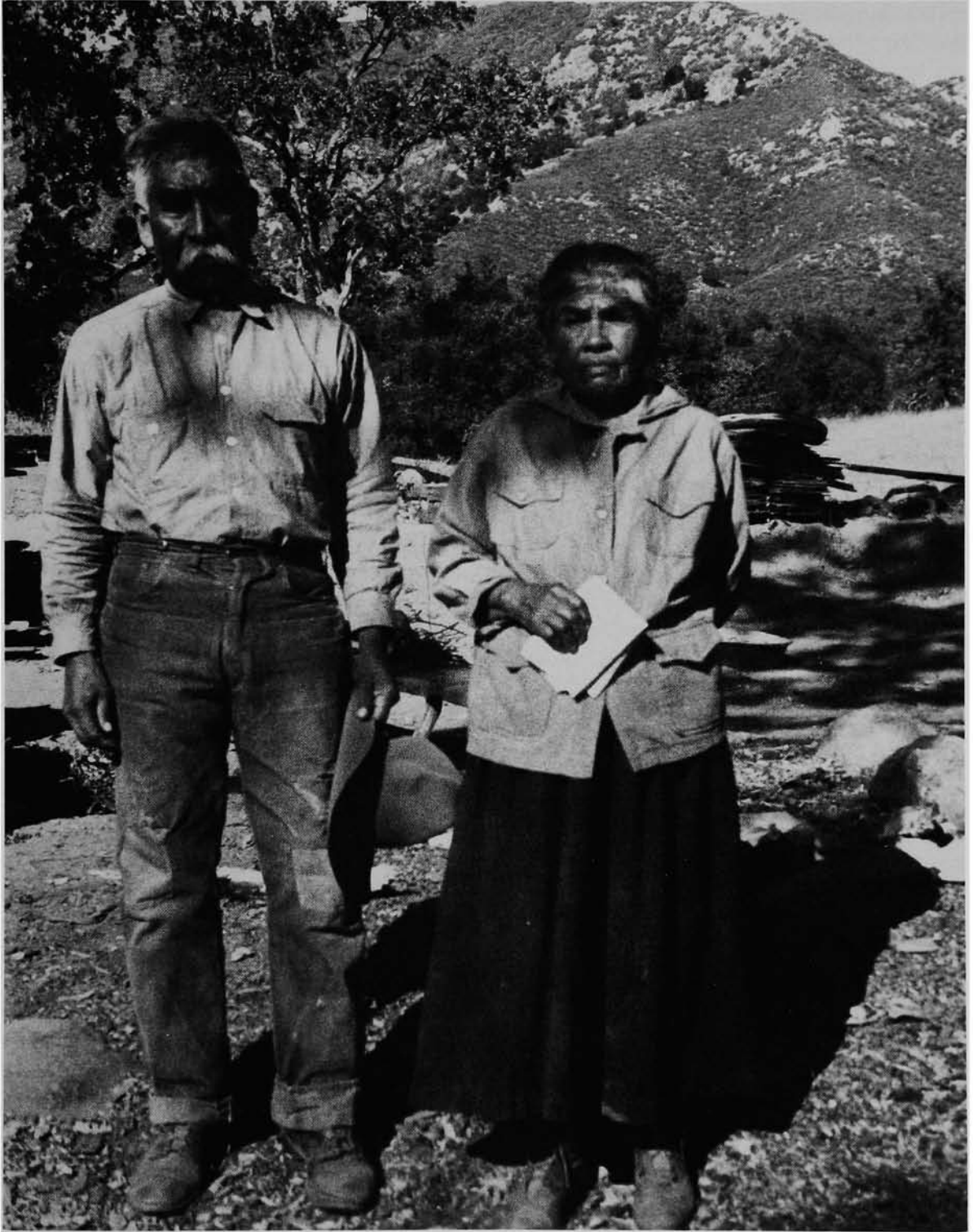


Fig. 5. Tito and Maria de los Angeles Baylon Ocarpia Encinales at their ranch in 1933. Photograph by C. Hart Merriam. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

of the San Antonio area (Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Frs. 0259-0435).

Harrington's notes from this first visit show the marked difference between his work with the Salinan descendants and Mason's studies. The notes are voluminous, alternating between Spanish, Antoniaño or Miguelino, and English, at times in the same sentence, and encompassing any observations or associations suggested by the vocabulary. The information provided by Maria, Dave, and Gomez reflects, not an interview, but a collaboration.

Maria knows [is certain, sure] instantly that carrying net is *tr a t* (long and with level accent), adding *esos que hacen de pura pita para llevar cosas en lomo*. Ad. [Antoniaño, Dave]--*tral*--Dave knows. The *tr* is always half voiceless when initial, and evidently articulated back of the teeth [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0337].

Included in some of the plant terms are ancestral uses of the plants: a kind of salvia, for example, would "bathe children and women in childbirth;" the Antoniaño word for hairbrush, "same as the *amole chiquita que comen* because they used that for these brushes;" "fish poisoning weeds, called turkey weeds in Eng." In the discussion of the word "bow," Dave gave a careful description of the crafting of a bow and arrow (Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Frs. 0315, 0321, 0339; Rl. 86, Frs. 0119-0121).

Throughout Harrington's notes, the descendants refer to Salinan material culture. These individuals were not living in the past; rather, the past was more a part of their lives than had been believed. Along with the language and a familiarity with old ways, the men and women with whom Harrington worked demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of Salinan geography. Dave and Maria Mora, during the 1922 interviews, gave Harrington the Antoniaño names and the locations of village areas, meadows, mountain peaks, streams, and landmark rocks. The notes from this time show an ongoing discussion of places and, where known, the past

and recent uses of these places (Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Frs. 0277-0278, 0306, 0313-0314, 0321, 0386).

Mason, perhaps because of his concentration on the Salinan language, recorded little geographical information. Pedro Encinales, in the 1910 trip to Berkeley, described a forest fire in Reliz Canyon. When Mason returned to the San Antonio area in 1916, Pedro related another adventure; he and his son, camping while they built a fence, pursued and killed a mountain lion. No location was indicated, other than "the woods" (Mason 1918:94-98).

Among the mythological stories recorded in 1910, two narratives concerned *xui* (*huy* or *hoy*), a rock monster who was "the murderer of the people . . . used to kill them by throwing them over the hill where some little black birds would eat them." Again, Mason did not report, and most probably did not inquire about, local associations with the rock. Its traditional location was known; Tito Encinales guided Harrington to *Hoy* Ledge in 1931 (Mason 1918:92-93; Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0462-0463).

Harrington, after working with Dave and Maria Mora through February 1922, did not come back to Salinan country for eight years. On his return in February 1930, he organized the first of a series of placename trips. His notes from these journeys emphasize the importance he gave to places and the persons, events, and uses associated with them.

On the first trip, Harrington travelled with Dave and Maria Mora and Maria de Los Angeles, by then married to Maria Mora's brother, Tito Encinales. The group started from Tito and Maria's house on Santa Lucia Creek and headed south on what is now Milpitas Road, identifying places along the way, with Harrington noting landmarks and his odometer readings. They continued south into Miguelino country, where Maria de Los Angeles provided most of the information (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0430-0450).

Going up Vineyard Canyon, where, as noted above, Maria de Los Angeles was born, Harrington made several sketch maps. Near the head of the canyon, below a hill called *meneka*, he noted on the map, “*llano* [flat] where dig roots called *k'onaka*.” The information sheet on “*k'onakha*” includes the use of the plant and its location near *meneka*, and illustrates Harrington's continuing, careful work on the Salinan dialects.

Mla. rhd. [Maria de los Angeles reheard] *k'onakha* (o short in Mig. but long in Ant.), a kind of *papas* [potatoes] of the Ind[ian]s. Were lots of these at the plain near *meneka* ca. mt. [mountain cited above]. We have no sp[ecime]n yet. Dave *k'onakha*. Dave takes a string and puts it on his fingers thus: [sketch] to show how the tubers of *k'onakha* branch from the stem. This is a catscradle figure and I can write later how Dave makes it.

Mla. rhg. [rehearing] April, 1931.

Dave rhg. *k'o'na ko* Mla. *ko na'kha*. (app[arently] no') Ch. [clearly heard] forever. Mla. Dave rhg. Feb. 27, 1932. Mj. [Maria Jesusa Mora] rhg. *k'o naikha'* Mj. puts this ['at end of word] No ' here [after o] in Mig. Dave *k'o'naiko* Mj. Dave Mar. 3, 1932 [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0437].

In the spring of 1931, Harrington returned to work with the Salinan, and made two more placename trips. He was accompanied on both by Dave Mora and Tito Encinales.

Tito, who worked with Harrington from this time until the last field trip in 1932, was the third child of Eusebio and Perfecta Encinales. As noted above, he did not marry until late in life. The 1910 census listed him as a member of Perfecta's household, earning his living as a farm laborer. He was well known for his ranching skills, especially for rawhide manufacture; Harrington photographed him at work in 1932 (Fig. 6). Tito was then close to 70 years old (U.S. Census 1880: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, p. 20; 1900, 1910: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Indian Population; Casey 1957:28).

On March 30, Harrington took Tito and

Dave south on Milpitas Road, checking place-names from the previous year's trip and adding further information. They drove from the juncture of Tito's cutoff and Milpitas Road to Dave's turnoff, a mile north of Jolon. Harrington's notes, as for all of these trips, included sketch maps with names, brief descriptions (e.g., “*lot cem potrero*” [pasture]), and mileages (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0450-0461).

Tito, Dave, Harrington, and his field assistant, Jim Hovey, took a more extended trip on April 13.

We drove nearly to King City from Tito's ranch, and then took the road up Pine Canyon and passed the former Franchoni's ranch and went to the very summit and down the other side, and parked the car, and walked about a mile and came to the Hoy--a ledge of rock at the top of the e. *ladera* [east slope] of the first big tributary that comes into Hoy canyon from the east (or south). The rock where the crow (the *mandadero* [messenger] of Hoy) stood watching people up and down the canyon is at the e. (Franchoni-ward) end of the ledge [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0462-0463].

Harrington photographed the *hoy* and the crow rock (Fig. 7), and the group went on to Reliz Canyon, with Tito telling the story of a horseback ride with his father across this country. Returning down Pine Canyon, they stopped to visit Felipe Encinales, Tito's older brother (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0463-0470).

Felipe was listed in the 1900 census as a farmer and head of household, with his wife Maria and three small daughters. By 1910 he had been widowed and was included in Perfecta's household. At the time of this visit, Felipe was in his early 70s and living with a daughter and her husband in lower Pine Canyon (U.S. Census 1900, 1910: Monterey County, San Antonio Township, Indian Population; Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0470).

He told two stories about *malditos*, or evil spirits, one in the San Lucas area and one at



Fig. 6. Tito Encinales, working rawhide, 1932. Photograph by J. P. Harrington. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Santa Lucia Peak (officially designated Junipero Serra Peak in 1907, but consistently called by its old name when Harrington worked in the San Antonio area).

There was a *maldito* that lived at Santa Lucia peak. He was bad and killed people that went up there. The timbers for the San Antonio rafters were cut at three places: (1) at Santa Lucia peak, (2) at San Geronimo, which is



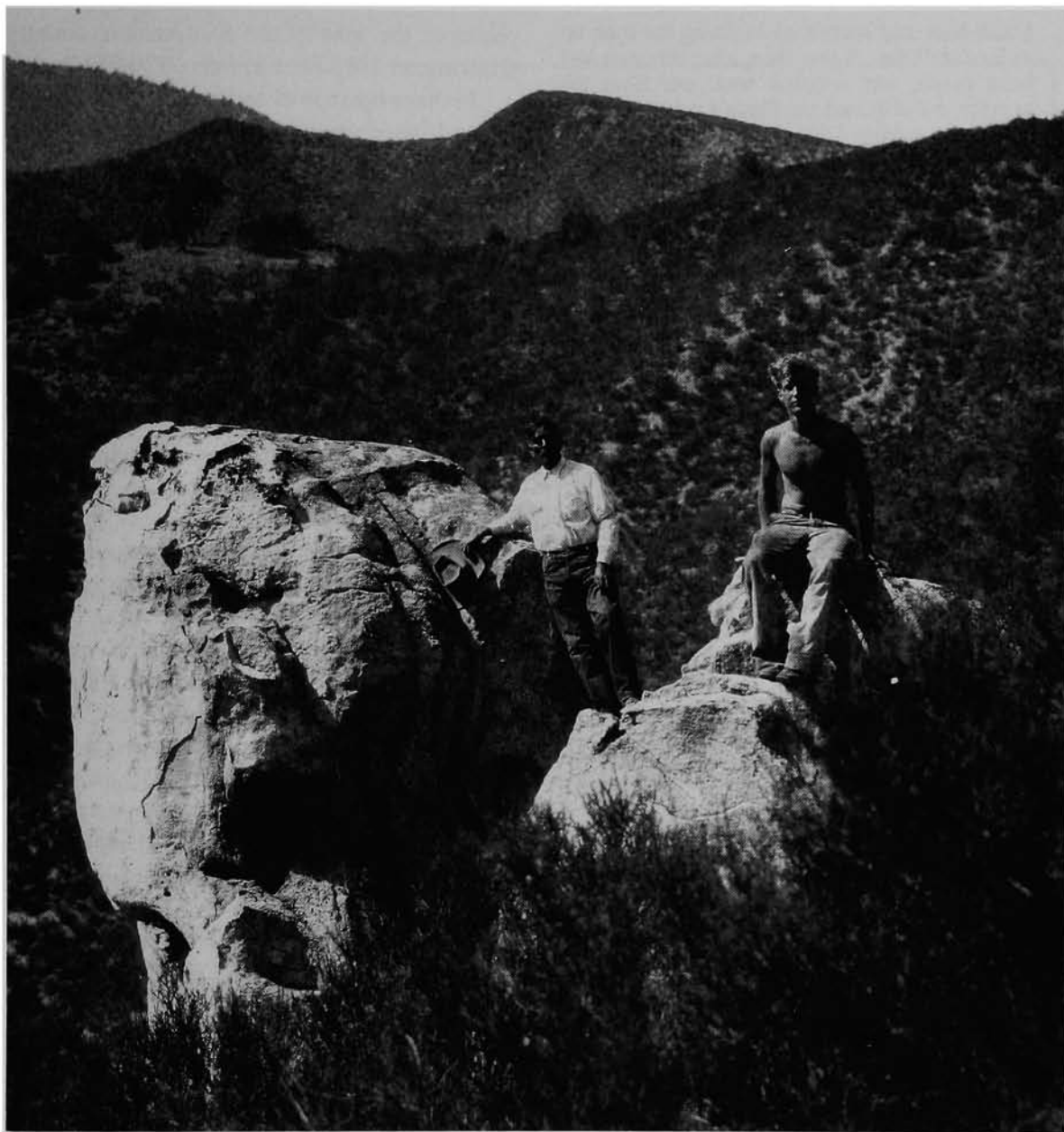


Fig. 7. Dave Mora and Harrington's field assistant, Jim Hovey, at *hoy* rock, 1932. Photograph by J. P. Harrington. Courtesy of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

another peak, not so high as Santa Lucia peak, and (3) at a hill which is at the very head of Arroyo Seco, that hill is not very high but there were *pinos* there of the kind that they used for the *vigas* [rafters]. One time when the Indians were cutting *pinos* for the priests up at Santa Lucia, one Indian saw a lizard lying on top of a rock in the sun, and as he looked at him that

lizard took his right hand and put it up at the back of his neck and took a piece of bloody skin from the back of his neck and threw it at the man. It hit the man in the head and the man fell over stricken with a grievous sickness. They took the man back to the mission. There were still *hechiceros* [wizards] at the mission in those days and they sang songs mentioning Santa

Lucia peak and succeeded in fixing the man up so he didn't die. It was then, after this man had been cured, that a priest went out from the mission and baptized the Santa Lucia peak with the name of Saint Lucy. . . [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0471-0472].

None of the areas Felipe mentioned for obtaining timber is near Mission San Antonio. It is noteworthy that Junipero Serra, in a 1773 report on the state of the missions, wrote that during the construction of San Antonio "on account of the scarcity of timber, and to make the work shorter, the whole mission was made smaller" (Tibesar 1956 I:355).

Harrington checked and reheard vocabulary with Maria de Los Angeles, Dave, Maria Jesusa, and Tito during April and May. He returned to work with them in February 1932, and organized further placename trips the following month. The first of these trips, in mid-March, was the most extensive journey made by Harrington and the Salinan descendants. With Maria de Los Angeles and Maria Jesusa, Harrington drove through the southern Salinan country, turning west at Atascadero to follow the old Toro Canyon road to the coast, and traveling north from the Cayucos area to Ragged Point. The trip produced a constant stream of diverse information: Maria de Los Angeles' rechecking of Miguelino places, and associations with each place; the names of ranches and persons who lived or worked there; lists of persons to interview; notes on topography; legends; any scrap of information on the rancheria at Villa's property; interviews with a Miguelino speaker and with long-time residents in the areas visited (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0474-0578).

On March 17 and 19, Harrington, Tito, and Maria Jesusa travelled north along Milpitas Road toward Arroyo Seco, checking placenames previously noted and identifying others. During these trips, Harrington obtained a sketch map of trails to the coast and further information on

places to the west of the San Antonio country (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0579-0618).

Perhaps because of spring rains, Harrington delayed the western trip until October, when it is usually possible to count on the Santa Lucias' most beautiful weather. Felipe, Tito, Antonio Fontes (the caretaker of French Camp, near the old Gamboa ranch), and Harrington made the trip on horseback, starting from Carrizo Springs, and following the Gamboa trail to the coast ridge. They turned north on the ridge trail, and dropped down to a flat called *tr'akhten* (northeast of Dolan Canyon; it is now Lower Bee, an abandoned Forest Service camp). Felipe said that *tr'akhten* was a hunting camp, and both Felipe and Tito remarked that they "never knew other names in Indian beyond [north of] *tr'akhten*" (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0619-0634, 0643-0644, 0649). They camped here overnight; Harrington made a sketch map of the flat and the surrounding area. On the map is the note, "Tito and I walked along deer trails along a most dangerous *ladera* [slope] here" (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0625, 0630, 0632).

From *tr'akhten*, the group rode across Dolan Canyon and along the trail "around the steep slopes of the 3 heads of Rat Canyon" (Fig. 8). Harrington's notes here include a story of Tito's hunting on Dolan Ridge, anecdotes about Dolan and his place, Arbuez Boronda's ranch, and other settlers' names and locations. They passed Rooth Brunette's cabin, in Big Creek Canyon, and took the trail out Mining Ridge to Devil's Canyon; "then a terrible climb up out its south wall" (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0625-0633, 0643, 0653, 0655.)

J. Smeaton Chase, riding south from the Gamboa place in 1912, had written of crossing this canyon, "I had been but little on horseback since we entered this rougher country, wishing to spare Anton as much as possible: a point of necessity, indeed, for the trail was almost

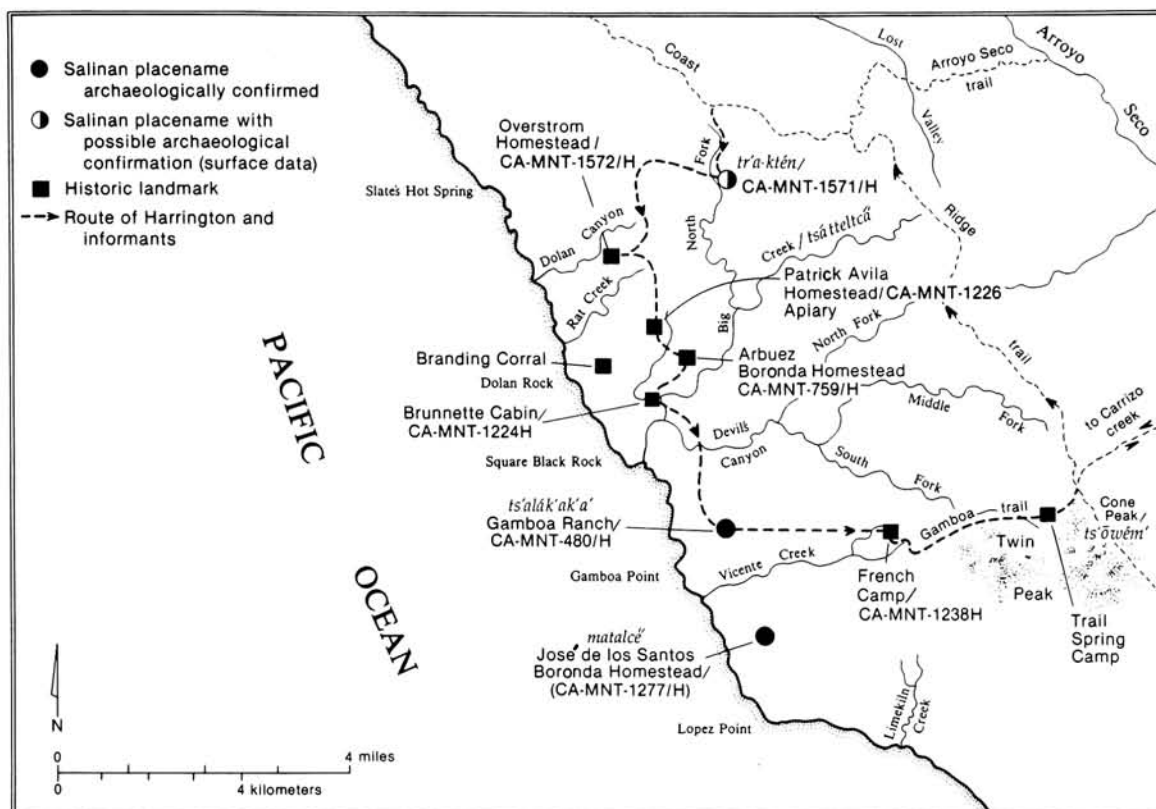


Fig. 8. Coastal segment of *Quiquilit* showing the approximate route of J. P. Harrington, Tito Encinales, Felipe Encinales, and Tony Fontes in October 1932, with archaeological sites correlated with Salinan placenames, and landmarks noted by Harrington.

always either steep in grade or lay along slopes sharp enough to make a stumble something more than annoying. I now led Anton down the stair-like descent. . . .” (Chase 1913:199-200).

South of Devil’s Canyon, Tito, Felipe, and Fontes guided Harrington to the old Gamboa ranch house site, which Tito and Felipe (and Dave Mora, earlier) had identified as the location of *ts’ala k’ak’a*, a village. This site and that of *matalce*, at the old Santos Boronda place, had been noted by Mason, but only as “a village on the coast” (Mason 1912:107; Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0627, 0636, 0640, 0641).

Harrington made a sketch map of the Gamboa place and of the area including both *ts’ala k’ak’a*, and *matalce*. He also took notes

on “*La Tasajera*,” a site used in historic times for butchering deer and jerking the meat; it is possible that this also was a prehistoric use for the place (Harrington 1985: Rl. 88, Frs. 0626, 0640, 0649).

The land around Limekiln Canyon, like *tr’akhten*, seemed to be a geographical boundary for Tito and Felipe; their knowledge of the area to the south was fragmentary and based on recent information. The group rode back on the Gamboa trail, with Harrington making notes along the way (Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Frs. 0619, 0626, 0636, 0639, 0647-0649).

This was Harrington’s last visit to Salinan country. He based only one report on his work here, the cultural element distribution for the central California coast (Harrington 1942). The

notes did not become widely available until their publication on microfilm (Harrington 1985). It seems impossible, looking at the enormous volume of data collected by Harrington from groups across California, that he could have both gathered this information and synthesized all of it for publication. For anyone interested in the ethnography of these groups, the wealth of material preserved in Harrington's notes more than validates his choice.

In 1936, Harrington contacted the Salinan descendants once more, when he sent his nephew, Arthur Harrington, and Paul Garcia, a Chumash descendant, to make recordings of Maria de Los Angeles and Dave Mora. Felipe had died in 1933; Tito in 1934. Among the instructions Harrington gave for the recordings of Maria de Los Angeles, one sums up his ethnographic approach, evident throughout his work with the Salinan descendants: "there is nothing too trivial for her to talk about in the greatest detail. Let her talk by the hour and hour on the most various subjects" (California Death Index, 1905-1939, Vol. II, p. 1990; Harrington 1985:RI. 88, Fr. 0798).

#### NORTHERN SALINAN ETHNOGEOGRAPHY BASED ON HARRINGTON'S NOTES

Using Harrington's field notes and maps, we have identified 21 places of significance to the Salinan-speaking peoples of the northern Santa Lucias. Most, but not all, of these places lie within the area of the *Quiquilit* tribelet. Many have been correlated with archaeological sites, but these correlations must be considered tentative, since most are based solely on surface data. Detailed descriptions of features and artifacts are ultimately necessary to ensure that an archaeological site was used during the late prehistoric and/or early historic period. Sub-surface data are available from two of the identified sites: CA-MNT-480/H (Howard 1973) and CA-MNT-1277/H (Jones and Haney

1992). Some locations, however, were features on the ethnic landscape that would not necessarily correlate with an archaeological deposit, since no activities were carried out which created material residues. Still other places were exclusively historic in origin.

#### Informants

Harrington used the following abbreviations for his informants, who were conversant in the dialects indicated (Mills 1985:137, 138; Katherine Turner, personal communication 1993):

- Dave, Ad. = Dave Mora (Antoniaño).
- Mla. = Maria de Los Angeles Baylon Ocarpia Encinales (Miguelino). Married to Tito Encinales.
- Mj., mm., Am., or Me. = Maria Jesusa Encinales (Spoke a mixture of the two dialects according to Mla.). Married to Dave Mora.
- Felipe = Felipe Encinales (not a linguistic informant).
- Tito = Tito Encinales (not a linguistic informant).
- Fontes = Antonio Fontes (not a linguistic informant).

In cases where multiple versions of placenames were offered by different informants, we emphasize those of Antoniaño speakers, due to our focus on the northern Salinan area, where this dialect was spoken. Harrington's commentary is distinguished by JPH.

#### Placenames

The following list of identified Salinan places has been taken from Harrington's notes. Pertinent locational and/or historical information has been added, along with a summary of the archaeology of each place as it is currently known. Placename locations are depicted in Figures 2, 3, and 8. The orthography employed here is taken, without modification, from Harrington's notes, although some of the symbols he employed are apparently of his own invention. Most placenames are spelled differently in various pages in the notes. Apparently Harrington's ability to hear and

render scientific linguistic transcriptions improved with time, and we have therefore used the most recent orthography as most accurate. Alternative spellings are presented in parentheses. In some instances we have given the preferred Antoniaño spelling provided to us by Katherine Turner (personal communication, 1993).

*k'e'* (*ke*; *khe*)

Dave: *khé* = sugar pine, Maria Mora says the same [Harrington 1985:Rl 84, Fr. 0318].

Dave: *k'é* = sugar pine [Harrington 1985:Rl. 85, Fr. 0346].

Dave: *k'é'* = Spanish El Piojo. It is Hearst's property now. It is about 5 *millas al otro* [5 miles on the other side of] San Miguelito [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0732].

This location clearly correlates with El Piojo Creek, south of Mission San Antonio (Fig. 2), where a profusion of bedrock mortar sites has been recorded. The association of this placename with pines is confirmed in Mason's (1918:206) vocabulary, which stated *ke* = pine nuts. El Piojo Creek is also close to the location referred to by the members of the Portolá expedition as *Campo de los Pinones* (Fig. 2), where on September 20, 1769, Pedro Fages observed: "There were in the vicinity three bands of Indians . . . at this time engaged in harvesting pine nuts, of which there is an abundance throughout the entire range. The camp was called *Real de los Pinones*" (Fages 1972:54).

*tc'ótémahk* (*tcótemak*; *teotemak*; *tcótemahk*; *tr'otémák*; *cótemahk*; *cótemak*)

Me. volunteers that the real Jolon (*xolom*) is where she was born (she was born in the old adobe in which Mike Semenhof lives now). . . the present Jolon is *tr'otémák*. Scarce now. Maria says that she doesn't know the meaning of this name but Dave volunteers that it is a kind of wild onion with spreading top and yellow flower and good to eat [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0386].

Mj.: Her father told her that the gringos put Jolon where it is. The old name for Jolon is *tc'ótémahk* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0730].

Jolon is a small contemporary community originally established in the 1800s (Fig. 2). Although Mason (1912) stated that the area around this community was known as *holon*, providing the basis for its American name, Harrington's informants concurred with those interviewed by Henshaw in 1884, in assigning the name of *teotemak* or *Scautem-mak* (Merriam 1968:83) to this locale. The individual mentioned as residing at The Indians adobe, Mike Semenhof, was caretaker there in 1922 (Casey 1957:37).

CA-MNT-259, a large midden with extensive flaking debris, was recorded near Jolon by Arnold Pilling in 1941. Philip Mills Jones, when he worked in the area around the turn of the century, observed at this site:

A few hut circles were found near the streams, notably the San Antonio, and on a hill directly in front of the hotel at Jolon, the traces of six or seven circles still remained [Philip Mills Jones 1902, as cited on CA-MNT-259 site record].

*hollóm* (*qolom*; *hólom*; *qolom*; *xólom*; *xolom*; *xóllom'*; *Jolon*)

Mj.: The real Jolon is up by Milpitas = old Milpitas--(over where the Indian Club is) and the gringos changed it from there down to Jolon, present site. And she doesn't know if it used to be *hólom*--that is only Dave's theory [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0730].

Dave: *hólom* . . . *holom*, it has a leak in it (e.g., a dish has a leak in its bottom).

Mla.: Migueleno, *xólom*.

Dave: *hollóm*--this is the true name of Jolon [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0731].

Ad.: *qólom* = Numero Dos ranch on road from Jolon to King City [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0749].

JPH: *xolom*, Jolon grande [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0415].

Felipe: Felipe says that the ducks [sic] at Jolon store asked him what Jolon means and he told them that *xóllom'* means that a cienega or something is dammed up and suddenly breaks through. Felipe entirely volunteers this. I asked him if the same could be said of a tin cup leaking, and he said if the bottom breaks through and it starts to leak, could say this. I asked Felipe if the name applied to Jolon or to the

place a mile or 2 towards King City from there and he says he does not know--that ranch is Jolon Grande [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0635].

While there remains at least one contradiction, Maria Encinales and Maria Jesusa clearly associated this place with the adobe at The Indians (Fig. 3). Approximately 1 km. south of The Indians adobe is an extensive suite of archaeological features, including two rock-shelters and a shell midden with associated bedrock mortars (CA-MNT-645), all or part of which could correlate with the place name.

*khatsáy'trám* (*khats'á'j tráam*; *khats'á'j*; *katsajcaca*; *khats'á'j trá'm*; *khatsaytram*)

Am.: *khats'á'j trá'm* (also merely *khats'á'j*), Indian placename of the *reserva* at Santa Lucia = original Milpitas [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0755].

JPH: *khats'ay*, old Milpitas [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0415].

Mla, Dave: *khatsáy' tram* = old original Milpitas [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0431].

Dave, Tito: *khats'ay.tram*, placename on left of Indian Road at Mission Creek where Tito's trail forks off [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0458].

Mla: Now Maria recalls another placename: *tranát*. *Primero soqól*, then *tranát*, a plant name; this is the place where the sterility mortero is, then *trqám'* (the big rock where they *guardan calezas* [(keep wagons)], then comes *katsajcaca* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0321].

Milpitas is a reference to the small garden plots that were maintained by Mission Indians along the San Antonio River and particularly along Santa Lucia Creek after secularization. The Milpitas land grant was named after these settlements. Ownership of this rancho eventually fell to Faxton D. Atherton, a wealthy San Franciscan, who considered the natives squatters, and attempted to forcibly remove them from rancho lands when he received title in 1875. In 1882 the trustees of the Atherton estate sold 100 acres in the northwestern portion of the Milpitas to Eusebio Encinal. As noted above (the Encinales Family and Mason's Work), Encinal combined this acquisition with

acreage he obtained through an adjacent homestead patent to form a 500-acre ranch. This area became known locally as "The Indians," "the Indians farm," or "the Reservation" (Fig. 3). In the years between 1893 and 1910, six members of the Encinal family patented homesteads northwest of the The Indians (Fleming 1976:37). The mortgage on the 100 acres sold to Eusebio Encinal, originally held by Sabino Gamboa, a Big Creek homesteader (Fleming 1976), passed into the hands of Robert Diaz, the superintendent of the Milpitas Rancho. Diaz apparently let members of the Encinal family reside there until they voluntarily departed (Fleming 1976:11). When Robert Diaz died, his wife sold the parcel to a group called the Indians Hunting and Fishing Club, who planned to use the land and the adobe on it as a commercial hunting and fishing retreat (Fleming 1976:12). Harrington and his informants in the 1930s referred to the place as "the Indians Club" and "the Indians adobe."

According to Katherine Turner (personal communication, 1993), *khats'á'j*, in Salinan means milpitas and *trám* means house, so that the literal translation of this place name is consistent with The Indians adobe.

A series of archaeological features recorded at this location appear to correlate with the Milpitas location: CA-MNT-1045 is a rectangular enclosure of field stones, 10 x 8 ft., 18-22 in. high; it appears to represent either a crude structural foundation or part of a corral; CA-MNT-1046 is a circular depression, 12 ft. in diameter, 3.5 ft. deep with field stone around the edges. Two small rectangular building foundations occur in this area as well, along with several small midden deposits (CA-MNT-757, -766, and -769).

*stáyak'ole* (*stáyókale*; *stáyók'le*; *stayokel*; *stáyok'ole*; *stá yók'el*; *stayókel*; *stayókale*)

Mla.: *stáyókale*. Rehearing (1932): *stá yak'ole*. Mj. says Mj.'s mother was up on Santa Lucia when they baptized it Santa Lucia. Father Ambriz baptized it. They asked Mj.'s mother

what peak was called in Indian, and she said she did not know. She told Mj. this. Very important [cf. story by Felipe Encinales--Mj.'s older brother--in Harrington's Salinan Field Work, above] [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0735].

Mla.: Martin was a pure Antoniaño and old. He was Jacinto Martin. Maria Antonia was his wife. Jacinto Martin was brother of Mj.'s father, he was Mj.'s *tio*. He was the one who told Marie the placename *stá yak'ole*. Very important [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0736]. Mla.: *stáyók'el*, Santa Lucia mountain [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0774].

*stayókel* (*kale*) = Santa Lucia Peak. [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0415].

Mla.: *stáyokale*, Santa Lucia Peak [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0449].

This is clearly the Miguelino name for Santa Lucia Peak, now known as Junipero Serra Peak. According to Dave Mora and Tito, it means "deer that has no horns yet or a spike buck" (Katherine Turner, personal communication 1993).

*snonlax* (*snónlax*; *snonlax*; *cnonlox*; *cnonlax*)

Felipe and Tito: *cnó nlox* (or ox) = *el llano perdido* (Lost Flat). Knows this equivalence forever [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0645].

Dave, Tito: *snónlax* = Rancho Escondido, a place this side of Arroyo Seco. A distinct place from Lost Valley. Lost is the other side of Arroyo Seco from here. No etymology [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0457].

JPH: From Arroyo Seco camp (picnic grounds at Indians Ranger Station), we saw the trail that leads downstream, down south edge of Arroyo Seco, to *snonlax*, a *llano* [flat] and spring 6 miles from us here. Ranger's wife: Rancho Escondido is on east side of Arroyo Seco 6 miles from here. Lost Valley is beyond, 11 miles from here [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0582].

Fontes: Escondido and Lost Valley are two wholly distinct places. Escondido--you go to the Indians Ranger Station, thence to picnic ground on Arroyo Seco, then go down Arroyo Seco.

JPH: Felipe says clearly and for all time that *cnó nlox* is Escondido and is not Lost Valley at all--for all time. *cnó nlox* is a flat only 1/4 mile north of Arroyo Seco, bare and big flat, and there was a good, deep *pozo* [hole] of water in Arroyo Seco opposite it where Felipe and the [other] Indians fished. Lost Valley is ca. 8

miles from Escondido, to the northwest of Escondido [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0651].

These passages clearly correlate *snonlax* with the location still known today as Escondido (meaning secret or hiding place). An ashy midden with depressions, CA-MNT-408, has been recorded in this location. This name does not occur in the Mission San Antonio baptism records, and may represent a post-mission refuge.

*pelém-'ô* (Tito Encinales' Ranch)

JPH: Mj. last night succeeded in remembering the name of Tito's present ranch = *pelém-'ô*. Very important. Tito, when told this placename, says he would never have recalled it if Mj. had not. No meaning. Once when the Encinales were living at Indian Club, they went over to Tito's present ranch to get *quiotes* [mescal, agave] and so Mj. got to hear the name [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0591].

Tito's ranch can be plotted on the basis of several maps provided by Harrington, but no archaeological survey has been undertaken in this area. This name has not been identified in mission records, and must represent a place used or named only in the historic era. It means "the sky's" (Katherine Turner, personal communication 1993).

*kóy-e<sup>2</sup>* (*khoye*; *khóy*; *khoye*)

Dave, Tito: Now coming this way from *snolax*, we come to *pácil*, a *llano*, nobody lives there . . . *pácil* = mescal roasting pit. Then, *mas aca* [closer], is a big rock called *khoye*, echo rock [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0457].

JPH, traveling with Tito and Mj.: *khóy*, echo rock [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0581].

JPH: *Portzuelo* [pass between hills] where took pictures of *khoye*, echo-cliff [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0593].

This landmark has been located relatively easily, with the aid of Harrington's maps, west of The Indians (Fig. 3). Katherine Turner (personal communication, 1993) confirmed *pacel* as a "mescal pit."

*swal'éko<sup>2</sup>* (*cwa'lékam*; *swa'tekam*; *cwálekam*; *cwa'lécam*; *swalékom*)

Ad: *swal'é ko*: Place name by Santa Lucia.

An old man named Pedro used to cultivate there. This place is at the head of the Arroyo Seco, but it is not the Arroyo Seco [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0278].

Dave, Tito: *swalékom*, where Tito had a little ranch and belongs to Indian Club now. The echo rock is 1/2 mile north of *swalékom* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0458].

Tito Encinales patented approximately 160 acres in Township 21 S, Range 5 E, Sections 7, 8, 17, and 18 in 1895 (Fleming 1976:37). His ownership and the locational data given to Harrington allow this place to be readily identified (Fig. 3). Archaeological association is not apparent, and the name has not been reported from the mission registers.

*tcamakám*<sup>2</sup> (*tc'amakám*; *tf'amakám*; *tcamakám*; *tc'amakám*)

Am: *tf'a ma kam* is a placename, a name of the *llano* [flat or meadow] near the school. The school is *entre medio* [halfway between] *khats,á'j* and *tf'emákam*, (*khats'á'j*) being *mas paca* [closer] and *tf'emákam mas palla* [further]. It is many years that Maria has not pronounced this placename [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0314].

Am: [Maria adds, before reaching bee rock]. But *tc'am a kám*, place name on this side of San Antonio Creek, where Snowbergs lived at one time. *lok'c* is across the creek from *tc'amakám* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0738].

Dave: *tc'a makám*. From *tc'amák*, *canutillo* [kind of cane or reed?] . . . JPH: Dave thinks there is lots of *canutillo* there, and that is why they put that name there [Harrington 1984:Rl. 87, Fr. 0739].

Dave, Tito: *tcamakan*, a flat pasture towards [the] creek from where Tito's road leaves Indian Road. From *tcamak*, a kind of weeds with points that strip off when you pull. Weed is sharp like a file [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0459].

Ms., Tito: *tcamakám*, flat with several springs [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0580].

This seems to be a placename only, not associated with a known archaeological site (Fig. 3).

*latsáy*

JPH, traveling with Mj. and Tito: Reached junction of driveway to Tito's with Indian Club road. All this place about this junction is

*latsáy*. This adobe = Milpitas. This also is called *latsay* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0580].

This seems to be yet another name for the place also referred to as *khatsáy'trám*. The Indians adobe, CA-MNT-817H, is today present at this location (Fig. 3), but no prehistoric materials have been identified on the grounds surrounding the structure, and this name has not been identified in mission records.

*sk'é'yem* (*sk'e'yem*; *ski'yam*)

Mj.: *sk'é'yem*, Rancho Hidalgo [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0768].

JPH, traveling with Mla. and Dave: Rancho Hidalgo = *sk'e'yem* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0431].

Dave, Tito: *sk'ola'yic* [bee rock], then *trh'ama'*, big rock. Then *sk'i'yam*, placename of Hidalgo's place, a ranch of free Indians *antes* [in the past]. No etymology. Not on Indian Club Road, but on Hidalgo Road [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0458].

Gibson (1983:220) identified *ezquen* (also *eZquem*) as a village within *kigilit*, and noted an earlier reference by Merriam: "*squem* is 4 *leguas* from this Mission by the part of *Quiquil* that is in the north." Milliken (1990) tentatively correlated this with the location of what is shown as the Merle Ranch on the contemporary USGS map (Fig. 3). This ranch was previously owned by Hidalgo. No archaeological survey has been completed on this privately owned parcel. The word means ocean or sea in Salinan (Katherine Turner, personal communication 1993), and would seem to be consistent with the inclusion of this apparent village within the coastal tribelet of *Quiquil*.

*trh'ama* (*trqáma'*; *traháma*; *trxámá*)

Dave and Tito: "*sk'ola'yic* [bee rock], then *trháma'*, big rock, then *sk'i'yam* [Hidalgo] [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0458].

Mj.: The big rock where they keep the wagons, *tr q áma'* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0321]. JPH, traveling with Mla. and Dave: *trxámá'* rock between [Indian] Club Road and [San] Antonio Creek . . . *las piedras altas* in Spanish [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0431].



This is the well-known location, Wagon Cave, and archaeological site CA-MNT-307, a rock-shelter with midden and bedrock mortars (Fig. 3).

*lásom*

Am.: *lásom*, the name of the hill where Cipriano Avila lived [his son, Sam Avila, still lives there], seen in Mason's photo that shows the Encinales homestead from the rear. *lásom* = Salsipuedes Canyon [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0752].

JPH, traveling with Mla. and Dave: Plain at Avila Ranch = *lásom trám* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0431].

The Avila Ranch is a well known historic location (Fig. 3). According to Clark (1991: 95, 496), the Avila or Salsipuedes Ranch was owned by Vicente Avila, the son of Rafael Guajor and Joaquina de Jesus Mayasoto, Mission San Carlos neophytes. There is some evidence suggesting that a mule ranch (*Potreros Mulos*) was established here by Mission San Antonio prior to acquisition by Avila.

*tc'áhal* (*tf'á hal*)

Mj.: Carrizo Springs, 3 miles from *laso* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0313].

Carrizo Creek is a tributary of the San Antonio River; the location referred to as Carrizo Springs is in the vicinity of the confluence of the creek and the river (Fig. 3).

*tr'aktén* (*tr'ákh*; *tr'akhtén*; *tr'aktén*)

Dave and Tito: *tr'aktén* is a *llano* (flat) where the old Indians hunted. Are wild cattle there all the time. Arves Boronda had ranch 2 miles. A.B.'s ranch was *entre medio de* [halfway between] Dolin [sic] upcoast and Gamboa. *tr' a ktén* is the name of a kind of big tree. Tito and Dave do not know which kind of tree [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0456].

Dave and Tito: *tr'aktén* is upslope of Aruez's ranch. Lost Valley is *paca* of *tr akten* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0457].

JPH, traveling with Felipe, Tito, and Fontes: Felipe and Tito ask where El Sur is. [Fontes] tells them it heads only 4 miles from Lost Valley. Never knew other names in Indian beyond *tr'a khtén* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0456].

JPH, traveling with Felipe, Tito, and Fontes: Felipe, Tito, and old Lorenzo came over here deer hunting some 40 years ago. They set out from Milpitas. Felipe killed a deer before they reached the top of the coast range, and they left it there, thinking to pick it up on their way home. They descended into the vicinity of Bee Camp, the Indian name of which is *tr'aktén* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0629].

Dave: Went in a company, from Antonio mission. *tr'á kh* is the placename; *tr'a khtén* = *palos colorados*, redwoods (very important) [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0719].

Tito: *tr'aktén*. Felipe knows. It was a *campo de los cazadores* [hunting camp] [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0643].

The location of *tr'aktén* was recorded as CA-MNT-1571/H by an archaeological survey team in 1990 (Huddleson and Jones 1992). It is marked by a shell midden on a small flat above the confluence of two running streams in the vicinity of a place today known as Lower Bee Camp (Fig. 8). *tr'aktén* is the plural for redwood tree, and a grove of redwoods was noted in the drainages below the site. The Arbuez Boronda homestead cabin, used repeatedly as a locational referent, equates with CA-MNT-759/H, which is situated within the boundaries of Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve (Fig. 8). The Dolan homestead, also referred to, was situated on the coast at what is now known as Dolan Canyon (Fig. 8).

*ts'owém'* (*ts'òwé'm*; *ts'owem*; *ts'owém'*; *cowém*)

Dave: *ts'owém*. Pico Blanco, west of here. Americans call it Cone Peak. Near coast, near here [Harrington 1985:Rl. 84, Fr. 0363].

This clearly is Cone Peak, the present-day site of a U.S. Forest Service fire lookout (Fig. 8). C. Hart Merriam recorded *squen* as Cone Peak (Katherine Turner, personal communication 1993).

*tsáteltcá'* (*ts'etteltcá'*)

Tito: *tsáteltcá'* = Arroyo Hondo [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0721].

[Fontes] and Felipe: *ts'etteltcá'* is Big Creek, called in Spanish *Arroyo Hondo*. It flows southwest, and Devil's Canyon (= *el arroyo que viene del rancho de Arvez*) joins it from the

north, 1 mile from the ocean [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0639].

This is Big Creek, on the coast (Fig. 8).

*matalcé'*

Tito: *matalcé'*, a *bajillo* [flat] towards coast from Arroyo Hondo, on trail as one goes from Pico Blanco to the coast . . . It is the only *bajillo* there [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0717].

Tito: *matalcé'*, where Santos Boronda lived on the coast. Now dead [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0774].

Dave: *matalcé'*, as one goes toward the coast from the Pico Blanco, a flat like a little mesa [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0454].

This is an important association, for it clearly links the Santos Boronda homestead with *matalcé'* (Fig. 8). Merriam (1968:78) listed *mutilshe* as a coastal village, based on the earlier work of Mason. CA-MNT-1277/H is a large site located within Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve that includes the remnants of the José de los Santos Boronda homestead and an extensive midden deposit. Artifacts found there, including a glass trade bead, clam shell disk beads, and Desert Side-notched points (Jones and Haney 1992:419-486) confirm the Salinan descendants' identification of this village site.

*ts'alák'ak'a'* (*ts'alálk'ak'a'*; *ts'alák'ak'a'*; *ts'alákaka'*)

Tito: *ts'alá k'a k'a'*, old Gamboa ranch surely, *un aguage que esta ay seguro* [Harrington 1985:Rl. 87, Fr. 0720].

Tito: *ts'alá k'a k'a'*, placename on coast. Possibly George Gamboa's ranch near coast upstream from Lopez Point [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0454].

JPH, Tito, Felipe, and Fontes: *ts'alákaka'* = where Fontes is now = *el aguage onde vivia el Gambóa*. Fontes now lives *mas aca del de Gamboa at Rancho del Frances*. Cipriano got it from the Frances [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0641].

This is another important association, linking the Gamboa homestead to *ts'alák'ak'a'*. Merriam (1968:78) listed *Tsi-lah-ka-ka* as a coastal rancheria. We suggest that this name is the same as *ssica*, which mission records in-

dicate was a village on the coast (Merriam 1968:79). Archaeological site CA-MNT-480/H contains the remnants of the Gamboa homestead as well as an extensive midden deposit. The site was excavated by Howard (1973), who mistakenly identified it as an Esselen village. His reported artifacts and a radiocarbon date (690 ± 90 B.P. [I-6616]), however, are wholly consistent with occupation during the late prehistoric period. The association of this village name and site has been reported previously (Jones et al. 1989:87-90).

Rancho del Frances is the location today known as French Camp and archaeological site CA-MNT-1238H (Jones et al. 1989:173). A homestead, patented here by Cipriano Avila in the late 1800s, later became part of George Gamboa's holdings. Tony Fontes worked for George Gamboa as a vaquero (Georgette 1981: 21), and apparently lived at French Camp.

*ts'ápale'kwél'*

JPH, traveling with Tito, Felipe, and Fontes: *La tasajera* is just beyond *El Joyito*. *Onde tasajeaban seguro les casadores* [There is where they used to kill all the deer and jerk them]. *ts'ápale'kwél'* = *el tasajero*. *La Tasajera* is a place 1 1/2 miles off trail to north. Looking north from *El Joyito* you can see some open hills like [Harrington 1985:Rl. 88, Fr. 0640].

This place cannot be clearly identified on the ground. *El Joyito* was apparently located somewhere near the Santos Boronda homestead (*matalcé'*). Several archaeological sites have been recorded in Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve that loosely correspond with the locational description given above (Fig. 8). Perhaps more important is the fact that such sites—where cutting and jerking of meat were undertaken—were part of settlement/subsistence strategies at least during the historic period and possibly prior to contact.

## SUMMARY

Harrington's field notes have provided a wealth of ethnographic information for the

Salinan area. Analysis of mission records by Gibson (1983, 1985) and Milliken (1990) shows clearly that the northern coastal tribelet of Salinan-speaking peoples was known to its inhabitants as *Quiquilit*. Harrington's informants provided the locations for four villages belonging to this tribelet: *hollóm*, *sk'é'yem*, *matalcé'*, and *ts'alák'ak'a'* (*ssica*). The latter two correlate with coastal shell middens found within Landels-Hill Big Creek Reserve, both of which (CA-MNT-480/H and -1277/H) have been excavated. The surface archaeological record provides some tentative support for the placement of *hollóm*. The location of *sk'é'yem*, as identified by Harrington's informants, was also proposed by Milliken (1990:45) and corresponds with the description published by Merriam (1968:68). This location, however, has not been confirmed archaeologically.

Also significant is the identification of *tr'aktén*, a hunting camp, that appears to correlate with CA-MNT-1571/H, a shell midden recorded north of Big Creek (Fig. 8). It is the northernmost site identified by Harrington's informants. It is apparent that the limits of their knowledge are an approximate reflection of the northern boundary of the *Quiquilit* tribelet, which must have been located in the vicinity of the North Fork of Big Creek and Rat Creek. Mason (1912) speculated that Junipero Serra Peak was also near the northern limit of territory held by Salinan-speakers, and Merriam (1968:79) provided a note on the eastern boundary of this tribelet as being "about a league from mission." The near absence of significant archaeological sites in the Limekiln Creek drainage (Garsia and Jones 1987), and the complementary lack of reference to that area by Harrington's consultants suggest that the southern tribelet boundary was in the vicinity of this drainage (Fig. 8). Together these data provide a fairly accurate reconstruction of the geography of the *Quiquilit* tribelet and the location of important settlements and other

places within it. The fact that these places were identified by speakers of the Antoniaño dialect suggests, but does not prove conclusively, that the people of *Quiquilit* spoke this dialect. *Lamaca* remains the only coastal tribelet in which a distinct "Playano" dialect could have been spoken. Gibson's (1983) hypothesis that Playano was actually Chumash is most likely correct, although it should be emphasized that knowledge of the Salinan language is based on the memories of so few individuals and that it is possible that Playano speakers did not survive long enough for their dialect to be recorded.

In conclusion, the Harrington field notes provide the most coherent portrait we have of the community of Salinan-speaking people who resided in the northern Santa Lucia Range at contact. Associations between some placenames and archaeological deposits indicate that this community was partially a reflection of pre-contact social and political configurations, suggesting considerable potential for archaeological investigation of these structures in the future. The clarity of the picture so far drawn from Harrington's work stands at the same time as testimony to the historic resilience of the Salinan culture in this remote setting, to Harrington's recognition of the rich cultural memory of the Salinan speakers, and to his dedicated, respectful work with the people of the San Antonio Valley.

#### NOTES

1. Milliken (1990) referred to the northernmost Salinan tribelet as *Kigilit*, in an attempt to render the correct Spanish name, *Quiquilit*, more pronounceable for English speakers, because his publication was intended for the public (R. Milliken, personal communication 1993).

2. The accepted Antoniaño orthography for this word was provided by Katherine Turner (personal communication 1993).

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