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The Nicoleños in Los Angeles: Documenting the Fate of the Lone Woman's Community

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When the last San Nicolas Island resident, known as the 'Lone Woman,' was brought to Santa Barbara in 1853 after 18 years of solitude following the 1835 removal of her people to the mainland, efforts were made to locate speakers who could communicate with her. That search was reported to be unsuccessful, and the Lone Woman died seven weeks later, unable to recount her story. After the Lone Woman's death, many accounts presumed that everyone from San Nicolas Island had died. Recent research in provincial Mexican papers, Los Angeles documents, American records, and church registers has uncovered original primary source information that details the experience of the Lone Woman's people in Los Angeles. Five men, women, and children are confirmed or are likely to have come to the Los Angeles area from San Nicolas Island in 1835, and the parents of a newborn girl baptized the following year also may have come from that island.

The southern Channel Islands (San Nicolas, San Clemente, Santa Barbara, and Santa Catalina islands) experienced dramatic drops in population during the first decades of the nineteenth century as a result of interaction with Europeans, Americans, and peoples of the Pacific Rim (Johnson 1988; Morris et al. 2014; Strudwick 2013). The remaining islanders migrated to the California mainland individually or in small groups, as recorded in sacramental registers of the Catholic Church. Last to be removed from their island home, the people of San Nicolas Island, known as the Nicoleños, arrived in San Pedro, near Los Angeles, in 1835. One person—the Lone Woman—was left behind (Busch 1983:172–173; Ellison 1984:37–39; Nidever 1878:68–69).

Because they were on the most distant of the southern Channel Islands, the Nicoleños had little contact with Europeans during the era of exploration. It wasn't until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the systematic exploitation of the area's marine resources—the prized sea otter hunted for its fur by Russians, Americans, and British for sale to the Chinese in Canton—began that the Islanders' isolation ended. In 1814 a massacre of Nicoleños occurred when a Russian American Company (RAC) hunting crew composed of Alaskan natives, led by Yakov Babin, was brought to the island. Some Nicoleños reportedly killed one of the RAC Alaskan native hunters, and in retribution the remaining hunters killed many of the native islanders (Farris 2012:15–16;

Gibson et al. 2014:336–338; Morris et al. 2014). That conflict, which resulted in what one RAC official termed an "extermination" (Pierce 1984:138–139), was followed 21 years later by the removal of the remaining Nicoleños, save for one woman. The woman, who became known as the Lone (or Lost) Woman of San Nicolas Island, was brought to the mainland 18 years later, in 1853. She was retrieved by a hunting crew led by George Nidever and taken to live with his family in Santa Barbara. Conditionally baptized as Juana María upon her death seven weeks after her arrival, the Lone Woman was immortalized in Scott O'Dell's novel, *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (Cronin 1944; Dittman 1878:n.p.; Ellison 1984:86–89; Nidever 1878:160–165; O'Dell 1960, Olivera 2011).

Due to continued public interest that began during her lifetime, and peaked again with the hundredth anniversary of her "rescue" and the publication of the popular children's book *Island of the Blue Dolphins*, a great deal has been written about the Lone Woman (Schwebel 2011:45). Scholarly and popular articles have been based on American, Russian, and Spanish primary source records (Heizer and Elsasser 1961; Hudson 1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1981), and a number of error-riddled secondary source accounts (e. g., Hardacre 1880).[1] Recent archaeological discoveries, such as the redwood box cache containing early nineteenth-century artifacts, and the Lone Woman's Cave site, have added significant new details to the emerging story of her survival on the island and the interaction between the island's inhabitants, Euro-American explorers and hunters, and their multinational crews (Erlandson et al. 2013; Schwartz and Vellanoweth 2013).

It is the small group of Nicoleños who were taken from San Nicolas Island in 1835 and brought to San Pedro—the Lone Woman's people—who are the subject of the present historical records research reported here. Little has heretofore been known about the lives of these people, including how many were removed from the island and what their fate was upon arrival on the mainland. Two primary source accounts (i.e., written by event participants or eyewitnesses to events) by William Dane Phelps and George Nidever, along with a few secondary reports, give details about one Nicoleño, a man known as Black Hawk, who reportedly lived in San Pedro until about 1845 (Busch 1983:172–174; Ellison 1984:38; Nidever 1878:70–71).

The lack of credible information on the other Nicoleños removed from the island in 1835 posed a research challenge that was met by thoroughly mining Mexican, American, and Los Angeles records. Those records yielded tantalizing details about the lives and living arrangements of the relocated Nicoleños, and they enabled the creation of timelines for five individuals. One of the Nicoleños—a boy about five years old when he left San Nicolas Island in 1835—lived well past 1853, when the Lone Woman arrived in Santa Barbara.

BACKGROUND

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of major transition for the native peoples of southern California (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001:153–154; Hackel 2005:310–312). The autonomous groups who occupied the area for hundreds, if not thousands of years, became subjects of three successive nations that claimed control of the territory known as California: Spain, Mexico, and the United States. In the late eighteenth century, the Spanish crown viewed the California Indians as residents of colonial Alta California, a part of New Spain, ruled from a Viceroyalty in neighboring Mexico. Following Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, the native peoples of California came under the purview of the Mexican government. Finally, in 1848, with the end of the Mexican-American War, Mexican territory that included California was ceded to the United States. California became a state in 1850, and Native Americans ostensibly became United States citizens, although they were not officially recognized as such until legislation was enacted in 1924 (Castillo 1978:715).

The native inhabitants of the Los Angeles basin have been referred to collectively as Gabrielino, a name that comes from Mission San Gabriel (McCawley 1996:9–10). In recent years the terms *Tongva* and *Kizh*, recorded in mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century vocabularies, have also been used as names for the Gabrielino. Inhabitants of the southern Channel Islands of San Clemente, Santa Catalina, and San Nicolas have collectively been called the Island Gabrielino, because their language is presumed to have been only dialectically differentiated from that spoken on the adjacent mainland, albeit not without some indications of linguistic affinities with neighboring Uto-Aztecan

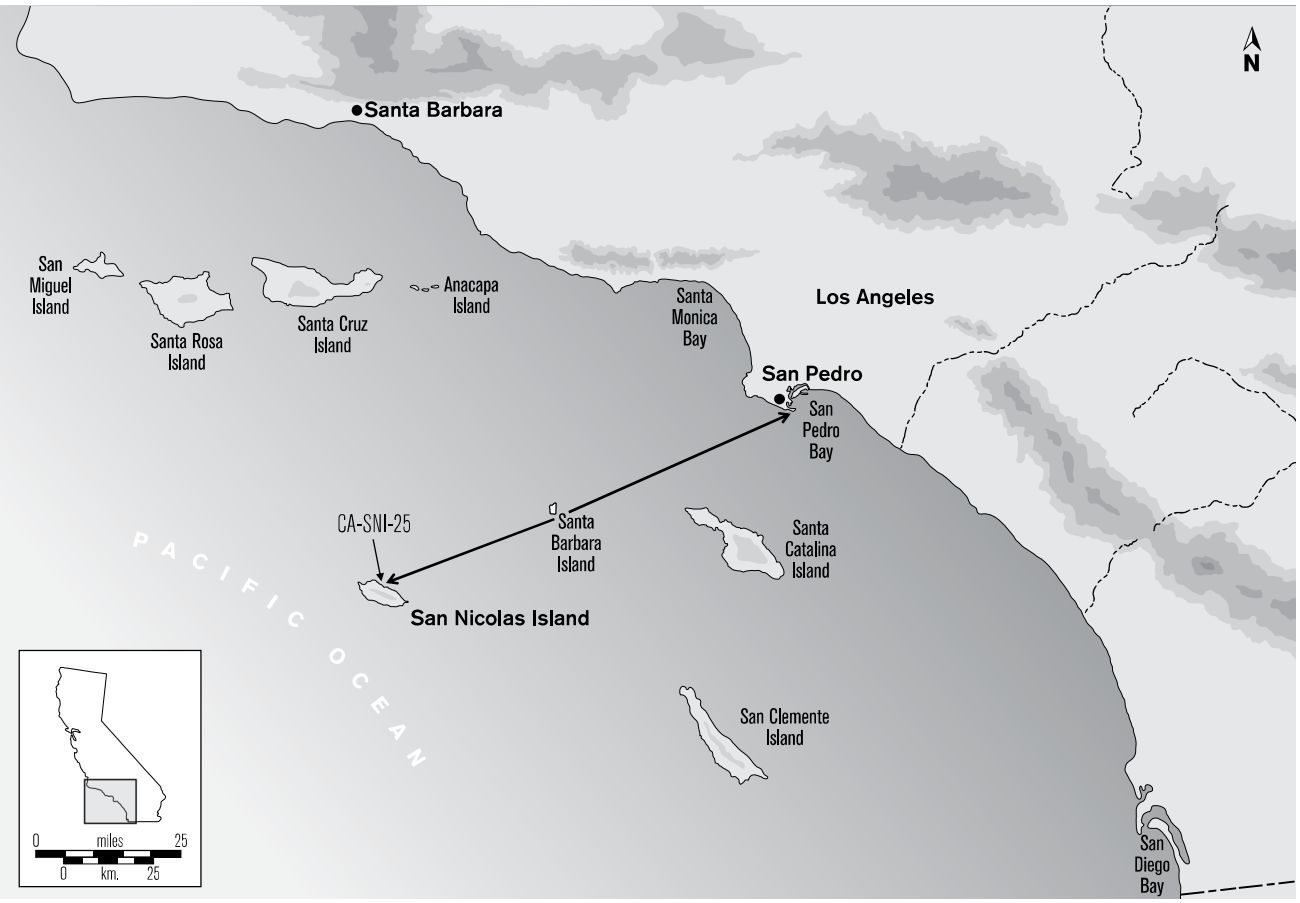


Figure 1. California coast and the Channel Islands with the site CA-SNI-25 indicated. Also shown is the possible route of the schooner, *Peor es Nada*, from San Pedro to San Nicolas Island and back. Actual 1835 route of the *Peor es Nada* would vary depending on sailing conditions.

languages (Golla 2011:184; Munro 2002). The native peoples who lived on the islands of San Clemente and Santa Catalina began to migrate to mainland California in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Not all of those who left the islands for the mainland joined the mission system as neophytes or new converts. Those who did, however, were recorded in the Church's birth, death, and marriage registers.

The sacramental records of the Catholic Church are key primary source documents that allow for the reconstruction of the migration patterns and social history of the native people in coastal California during the nineteenth century (Johnson 2001; Johnson and McLendon 2002). The baptismal records of the Church in the Los Angeles area—at Mission San Fernando Rey, Mission San Gabriel, and the Los Angeles Plaza Church—show that the majority of the Island Gabrielino who entered the mission system appear to have left San Clemente Island and Santa Catalina Island by 1820, but they continued to undergo baptism up through the early-to-mid 1830s (The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006—henceforth ECPP; Johnson 1988).

Of all the Island Gabrielino who migrated to the mainland, a small group of Nicoleños, including the Lone Woman, were the last to leave their island home. Prior to their relocation in 1835, the Nicoleños may have lived in a village locality known as the Tule Creek site (CA-SNI-25), near Corral Harbor on the northwest coast of San Nicolas Island (Fig. 1) (Smith et al. 2015; Vellanoweth et al. 2008). The exact number of people who left the island in 1835 cannot be determined from existing records. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population on San Nicolas Island may have numbered between 200–300 individuals (Schwartz 2010). As a result of the 1814 massacre, and because

of exposure to diseases for which the indigenous people had no immunity, the number of Nicoleños who remained may have been reduced by as much as 90 percent. Under pressure from continued visits by otter hunting groups, the remaining small band of Nicoleños left for the mainland in 1835 with the crew of a Mexican schooner, the *Peor es Nada* (Ellison 1984:36–38; Nidever 1878:67–70). The vessel sailed to San Pedro harbor near Los Angeles, where it arrived by November 21, 1835, according to a Mexican departmental record.

When they landed on the mainland coast, the Nicoleños were taken to Los Angeles. An area in transition, Los Angeles was established as a Spanish pueblo in 1781 with recruits from northwestern Mexico (Kelsey 1976; Nunis 2004). The pueblo's population expanded from the initial 44 settlers of mixed Native American, African, and European descent (Estrada 2008:27–33). By 1830 there were 1,158 residents, including 261 "domesticated" and "heathen" (unbaptized) Indians (Charles 1938). In 1836, shortly after the Nicoleños arrived, 2,228 residents were enumerated in Los Angeles, 553 of whom were Indians (Layne 1936; Robinson 1938).

The mission system operated by the Franciscan priests in Alta California was also in transition. Following Mexican independence from Spain, plans for secularization of the 21 missions in California were proposed, but the actual order was not promulgated until 1833. Secularization entailed major changes in administration that impacted those who lived at the missions, involving a distribution of mission lands to non-Indians and a loss of the native workforce as mission Indians left to find work in the pueblo or with local landowners (González 2005:5–6; Hackel 2005:269–270; Lightfoot 2005:59). This disintegration of the mission system may explain why the Nicoleños ended up in Los Angeles rather than at Mission San Gabriel.

Sacramental registers for the Los Angeles Plaza Church from 1835 and 1836 were crucial to finding records for four Nicoleños in Los Angeles, and details from those documents led to discoveries in additional sources. Formally called the *Iglesia de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles* [Church of Our Lady Queen of the Angels] and informally known as the Los Angeles Plaza Church, the pueblo or town church was established in 1784. In 1835, the Los Angeles Plaza Church, which was considered an *asistencia* or *visita* to Mission San Gabriel, was on Main Street, where it remains today (Owen 1960:7–9).

Four Island Gabrielino individuals were baptized at the Los Angeles Plaza Church in December 1835 and in 1836. Two individuals have been confirmed to be from San Nicolas Island and two are highly likely to have been (Table 1). When the Nicoleños were brought to Los Angeles, there was no Franciscan priest at Mission San Gabriel; in fact, the resident Franciscan *padre*, Fr. Tomás Esténaga, was despondent over secularization and left the mission without permission—he was in Mexico from mid-July 1835 to April 1836 (ECPP; Geiger 1969:80; Heizer 1968:96). The cleric temporarily left in charge of both the mission and the Los Angeles Plaza Church was an exiled French Catholic priest from Paris, Jean Augustus Alexis Bachelot: he signed sacramental records as F. J. A. Alejo Bachelot (Bynum 1930).

The Indian Population in Los Angeles in the 1830s and 1840s

Three individuals identified as Nicoleño or highly likely to be Nicoleño who were baptized in the Los Angeles Plaza Church were placed with Mexican godparents rather than with other California Indians. In 1836, the Indians of Los Angeles were being moved from the *Ranchería de los Poblanos*, a village locality near the northwest corner of Los Angeles and First streets, to a location near the present-day intersection of Alameda and Commercial streets (see Fig. 2). The forced relocation of the Indians in Los Angeles occurred at least five times during the first half of the nineteenth century (pre-1836, 1836, 1845, 1846, and 1847), as documented in Los Angeles *Ayuntamiento* (City Council) minutes (Phillips 1980; Robinson 1938) and Prefecture records.[2]

In fact, it is likely that the Indians in the *Ranchería de los Poblanos* had arrived at Los Angeles and First Street because they had previously been uprooted. The *Ranchería de los Poblanos* was not the historic Gabrielino village site, *Yaanga*, encountered by the Portolá expedition in 1769. *Yaanga* was situated about 1.4 miles southwest of the current N. Broadway Street at the Los Angeles River, according to multiple sources.[3] Correlation of information from many primary source documents and maps suggests that *Yaanga* was located in the neighborhood of Los Angeles Street between the current Plaza south towards Temple Street (Fig. 2). This location for *Yaanga*, west of

Table 1

ISLAND GABRIELINO BAPTISMS RECORDED AT LOS ANGELES PLAZA CHURCH, 1826–1836

Date[a]	San Clemente Island[d]	Santa Catalina Island	Island Unspecified and San Nicolas Island
1826	F: 2 adults, 1 child[bc] M: 1 adult, 1 child[c]	F: 1 adult	M: 1 adult
1827	M: 1 child	F: 1 child M: 1 child[c]	
1828	M: 2 adults	F: 2 adults, 1 child	
1829	F: 1 adult M: 1 adult, 2 children		
1830	F: 1 adult, 2 children M: 2 children[c]	F: 1 child M: 1 adult	
1831	F: 2 children		F: 1 child[c]
1832			F: 1 child
1833	F: 2 adults M: 2 adults	F: 1 adult M: 1 adult	
1834	M: 2 adults		
1835	M: 1 child		**Tomás Guadalupe**, age 5, baptized **December 13,1835** (Nicoleño) origin: *Isla de San Nicolas* Father's origin, *Isla de San Nicolas*; Mother's origin, *Isla de San Nicolas* Godmother: Adelaida Johnson, Godfather: Pedro Valenzuela
1836			**Juana**, age 20, baptized **March 28,1836** (probable Nicoleña) origin: *Islas al Sur* Godmother: Nieves Guirado **María Magdalena** (**María Madalena** in death record), age 22 (Nicoleña) baptized **April 9,1836** origin: *Yslas al Sur, de este costa, una de la* on baptism; origin: *San Nicolas, Isla de* on death record Godmother: Francisca Rúiz; Godfather: Narciso Botello **María Luciana**, newborn, baptized **May 24,1836** (possible Nicoleña) origin: unstated; Father's origin: *Isleño*; Mother's origin *Isleño* Godmother: Encarnación Reyes; Godfather: Tomás Botiller **María Aleja**, age 45, baptized **July 17, 183**6 (probable Nicoleña) origin: *Las Islas* Godmother: María Ignacia Amador
Totals	**San Clemente Island: 26**	**Santa Catalina Island: 10**	**Island Unspecified and San Nicholas Island: 8**

Los Angeles Plaza Church and cemetery 1865, Image Number: photCL Pierce 03214, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[a]Earliest date recorded in a baptismal record was used to indicate the presence of an individual, i.e. baptismal date, *Supli Ceremonia* date, or date of notice for a conditional baptism. All individuals were located by searching the Plaza Church registers, using information recorded in the Early California Population Project database and examining copies of the original records on file at the Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando and at the Santa Barbara Mission Archive-Library.

[b]**Age:** According to the Catholic Church and the sacramental records consulted, anyone from a newborn to a 9-year-old is considered a child. Those individuals who are 10 years old and older are viewed as adults. This distinction is reflected in the age categories of the table above. **Gender:** F = female, M = male.

[c]Infant who was likely born in Los Angeles to Island-born parents living in the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* or who were staying with families for whom they worked.

[d]**San Clemente Island** spelling variants (Spanish transliteration of indigenous name for the island)—*Quinqui; Quinqui en la Isla, ranchería; Quinqui en la Ysla; Quinqui, Isla de; Quinqui, ranchería; Quinti, Isla de;* and [*Quinti*], *dicha isla.* **Santa Catalina Island** spelling variants (Spanish transliteration of indigenous name for the island)—*Pimu; Pimu en la Isla de San Pedro, ranchería de; Pimu en la Isla; Pimu, ranchería; Pimu, ranchería de; Pimuba, naturales de la ranchería; Pimuna, ranchería de;* and *Pimunga, Isla de.*

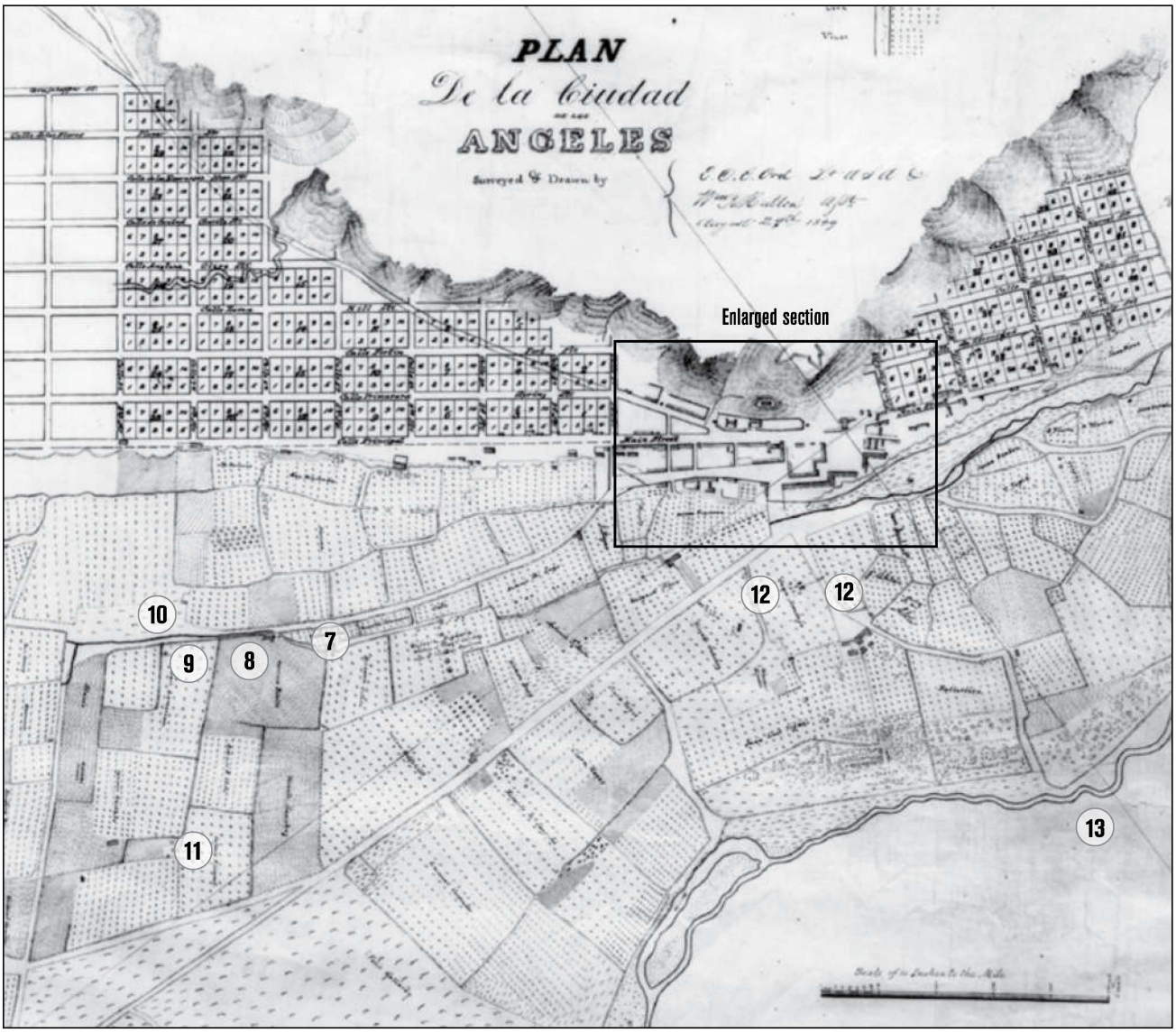


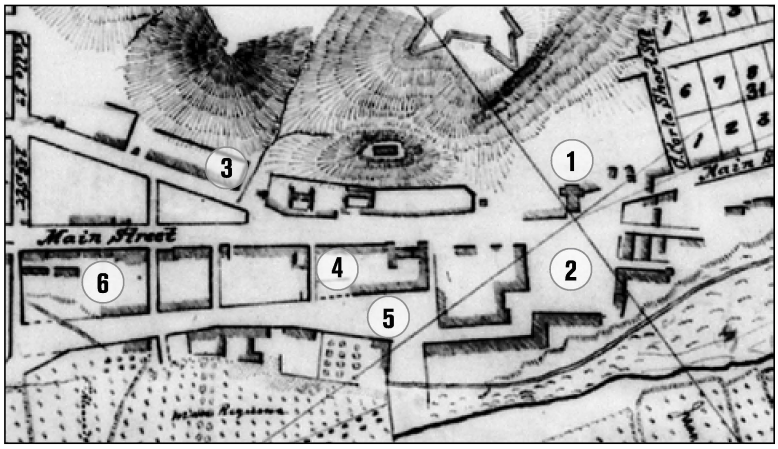
Figure 2. E. O. C. Ord's first map of the city of Los Angeles, drawn August 29, 1849.

SMALL MAP:

1 Los Angeles Plaza Church, Main St.
2 Plaza, abt. 1818–present
3 Santiago Johnson home, Spring St.
4 Isaac Williams home, Main St.
5 *Yaanga*, 1769–1813
6 *Ranchería de los Poblanos*, abt. 1826–1836

LARGE MAP:

7 Gaspar Valenzuela lot, San Pedro St.
8 Narciso Botello lot, San Pedro St.
9 Luis Lamoreau lot, San Pedro St.
10 *Ranchería de los Pipimares*, abt.1830–1846
11 Antonio Coronel lot, Alameda St.
12 Indian *rancherías*, abt.1836–1845
13 *Pueblito*, 1845–1847



Enlarged section of the map above, showing the Church and central plaza. Courtesy of the University of Southern California, on behalf of the USC Libraries Special Collections.

the river and on raised land at the foot of the hills, would have placed the village in close proximity to the pueblo's earliest plaza and church. The pueblo was established immediately adjacent to *Yaanga* in 1781 in the area north of the current Los Angeles Plaza Church (Botello 2014:8–9; Warner et al. 1876:11).

Yaanga appears to have remained intact only until about 1813, when the final two baptisms of *Yaanga* residents (of the more than 200 recorded in Mission San Gabriel registers, 1771–1813) were noted (ECPP, Mission San Gabriel baptisms). After that time, and possibly as early as the 1820s, the Indians of Los Angeles and those who migrated to the pueblo after mission secularization appear to have re-grouped south of the *Yaanga* site. By 1836, Los Angeles residents were calling the new Indian village the *Ranchería de los Poblanos* (Fig. 2).[4] It was located about two blocks from the adobe homes where the Nicoleños lived when they arrived in 1835, so the Nicoleños would certainly have been aware of the villagers' forced move in 1836 to a new location, which was close to the river on flood-prone land.

The mandatory relocation of the Indians from five localities in Los Angeles was emblematic of the literal marginalization of native peoples in their own territory. Concerns had been voiced by Los Angeles residents in 1836 about Indians bathing in the *zanja madre* (main irrigation canal) which provided water for the city from the Los Angeles River. These complaints prompted the relocation of Indians from the *Ranchería de los Poblanos* to a locality near the river at the present-day corner of Alameda and Commercial streets. That *ranchería* site lasted less than 10 years, due to complaints from the neighbors about disorderly gatherings and other offences, and because local landowners wanted more land for agricultural purposes. Juan Domingo [John Groningen], a German sailor who lived in Los Angeles, submitted petitions to obtain land allotted to the Indians: he didn't wait, however, and without permission built a fence across one of the *rancherías* that was adjacent to his own property (Robinson 1938:159–161, 165–167).

Three Indians representing the native peoples removed from the *Ranchería de los Poblano*—Gabriel, Juan José, and Gandiel—submitted their own petition to the *alcalde* of Los Angeles on April 27, 1838, protesting the illegal actions of Juan Domingo.[5] They requested that Domingo, who encroached on the land given to them in 1836, be forced to remove his fence so they could build their homes. The City Council agreed and required Domingo to take down the fence. Domingo finally succeeded in entirely eliminating the challenge posed by Indians. He purchased the Indian land vacated in December 1845 for $200 when the last Mexican governor of California, Pío Pico, was desperate for funds and willing to ignore Indian claims. The Indians who lived at the *rancherías* adjacent to Domingo's original property were moved to a site called *Pueblito*, east across the Los Angeles River. But the *Pueblito* site was razed just two years later, in 1847, and the Indians were required to live in dispersed settlements or with their employers in the city (Phillips 1980, 2010:187, 196; Robinson 1938:171–172).

Some of the Island Gabrielino who relocated to Los Angeles, however, lived in a separate locality known as the *Ranchería de los Pipimares*, or Island Indian village. The name *Pipimares*, according to Gabrielino and Juaneño Indian consultants, originally referred to people from Santa Catalina Island, but it became a general term for Island Indians (Johnson 1988:9; McCawley 1996:10). According to the 1830 census summary of Los Angeles, Island Indians were mentioned separately from Indians who were born in Los Angeles, and from those who had migrated to the city from the San Luis Rey and San Diego vicinities (Charles 1938:84–88). The Island Indians apparently congregated in one particular locality south of the *Ranchería de los Poblanos*. Although the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* had been in place for years, and there had been no complaints from residents about the Island Indians, relationships with local landowners grew tense in the spring of 1846 (Robinson 1938:169–170).

The minutes of the Los Angeles City Council for April 18 and May 16, 1846 showed that four neighbors filed two petitions to have the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* relocated.[6] The original petitions were not archived and may have been lost (Michael Holland, personal communication 2015); only one neighbor was named on the two petitions, a Luis Lamoreaux [Lamoreau]. He likely filed both petitions on behalf of a group of landowners. According to the 1849 Ord map of Los Angeles (Fig. 2), Lamoreau's agricultural lot was located on San Pedro Street at the level of Seventh Street and was likely closest to the *ranchería* site.

The requests to have the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* razed were referred to commissioners for investigation.

The first commission found no evidence of the damages claimed on the original petition, and declared that there was no reason to move the Island Indians. The second commission, however, found that there were only four "villages" and felt that the Island Indians should live in the "general Village." The notation about four separate "villages" of Island Indians may have referred to four extended family groups living close to one another in the same location.

The proposal by the second commission, approved by the City Council, included the following acts: (1) an appeal should be made to employers of the Island Indians to provide housing for the men on their lands, and (2) if the employers were unable to comply with the request, then the Island Indians should be moved to the "general Village." The *Ranchería de los Pipimares*, which may have been in place since the late 1820s, ceased to exist after 1846. The exact location of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* has heretofore been unknown, but recently discovered documents reveal the most likely site.

Corroboration that the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* was located in the area of San Pedro and Seventh streets comes from a discussion with long-time Los Angeles resident María Cesária Valenzuela, who was interviewed in 1913 by Charles J. Prudhomme, a well-known local historian (Phillips 2010:121).[7] Cesária Valenzuela was born about 1837 and married Juan Lorenzana in 1883. Her father, Gaspar Valenzuela, owned agricultural land on the east side of San Pedro Street from 1828 through 1849 (Barrows 1898:114–115). The location of the Valenzuela family property on San Pedro Street at the level of Fifth Street gave Cesária a vantage point from which to observe a multi-day mourning ceremony performed by *Pipimares*.

"I also remember in 1842 the fiesta of the tribe of *Pi-pi-ma* Indians. It was held at Seventh and San Pedro Street. It was an open plain and considered many *lejos* (sic) from the Pueblo." Valenzuela continued, explaining that the event took place over many days and included games, horse racing, and dancing. On the final day a bonfire was built and the participants threw chia seeds, juniper berries, pine nuts, as well as cloth and other items belonging to the deceased Indians, into the fire. At that point, the fiesta was completed.

Valenzuela's statements were recorded more than 70 years after the ceremony took place, a time when she herself was a child, but her description matches numerous elements of a Gabrielino mourning ceremony as reported in reliable ethnographic sources. The ceremony took place over many days, the participants danced, built a bonfire, and scattered seeds, cloth, and other personal items belonging to deceased relatives onto the fire (Heizer 1968:30–31, 41–42; McCawley 1996:82, 114, 157–158). Even though some of these *Pipimares* in Los Angeles were baptized, probably to appease their godparents and employers, and even though they lived in close proximity to the church, they practiced a traditional mourning ceremony as late as 1842 in what was then the outskirts of the city, but is now in the heart of downtown Los Angeles.

Valenzuela's recollections of the location of a ceremony performed by Island Indians at San Pedro and Seventh streets place the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* directly opposite Luis Lamoreau's agricultural lot. José Jacinto Reyes, who was godfather to more Island Indians than anyone else in the Los Angeles area, had died in 1837, but he was the former owner of the property that Lamoreau occupied when Lamoreau filed the petitions in 1846.[8] The locations of the mourning ceremony and the Reyes/Lamoreau lot indicate that the west side of San Pedro Street at Seventh Street was the likely site of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares*. The *Ranchería de los Pipimares* was only about a mile from where the Nicoleños lived with godparents and others near the junction of Spring Street and Main Street, and less than a mile-and-a-half from the church where they were baptized.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

To identify the Nicoleños who were removed from the island in 1835 and determine their relationships to others in the Los Angeles community, attempts were made to locate primary source records in their original form, avoiding derivatives (transcriptions, translations, and indexes) or secondary works that could introduce errors. An extensive literature review was conducted to ensure that previously published primary source material and a majority of secondary source accounts about the Nicoleños who left the island in 1835 were analyzed. Some sources provided both primary and secondary information (e.g., see Ellison 1984:80–89; Nidever 1878:148–165).

The search strategy involved an investigation of standard sources such as vital records (birth, marriage, death), census records (Mexican and American), land records (maps, deeds, petitions for land grants), and probate packets found in various Los Angeles archives and in online sites. Additional sources providing contextual information included Mexican State papers, city records (Los Angeles City Council, Los Angeles Prefecture), court records, county histories, newspaper articles, oral histories, journals, account books, and correspondence. Ethnographic sources on the Nicoleños, both published and unpublished, were also consulted for this project (Harrington 1986; Hudson 1978a, 1978b, 1980, 1981; McCawley 1996).

The most significant breakthrough came from record searches of the Huntington Library's Early California Population Project (ECPP), an indexed database of more than 200,000 Catholic Church records for all 21 California missions from 1769–1850 (Hackel 2006). All records of interest found in ECPP index searches were reviewed, using copies of the originals as they appeared in Spanish sacramental registers (at the Santa Barbara Mission-Archive Library and the Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Mission Hills).

The origins of individuals noted on sacramental records, when combined with their date of baptism or burial, proved to be the key detail for identifying people who may have come from San Nicolas Island in 1835 (Table 2). An origin on San Nicolas Island was indicated in sacramental baptismal and burial records for Tomás Guadalupe and María Magdalena (see Table 2:fn. c, m). The dates of their appearance in the Plaza Church records—1835 and 1836—occur just after the arrival of the *Peor es Nada* at San Pedro by November 21, 1835 (Table 2:fn. a). Although records for two additional people list their place of origin simply as *Isla* [Island] or *Isleño* [Island Indian] rather than specifying San Nicolas Island, their dates of baptism in 1836 makes it highly likely that they, too, arrived from San Nicolas Island on the *Peor es Nada*. Those with earlier dates and an origin listed simply as *Isla*, however, could have come from any of the other southern Channel Islands (Table 1).

This same search strategy was used to review Island Gabrielino baptisms at Mission San Gabriel and Mission San Fernando Rey to check if there were others from San Nicolas Island (having been recorded simply as *de la Isla*). Mission San Gabriel records show that the last baptism for an individual with an origin listed as *Isla* occurred in 1825, and the only baptisms for unspecified islanders from *Isla* at Mission San Fernando Rey took place in 1816, all for people who can be identified as having come from the northern Channel Islands (Johnson 1982). Therefore, the Nicoleños who arrived on the *Peor es Nada* in 1835 were not baptized at either Mission San Gabriel or Mission San Fernando Rey.

DOCUMENTS

Peor es Nada

A shipping request dated Nov. 21, 1835 (Table 2:fn. a), written in Los Angeles by Ignacio María Alvarado and addressed to Antonio María Ósio, Collector of Customs (Mathes et al. 2008:302; Ogden 1979:710; Ósio 1996:14), furnished a starting point for the records search. Alvarado, the brother of Mayor Francisco Javier Alvarado, asked for permission to ship barrels of *aguardiente* (brandy) and *angelica* (used as a flavoring agent or for medicinal purposes) to Monterey on the schooner *Peor es Nada* (Beebe and Senkewicz 2006:395):

> 1835—November 21—town of Los Angeles, Ignacio María Alvarado to [Antonio María] Ósio: Requesting permission to embark some barrels of liquor.
>
> Be so kind as to give me a pass for two barrels of *aguardiente* of the country and two barrels of *angelica* that will be taken to Monterey on the Goleta *Peor es Nada* to be delivered to Don Gil Sanchez.

The date of the request to ship these items places the Nicoleño passengers in San Pedro harbor near Los Angeles on or before Nov. 21, 1835 (Fig. 2). That date represented a point in time after which documents on the Nicoleños could appear in Los Angeles.

The voyage of the *Peor es Nada* to San Nicolas Island in 1835 and the removal of the Nicoleños to San Pedro has been described in numerous secondary articles, but the earliest mention of the vessel was as a small unnamed schooner owned jointly by Isaac Sparks of Santa Barbara and Joaquín Gómez of Monterey, with Charles Hubbard as captain, in the September 15, 1853 issue of the *Placer Times and Transcript*.[9] Several details in that article are corroborated by three Mexican State papers from 1834, 1835 (translated above), and

Table 2

RECENTLY DISCOVERED NICOLEÑOS IN LOS ANGELES (LA), 1835–1860

Date	**Tomás Guadalupe** *Nicoleño*	**Juana** *Probable Nicoleña*	**María Magdalena** *Nicoleña*	**María Luciana** *Possible Nicoleña*	**María Aleja** *Probable Nicoleña*
1835	Highly likely to have arrived in LA by Nov 21;[a] Baptized Dec 13 (5)[b] LA Plaza Church[c]	Likely to have arrived in LA by Nov 21	Highly likely to have arrived in LA by Nov 21	Parents may have arrived in LA by Nov 21	Likely to have arrived in LA by Nov 21
1836		Baptized Mar 28 (20)[b] LA Plaza Church;[i] MX census LA (28) Indian section[j]	Baptized Apr 9 (22)[b] Williams household;[l] Buried Apr 26 LA Plaza Church[m]	Baptized May 24 (newborn) LA Plaza Church[n]	Baptized Jul 17 (45)[b] LA Plaza Church[p]
1844	MX census LA (15) Indian section[d]	MX cesus LA (40) Indian section[d]			
1850	US census LA (14) Johnson household[e]				US census LA (75) Amador household[q]
1852	CA census LA (15) Johnson household[f]	CA census LA (45)[k]		CA census LA (15)[o]	
1860	US census LA (24) Coronel household;[g] Marriage Jun 11 of Tomás Augri (23) to Refugio López LA Plaza Church[h]				

[a]"Departmental State Papers, 1821-1846, Vol. IV (1835)," Internet Archive, *Archive.org* (https://www.archive.org/details/168036073_80_11_3 : accessed 10 December 2014), digital images, 21 November 1835, Los Angeles, Ignacio María Alvarado to Antonio María Osio regarding *Peor es Nada* cargo, p. 69 stamped (p. 68 penned); crediting Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

[b]Approximate age, estimated by others: e.g. (5) = about 5 years old.

[c]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of Baptisms of the Parish of Our Lady of the Angeles, 1826–1848," p. 121, no. 572, Tomás Guadalupe baptism (13 December 1835); The Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (ACADLA), Mission Hills, California.

[d]1844 Mexican census, city of Los Angeles and its jurisdiction, Alta California, population schedule, Indians, p. 792 (penned), Juana, Island Indian, and Tomás, Island Indian, digital images, Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles City Archives, Box B-1367, Volume 3 of archive records.

[e]1850 U.S. census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 2 (penned), dwelling 14, family 14, Tomás, Indian, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 2 January 2014), citing National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 35.

[f]1852 California State Census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 84 (penned), line 39, Tomás, Indian, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 24 July 2013), citing California State Library repository collection C144, roll 2.

[g]1860 U.S. census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 398, 106 (penned), dwelling 996, family 1032, Tomás, Indian, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 2 January 2014), citing National Archives microfilm M 653, roll 59.

[h]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book of Marriages of the Sub-Mission (*Asistencia*) of Our Lady of Los Angeles, 1840–1870," p. 60, no. 573, Tomás Augri and Refugio López marriage (11 June 1860): ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[i]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of Baptisms of the Parish of Our Lady of the Angeles, 1826–1848," p. 132, no. 593, Juana baptism (28 March 1836); ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[j]1836 Mexican census, city of Los Angeles and its jurisdiction, Alta California, population schedule, Indians, p. 721, 55 (penned), Juana, Island Indian, *The Quarterly: The Historical Society of Southern California* 18(3):158.

[k]1852 California State Census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 96 (penned), line 3, Juana, Indian, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 27 May 2014), citing California State Library repository collection C144, roll 2.

[l]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of Baptisms of the Parish of Our Lady of the Angeles, 1826–1848," p. 132, no. 596, María Magdalena baptism (9 April 1836); ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[m]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book of the Dead of the Sub-Mission (*Asistencia*) of Our Lady of Los Angeles, 1826–1876," unpaginated, no. 274, María Madalena burial (26 April 1836): ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[n]The Church of Our Lady of the Angeles (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of Baptisms of the Parish of Our Lady of the Angeles, 1826–1848," p. 133, no. 604, María Luciana baptism (24 May 1836); ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[o]1852 California State Census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 60 (penned), line 37, Luce, Indian, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 10 May 2015), citing California State Library repository collection C144, roll 2.

[p]The Church of Our Lady of the Angels (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of Baptisms of the Parish of Our Lady of Los Angeles, 1826–1848," p. 135, no. 617, María Aleja baptism (17 July 1836); ACADLA, Mission Hills, California.

[q]1850 U.S. census, Los Angeles County, California, population schedule, Los Angeles, p. 9B (18), dwelling 126, family 126, María, digital image, *Ancestry.com* (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 25 March 2015), citing National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 35.

1836, the only documents discovered to date about the vessel written at, or near, the time the events occurred. The Mexican records are transcripts written by H. H. Bancroft's assistant, Thomas Savage, in 1876–1877; the originals were lost in the great fire that followed the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

The 1834 document, written in Santa Barbara on October 14, states that Isaac Sparks was the captain of a 20½-ton schooner that was launched on August 30, 1834 from Monterey with seven crew members.[10] Sparks, a hunter, merchant, and rancher who arrived in California in 1832, participated in many sea otter hunting trips along the California coast. The 1836 document notes that the *Peor es Nada* was owned by Joaquín Gómez and commanded by Captain Gerard Kuppertz (the Spanish transliteration of Charles Hubbard). The ship was lost near the entrance to San Francisco Bay on January 7, 1836.[11] Sparks had originally chartered the *Peor es Nada* from Gómez, and Charles Hubbard, a German who became a Mexican citizen, captained the vessel in 1835 (Ogden 1914:112, 1979:670, 712). None of the above documents mentioned the 1835 trip to San Nicolas Island or noted the Nicoleños as passengers; however, George Nidever's recollections of events in 1835 revealed the connection between the *Peor es Nada* and the removal of the Nicoleños.

Nidever, an American frontiersman who moved to California and became a naturalized Mexican citizen, gave an account of his life to E. F. Murray in 1878 that was later edited and published by W. H. Ellison (Ellison 1984; Murray 1878). Nidever's information about an 1835 hunting trip that he took with Isaac Sparks helped to corroborate Sparks' and Hubbard's participation in the removal of the Nicoleños on the *Peor es Nada*.

Nidever claimed that 17 or 18 men, women, and children were taken from San Nicolas Island on the *Peor es Nada* and brought to San Pedro in either August or October of 1835 (Ellison 1984:37; Murray 1878:1). According to Nidever, one woman was left behind because she was searching for a missing child; a strong wind arose and forced the schooner to sail without her. Nidever was not on that voyage of the *Peor es Nada* himself; he heard what he reported when he sailed to Santa Rosa Island on the *Peor es Nada* with Sparks and Hubbard in 1835, a month after the Nicoleños were brought to the mainland. It is this second-hand information that he described 40 years later, in his dictated memoir.

Nidever mentioned that Lewis T. Burton and Job F. Dye accompanied Sparks on the initial voyage of the *Peor es Nada* in 1834 to hunt in Baja California. Whether Burton and Dye ventured to San Nicolas Island with Sparks is unknown. In his interview summary of Lone Woman-related events, E. F. Murray states that Nidever said there were 12 crew members on the *Peor es Nada*, including Sparks and [Isaac] Williams (Murray 1878:1). Nidever declared that he was certain of Isaac Williams' connection with the 1835 trip to collect the Nicoleños (Ellison 1984:37: Nidever 1878:68–69). Nidever knew Williams, an American who had settled in Los Angeles in 1832, from an 1830 trapping expedition led by a Colonel Bean. Sparks and Williams also knew each other from Ewing Young's hunting trip, which brought them to Los Angeles in 1832.[12] According to Nidever, and echoed by other secondary accounts, Williams took a young Nicoleña to live with him.

In 1835, Williams had a one-story adobe built in Los Angeles on Main Street near Temple Street—in later years, the Bella Union Hotel (Botello 2014:70; Coronel 1994:23). The following year he married 13-year-old María de Jesús Lugo; they moved to Rancho Santa Ana del Chino in 1841 (Black 1975:226; Miller 2004). After his wife died in 1842, Williams established relationships with two young Luiseño cousins, María Antonia Apis and María de Jesús Apis (Black 1975:226).[13] The teenage girls bore five of Williams' children (Black 1975:26–27). He had at least two additional illegitimate children, a son born to an unnamed mother in 1841 and another child whose mother was of Mexican descent (Black 1975:249–250).[14]

Attempts were made to locate records for Williams' household in 1835 and later years. Mexican *padrons* or census records of 1836 and 1844 for Los Angeles were reviewed, but because these records listed Indians separately from others in the community, it was impossible to determine if a Nicoleña lived with Williams in Los Angeles in either Mexican census. Despite the inability to identify her in census records, a young female from San Nicolas Island was confirmed to have lived with Isaac Williams. Our research uncovered a note and sacramental records which showed that the young woman was baptized as María Magdalena by Fr. Pedro

Cabot on April 9, 1836 (see below for details regarding María Magdalena).

In addition to searching for primary source information on the involvement of Isaac Sparks, Charles Hubbard, and Isaac Williams in the retrieval of the Nicoleños, efforts were made to find evidence for the people who may have authorized their removal in 1835. Secondary reports name various entities and individuals as instigating the removal of the Nicoleños—the Mexican governor of California, the mission priests, Isaac Williams, Thomas Robbins, and "an American and an Englishman."[15] According to William Dane Phelps' logbook entry of May 29, 1841 from the ship *Alert*, Captain Thomas Robbins told Phelps that he took two Indian females from San Nicolas Island to San Pedro about 1830. Robbins was the mate or master on numerous vessels that traded along the California coast during the nineteenth century (Busch 1983:172–174; Ogden 1979:342, 522, 677). Heizer and Elsasser (1961:127) suggested that all of those mentioned in primary and secondary accounts (Isaac Sparks, Charles Hubbard, Isaac Williams, and Thomas Robbins) may have participated in the *Peor es Nada* voyage of 1835. There also may have been multiple voyages to San Nicolas Island that involved different people who removed Nicoleños to the mainland in different years.

In 1882, James Terry, then curator at the American Museum of Natural History, conducted an interview with George Nidever at his adobe home at the corner of Quinientos and Quarantina streets in Santa Barbara (Morris and Grzywacki 2012; Terry 1882). Nidever told Terry that the mission was interested in having the Nicoleños removed from the island, and that the Mexican government authorized their removal. According to Nidever, the Nicoleños were brought to Los Angeles and sent to work in various places, with some being sent to Mission San Gabriel (Murray 1878:1; Terry 1882:4).

Leo M. Harloe, great-grandson of Isaac Sparks, wrote a thesis about his ancestor's life and referenced a diary (held in a private collection) that Sparks kept. That diary, with notes from 1835, was damaged by the San Francisco fire of 1906 and has been lost since 1951. According to Harloe, the reason Sparks gave for the request to remove the Nicoleños was that the priests of Mission San Gabriel were concerned about repeated visits of the Northwest Coast otter hunters to the islands (Harloe 1948).

As can been seen from secondary sources, the mission priests are most frequently cited as requesting the retrieval of the Nicoleños, but that appears unlikely. During the 1830s, the mission system was undergoing secularization, and wooden structures at Mission San Gabriel were literally dismantled under the direction of Franciscan *padre* Tomás Esténaga (Geiger 1969:80; Heizer 1968:96). Fr. Esténaga was away from the mission from mid-1835 to spring 1836. Because of this, the Nicoleños were not taken to Mission San Gabriel in 1835, but instead went to live in Los Angeles. A search of sacramental records confirms this—no individuals with an origin on San Nicolas Island or identified as an unspecified *Isleño* were recorded at Mission San Gabriel (or Mission San Fernando Rey) in 1835 or later, but the sacramental registers for the Los Angeles Plaza Church listed a total of six people with origins on either San Nicolas Island (two), or *Isla* or *Isleño* (four) in the years 1835 and 1836 (Table 1). Primary sources describing who initiated the removal of the Nicoleños proved elusive, however, and may not exist. This lack makes it impossible to answer questions as to who requested the removal, and why, with any degree of certainty.

Black Hawk

The only Nicoleño besides the Lone Woman documented in two previously published primary source accounts was a man known as Black Hawk (his native name is unknown). He lived at San Pedro after he was brought to the mainland in 1835 (Busch 1983:172–174; Ellison 1984:38). Described by Phelps and Nidever as a muscular man, Black Hawk appeared to have sustained a head injury that left him mentally disabled. He assisted sailors and hunters with tasks at the harbor and survived until at least 1845, when he reportedly died from a fall off a cliff near the shore. Black Hawk was said to have been buried on Dead Man's Island, a small island in San Pedro harbor that was dredged away in 1928 (Guinn 1915:96–97).

Other authors besides Phelps and Nidever wrote about Black Hawk and may have had contact with him. Alfred Robinson, an American shipping agent engaged in trade along the California coast from 1829 through 1837, wrote a book based on personal observations that includes details about Black Hawk and the living arrangements of the Nicoleños in Los Angeles in 1835 (Robinson 1972:5). The 1891 edition of *Life in California*

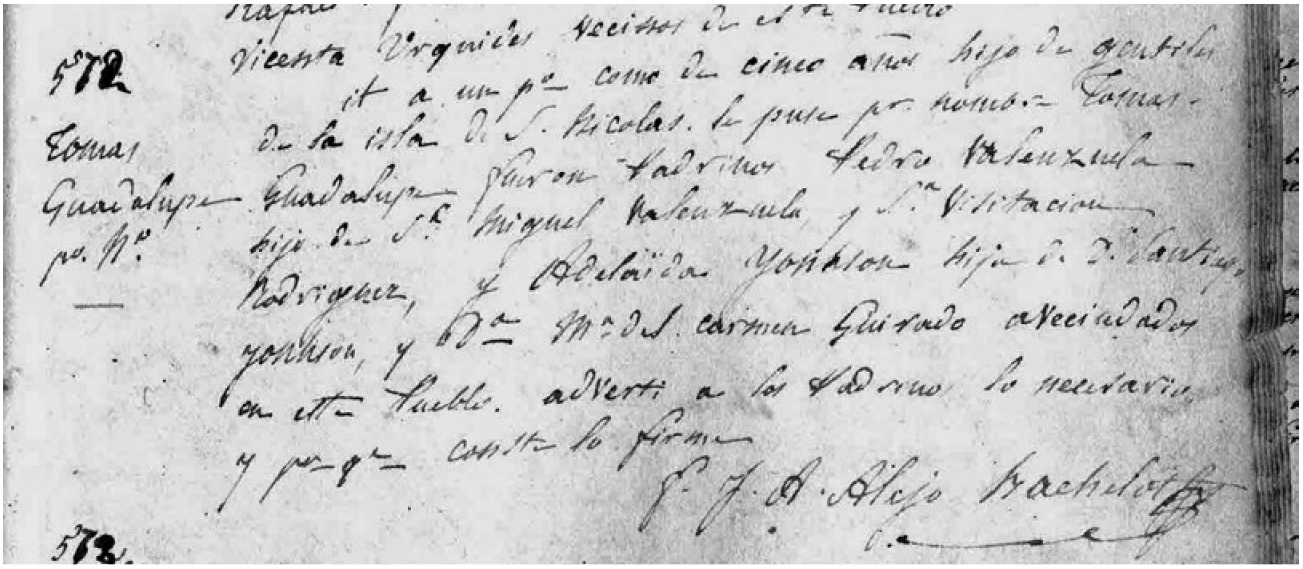


Figure 3. Los Angeles Plaza Church 1835 baptismal record for Tomás Guadalupe. Courtesy of The Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (ACADLA), Mission Hills, California.

contains an appendix which includes a brief account of the Nicoleños in Los Angeles (Robinson 1891:246–249). According to Robinson, one older male and two females were taken to Los Angeles on a small vessel by Isaac Williams and crew, and when the women died after a short time, the male went "wandering about from house to house" in his grief. Black Hawk eventually made his way to San Pedro where he remained until his death and burial on Dead Man's Island.

Tomás Guadalupe

A five-year-old boy from San Nicolas Island, baptized as Tomás Guadalupe on December 13, 1835 (Fig. 3; Table 2:fn. c), was the first Nicoleño to be recorded in the Los Angeles Plaza Church registers and the only one to be baptized in 1835:

> **572**
> Tomás Guadalupe
> Child neophyte
>
> [On December 13, of the year 1835 in the church of this pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels I solemnly baptized and gave holy oils to…] a young boy of about five years, son of gentiles of the island of San Nicolas. I gave him the name of Tomás Guadalupe, his godparents were Pedro Valenzuela, son of Sr. Miguel Valenzuela, and Sra. Visitación Rodríguez, and Adelaida Johnson, daughter of Don Santiago [James] Johnson, and Doña María del Carmen Guirado, residents of this pueblo. I advised the godparents of what was necessary and to make it official I sign it
>
> Fr. J. A. [Jean Augustus] Alexis Bachelot [rubric]

His native name was not noted, and his parents, who were described as gentiles (unbaptized natives), were not named. The baptismal entry does not indicate whether his parents were alive. Although it is possible that one or two of the other Nicoleños brought to the mainland could have been his parents, one would have expected this to have been noted in their baptismal records. Conceivably even the Lone Woman is a candidate to have been Tomás Guadalupe's mother.

In baptizing Tomás and other California Indians, Fr. Bachelot was at a disadvantage. He was a French speaker attempting to understand unfamiliar California Indian languages and then translate the information into Spanish in order to enter the text into sacramental records. Fr. Bachelot was himself a recent immigrant, having arrived in San Pedro in 1832 after being expelled for trying to establish a Catholic missionary presence in Hawaii (Bynum 1930:366). He assisted Franciscan missionaries Fr. José Sánchez and Fr. Tomás Esténaga at Mission San Gabriel while waiting to return to Hawaii. When Fr. Sánchez died in 1833 and Fr. Esténaga left the Mission in July 1835, Fr. Bachelot remained as the priest in charge of both Mission San Gabriel and the Los Angeles Plaza Church until Fr. Esténaga returned in the spring of 1836 (Bynum 1930:366–373).

Like other priests who entered data into sacramental records in California, Fr. Bachelot estimated the ages of the Indians he baptized based on how old they appeared

(Hackel 2005:451). The ages listed for the Nicoleños and probable Nicoleñas who were baptized in Los Angeles were prefaced by the word *como* (about).

Godparents listed on baptismal records proved to be an invaluable asset, because census records showed that it is highly likely that at least three Nicoleños, including Tomás, lived with their godparents in Los Angeles. It appears that Tomás lived with the family of his godmother, Adelaida Johnson, for years, from 1835 through 1859 (Table 2:fn. e, f). At the time of Tomás's baptism, Adelaida was the same age he was (five years old), and his godfather, Pedro Valenzuela, was fourteen years old.[16] Adelaida left the family home when she married an American, Francis Mellus, in 1848, but Tomás remained with Adelaida's mother (Maria del Carmen Guirado) and siblings (Fig. 4).[17] Adelaida's father, Santiago [James] Johnson, died in 1847.[18]

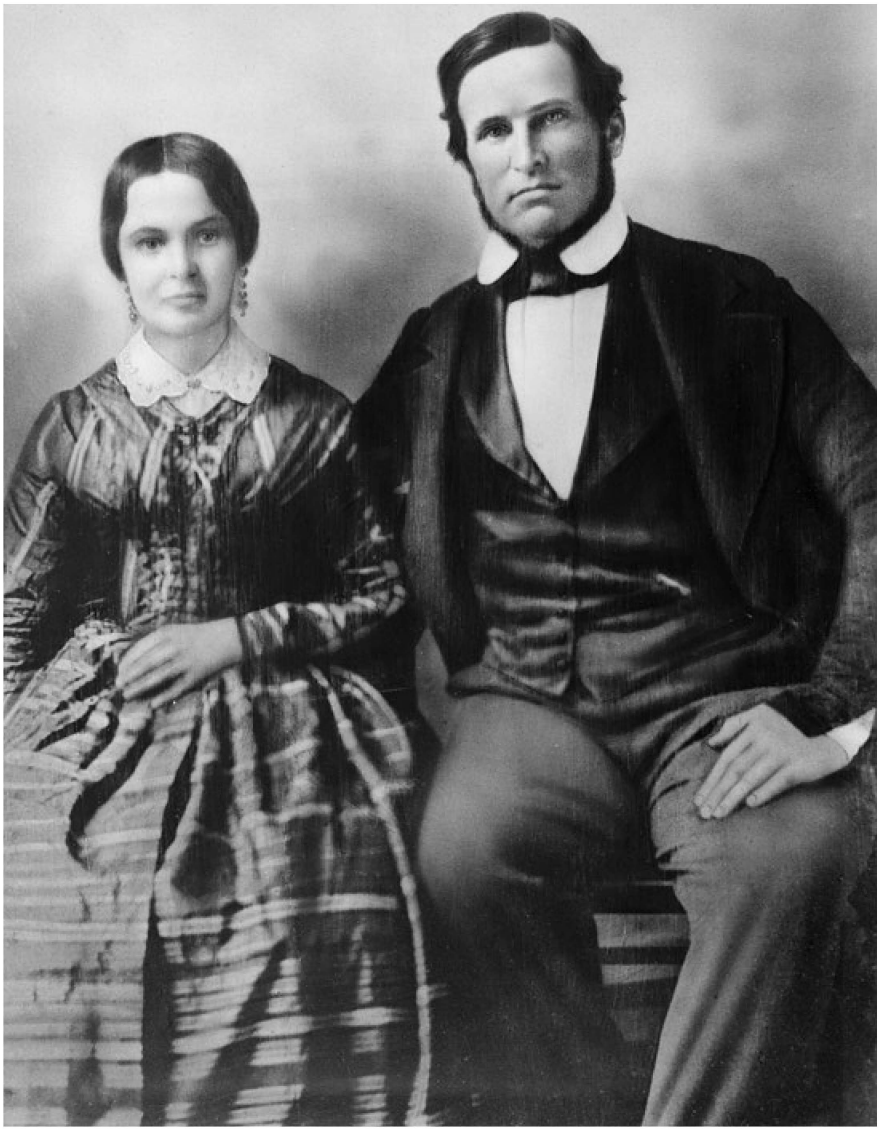


Figure 4. Adelaida Johnson and husband Francis Mellus. Courtesy of University of Southern California, on behalf of USC Libraries Special Collections.

The relationship between the godchild and the godparent was intended to be respectful and supportive. According to the 1877 account of prominent Los Angeles resident, Antonio Coronel, "When young people met their godparents anywhere, they were obliged to take off their hats and ask a blessing. The godparents' obligation was to substitute for the parents if they should die, if necessary provide for the godchild's keep and education, and give good advice" (Coronel 1994:79). We cannot presume to know the nature of the relationships between the Nicoleños and their godparents, however.

Adelaida's parents benefited from their daughter's formalized relationship with Tomás, because the Nicoleño child became a servant in their home. In the 1844 Mexican census in a separate section for Indians who lived within city limits, Tomás was listed as an *Ysleño*, or Island Indian, servant. In the 1850 and 1852 censuses, Tomás is enumerated as an Indian (but not a servant) in the household of Carmen Johnson (Table 2:fn. e, f). It is unclear whether the census enumerators neglected to enter Tomás's occupation as servant in the 1850s census records, or if Tomás was no longer acting as a servant. Many Hispanic and Anglo families in Los Angeles in the nineteenth century had Indian servants in their households to assist with food preparation, cooking, serving, cleaning, child care, tending small animals, and carrying water, among other chores.

Figure 5. Los Angeles, 1880: Main Street looking south from Commercial Street toward Spring Street (on the right). The Temple block is in the center. The Johnson family home was on Spring Street across from the Temple block where the one-story structure is located. Courtesy of University of Southern California, on behalf of the USC Libraries Special Collections.

Santiago [James] Johnson, the father of Tomás's young godmother, may not only have been responsible for bringing a Nicoleño boy into his own household, but also for establishing relationships between other Nicoleños and members of his extended family. Born in England about 1798, Johnson was a merchant sea captain who married a woman from Sonora, Mexico, and conducted business in Guaymas for 8 years before moving to Alta California. Johnson brought his family and some of his wife's relatives to Los Angeles in 1834 (Botello 1878; Forster 1878). He was related to four people who became godparents to the Nicoleños/probable Nicoleñas who were baptized at the Los Angeles Plaza Church in 1835 and 1836—Adelaida Johnson, his daughter; María de Jesús de Nieves Guirado, his sister-in-law; Narciso Botello, his wife's cousin; and Francisca Rúiz, wife of Narciso Botello (Botello 1878).

In 1833, Johnson signed documents in Los Angeles which gave him shared ownership of cattle and horses at Rancho San Pedro and the right to manage the ranch until the lessee died.[19] Johnson lived part time in San Pedro while working at the ranch and built an adobe house near the harbor.[20] Johnson also owned an adobe and lot on Spring Street near the junction of Main Street and an alley, now Temple Street (Fig. 5). This was the main family residence. The 1836 Mexican census for Los

Angeles showed that Johnson, his wife, and four children lived next door, or close to, the relatives he brought to Los Angeles in 1834.[21] Johnson was listed a second time in the same 1836 census at Rancho San Pedro with others, including Indians who worked on the ranch.

Because Johnson was engaged in ranch operations in San Pedro from 1833–1840, he likely encountered the Nicoleños when they were deposited by the crew of the *Peor es Nada* in 1835. Johnson would certainly have known Isaac Williams, who may have sailed to San Nicolas Island on the *Peor es Nada*. Johnson may have offered to take care of the young Nicoleño boy baptized as Tomás, and to help Williams find homes for the other Nicoleños among his extended family and neighbors

Tomás could not be identified on the 1836 Mexican census of Los Angeles because of incomplete data in the Indian section. Of the 553 Indians enumerated as Indian inhabitants, 232 names were entered without ages or origins, 32 had origins of *gentil* or *gentila*, nine were named only as *gentil* or *gentila*, and two were listed as merely *hijo* (young boy) or *hija* (young girl). The lack of several unique details (name, age, and Island Indian origin) that would help to identify Tomás made it impossible to pinpoint him in the 1836 census.

The vulnerability of the Indian population within Los Angeles during the 1830s and 1840s provides a compelling reason as to why the Nicoleños lived with godparents. In fact, employers of Indians were encouraged by the City Council (May 1836, December 1847) to provide lodging for native laborers on their premises or agricultural lands so that the Indians did not congregate in village settings. Tomás did not leave the home of his godmother's family, the Johnsons, until 1859, when declining financial circumstances forced Carmen Guirado to sell the Johnson family home (Fig. 5).[22]

At this point, Tomás found housing and employment as a farm laborer for one of the Johnson's neighbors, Antonio Coronel (Table 2:fn. g). Coronel owned 66 acres of agricultural land at Alameda and Seventh streets in 1860.[23] The 1860 U.S. census noted that Tomás married within the year. He wed Refugio López on June 11, 1860 (Table 2:fn. g, h). According to the 1860 census, Refugio was an Indian. A surname for Tomás, "Augri" (or "Angri?"), was entered on the marriage record in the Los Angeles Plaza Church register, but this surname was not used on the census record. It very likely was Tomás's Indian name, because it does not appear to be a Spanish surname. Confirmation that the Tomás who was enumerated in Coronel's household in 1860 was the same Tomás who had lived in the Johnson home came from the witnesses on the marriage certificate for Tomás and Refugio—María de la Merced Váldez and Soledad Coronel. Soledad Coronel was Antonio Coronel's sister, and María de la Merced Váldez had been Tomás's next door neighbor on Spring Street. Váldez bought the former Johnson home in 1859.[24] Collectively, these records demonstrate that Tomás lived at least seven years beyond 1853, when the Lone Woman was brought to Santa Barbara. He and Refugio may have lived long enough to leave descendants. The search for additional records for both of these individuals continues.

The discrepancy in Tomás's reported age of fifteen on the 1844 Mexican census and his age of fourteen in the 1850 U.S. census likely stems from communication difficulties or a transcriptional error by the enumerator. The prevailing language used in Los Angeles changed from Spanish to English after the Mexican-American War. Los Angeles residents such as María del Carmen Guirado, with whom Tomás lived, were native Spanish speakers. Carmen Guirado's listed age in the 1844 Mexican census was 32, and she was still listed as 32 in 1850 in the first U.S. census of Los Angeles! Only a minority of Los Angeles residents could speak English by the time the first American census enumerator arrived in 1850. That individual was likewise at a disadvantage. Born in New York, he was new to Los Angeles and may have been as unfamiliar with Spanish as the Spanish-speakers were with English.[25] Thus, many inaccuracies in names and ages appear in the 1850 U.S. census for Los Angeles.

Two young Indian women who were associated with Tomás in various official documents, Refugio López and María del Carmen, warranted additional record searches. Tomás's wife, Refugio López, may be the María Josefa del Refugio Lópes who was baptized at the Los Angeles Plaza Church in 1846.[26] Maria Josefa's parents were Máximo Lopes, a Mexican, and Guadalupe, an Indian neophyte from Mission San Juan Bautista. If this is the correct baptismal record for Tomás's wife, her mother's Indian ancestry might explain Refugio's designation as Indian in the 1860 census. More records are needed to confirm Refugio's identity as the daughter of Máximo Lópes and Guadalupe.

Carmen, 14, the Island Indian listed next to Tomás in the 1844 Mexican census, is almost certainly the same person as María del Carmel, 16, listed in the Johnson household in 1850 and as María, 13, in the same household in 1852. The young Island Indian woman, María del Carmen, does not appear in baptismal records in 1835 and 1836 with the Nicoleños who came to Los Angeles on the *Peor es Nada*. It is highly likely that she was baptized in 1833 at the Los Angeles Plaza Church as María del Carmen, with an origin on *Quinqui* (San Clemente Island).[27] Her age was not estimated on her baptismal record, but she was identified as an adult, which meant Fr. Bachelot thought María del Carmen was at least ten years old or older at that time.

Juana

Given the date of her baptism and her parent's southern island origins, Juana (Table 2:fn. i) is highly likely to have been from San Nicolas:

> **593**
> Juana
> Adult Neophyte
>
> …Also on March 28, 1836 in the church of this pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels I solemnly baptized an adult woman of about 20 years to whom I gave the name Juana, [her] gentile parents from the southern islands. Her godmother was Doña Nieves Guirado, and to make it official I sign
> Fr. J. A. [Jean Augustus] Alexis Bachelot [rubric]

Native people were no longer living on San Clemente and Santa Catalina islands in 1836. Juana's godmother, Nieves Guirado, was an older sister of Carmen Guirado. She lived with her mother, Isabel Botello, next to the Johnson family until she married an American, Alexander Bell, in 1844.[28] It is likely that her godchild, Juana, lived with her family or that of the Johnsons from the time of her arrival in 1835 through 1844; at this time, the year her godmother married, Juana was enumerated next to Tomás in the Indian section of the final Mexican census of Los Angeles (Table 2:fn. d, j).

Corroboration of Juana's place in the extended Guirado and Johnson households prior to 1844 comes from an association on the 1836 Mexican census. Juana was the only Indian in the 1836 Mexican census who was identified as an Island Indian, and she was listed directly beneath a Yaqui Indian named Ygnacio, who lived with Carmen Guirado's mother, Isabel Botello (Botello 2014:89). There was only one Yaqui Indian with the name Ygnacio listed in the 1836 census of Los Angeles. This boy's story was recorded in J. J. Warner's 1876 summary of Los Angeles County history. Warner wrote about a Yaqui Indian boy who Santiago Johnson purchased in Mexico and brought with the family to Los Angeles (Warner et al. 1876:23–24). According to Warner, an Indian boy from Guaymas, Mexico, had been captured by soldiers after a battle, and a soldier was about to shoot the boy. Johnson intervened, offering the soldier $12 for the child, which the soldier accepted. The boy was given the name Ygnacio and he moved with the Johnson family to Los Angeles in 1834. Since Juana, an Island Indian, appears directly below Ygnacio on the Indian section of the 1836 census, it is highly likely that she was part of the extended Johnson household, which included their Guirado relatives. Like Ygnacio, Juana was listed as a servant.

The variations in Juana's listed age in the baptismal and census records are probably due to estimation errors by Fr. Bachelot, Carmen Guirado, and others who were asked to give Juana's age. Juana was the only Island Indian woman named Juana who lived in Los Angeles in 1836, according to Church and mission registers, and census records (Table 2:fn. j). Juana did not move to a new home with her godmother, Nieves Guirado, when Nieves married. There is a Juana in the 1850 U.S. census in the household of Carmen Johnson (Guirado), but that was Juana Silvas, wife of Johnson's son Francisco.[29] An Indian woman named Juana was listed in the neighborhood in the 1852 California State Census (Table 2:fn. k). The whereabouts of Juana, the island woman, after this date have not yet been determined.

María Magdalena

The young woman who was baptized as María Magdalena is the only Nicoleña who migrated to the mainland in 1835 (Table 2:fn. l) for whom we have a burial record. María Magdalena's burial record confirmed her birth on San Nicolas Island. Her baptism was performed by Fr. Pedro Cabot, who recorded her origin as one of the southern Channel Islands:

> **596**
> María Magdalena
> Isleña
> Adulta

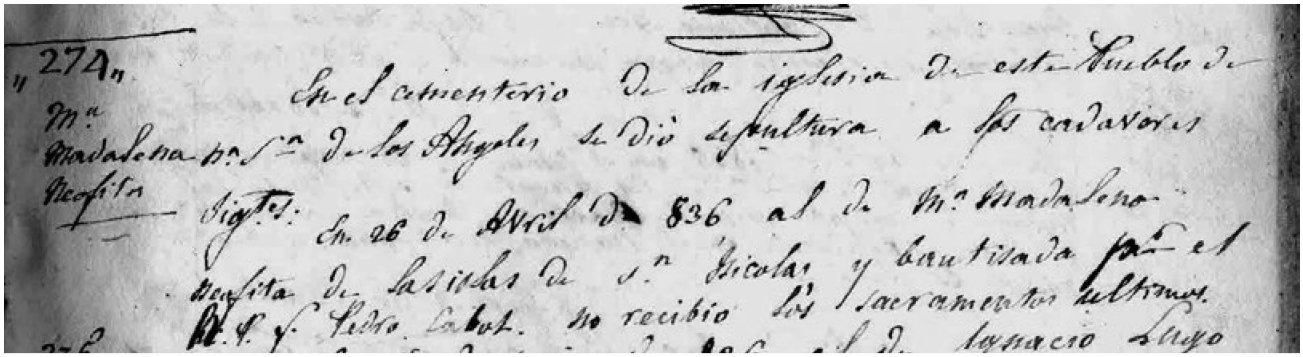


Figure 6. Los Angeles Plaza Church 1836 burial record for María Madalena [María Magdalena]. Courtesy of The Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Mission Hills, California.

> On the 9th of April of 1836 I baptized in the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles [Our Lady of the Angels] and administered the holy oils to a sick adult Indian woman, native of one of the Islands to the south of this coast, about 22 years of age to whom I gave as a name María Magdalena. Her godparents were Don Narciso Botello and his wife, Doña Francisca Ruiz, whom I advised of their spiritual obligation and so to make it official I sign
>
> Fr. Pedro Cabot [rubric]

Fr. Cabot, stationed at Mission San Fernando Rey, performed sacramental rites in Los Angeles in February and April 1836 while Fr. Bachelot was away.

María Magdalena's baptism was different from the baptisms of the other Nicoleños in a number of ways. She was not baptized in the Los Angeles Plaza Church but in the pueblo. María Magdalena was ill, as stated on her baptismal record, and that may have been why she did not travel to the church for the ritual. But because Fr. Cabot expected her to recover, she was assigned godparents—Narciso Botello and his wife Francisca Rúiz. Narciso Botello was related to the Johnson family through his paternal aunt, Isabel Botello. Narciso Botello emigrated from Sonora, Mexico in 1834 with Santiago Johnson. He and his wife lived close to their relatives, likely on Spring Street, in 1836.[30] Botello was secretary of the City Council in 1836, and he continued to be involved in local government through most of his life (Botello 1878).

María Magdalena died and was buried on April 26, in the Los Angeles Plaza Church cemetery just 17 days after she was baptized (Fig. 6; Table 2:fn. m). Fr. Bachelot had returned to his post and officiated. He identified her place of origin as San Nicolas Island:

> María Madalena
> Neophyte
>
> In the cemetery of the church of this Pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels, I gave burial to the following cadavers: …On April 26, 1836, to María Madalena, neophyte of the islands [sic] of San Nicolas and baptized by the Reverend Father Pedro Cabot. She did not receive the last Sacraments.

María Magdalena's death and burial took place soon after an infamous event in early Los Angeles history: a murder and double execution (Hackel 2012:9). In March of 1836, a vigilante committee assembled to take action against an unmarried couple, Gervasio Alipas and María del Rosario Villa, who reportedly murdered María Villa's husband, Domingo Féliz. The lovers had been apprehended, and were jailed awaiting judicial proceedings, when a vigilante committee, led by French immigrant Victor Prudon [Victor Prudhomme], was formed. The committee demanded that the City Council release the prisoners so they could receive swift punishment for their crime. When the City Council refused the request, members of the committee overpowered the guards and took the prisoners. The lovers were shot to death on April 7 and buried the next day in the Los Angeles Plaza Church cemetery.[31]

An account of the actions of the vigilante committee written by Victor Prudon provides information about a request for Fr. Cabot at Mission San Fernando Rey to come to Los Angeles to officiate at a baptism.[32] According to Prudon's report, Isaac Williams wrote to Fr. Cabot on April 7 to inform him that a woman living in Williams' home was ill and wished to be baptized. The dual purpose of the note was to have Fr. Cabot arrive

in Los Angeles in time to baptize the sick woman and to administer the last rites to the condemned prisoners before they were executed.

Fr. Cabot came to Los Angeles on April 8, the day after Alipas and Villa were shot, and officiated at their burial. On the next day, April 9, Fr. Cabot baptized the sickly Nicoleña, María Magdalena. There was no other woman, healthy or unwell, who Fr. Cabot baptized during this brief time period, according to Los Angeles Plaza Church records. The note from Isaac Williams to Fr. Cabot, and the timing of the María Magdalena baptism, proves that she was the young woman from San Nicolas Island who was living in Isaac Williams' home.

María Magdalena's interment was one of some 699 burials in the Los Angeles Plaza Church cemetery, based on burial register entries from the church as well as from Mission San Gabriel, Mission San Fernando Rey, and Mission San Diego (ECPP; Hackel 2012:13; Owen 1960:23–24). Buried on April 26, 1836, her body was likely placed in the south-side cemetery rather than in the north, which was the first to fill with burials beginning in 1823 (ECPP; Hackel 2012:12; Owen 1960:22).

María Luciana

Newborn María Luciana was the youngest of those who may have been Nicoleños baptized at the Los Angeles Plaza Church:

> **604**
> María Luciana
> Child neophyte
>
> On May 24, 1836 in the aforementioned church [Los Angeles Plaza church], I solemnly baptized and administered the holy oils to a recently born girl child of non-baptized Islander parents [*parientes Gentiles Ysleños*]—to whom I gave as a name María Luciana. The godparents were Tomás Batilliers [Botiller], son of Mr. Jⁿ [Joaquín] Batilliers [Botiller] and Encarnación Reies [Reyes], daughter of Mr. Jacinto Reies [Reyes], I gave to the godparents the necessary instructions and so that it is verifiable, I sign
>
> Fr. J. A. [Jean Augustus] Alexis Bachelot [rubric]

If her parents were from San Nicolas Island and they traveled on the *Peor es Nada*, she was conceived before they came to the mainland. Her birth, if it was close to May 24 when she was baptized (Table 2:fn. n), was just seven months after November 21, 1835, the latest date for the arrival of the *Peor es Nada* in San Pedro. María Luciana's parents were identified only as Island Indians, but the timing of her baptism makes an origin on San Nicolas Island plausible. The majority of native inhabitants of San Clemente Island had left the island by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century (Johnson 1988:7). Santa Catalina Island's final indigenous residents appear to have arrived on the mainland by 1818, although one woman was reported to have lived on the island as late as 1832 (McCawley 1996:202; Strudwick 2013:182). The records of the Plaza Church and of Mission San Gabriel include a number of infant children recently born to Santa Catalina and San Clemente Island parents who themselves had not been baptized. Rather than entering the church or missions as neophytes, these native islanders worked for the California Spanish families of Los Angeles. The last of these baptisms prior to María Luciana's birth occurred in 1830–1831 (Table 1).

Although the possibility that María Luciana's parents were from one of the other southern islands cannot be ruled out, her birth shortly after the removal of the group of Nicoleños to San Pedro in 1835 raises the possibility that her parents were two additional Nicoleños. María Luciana's parents, who were not named on the baptismal record, were noted as *gentiles* (unbaptized). If either of them had died prior to the baptism, the term *difunto* (deceased) should have appeared on the record. Her mother was almost certainly living when her infant daughter was baptized, because Maria Luciana was said to have been recently born.

The identification of María Luciana's godparents provides additional clues. María Luciana's godfather, Tomás Botiller, lived in the same neighborhood in 1836 as the Johnson, Guirado, Botello, and Alvarado families, all of whom had members who were godparents to those we have identified as Nicoleños.[33] María Luciana's connection to godmother María de la Encarnación Reyes is particularly significant. Encarnación Reyes, who was fifteen in 1836, was the daughter of José Jacinto Reyes and María Antonia Machado, with whom she lived.[34] Her father, José Jacinto Reyes, was godfather to six Island Indians in Los Angeles, more than any other person noted in the Los Angeles Plaza Church records. His wife and several children were also godparents to Island Indians. It is therefore highly likely that a number of Island Indians who came to Los Angeles worked for the Reyes family and lived on or near his property.

In 1836, José Jacinto Reyes owned an agricultural lot on San Pedro Street, south of Narciso Botello's lot.[35] Reyes' property was likely to have been directly east of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares*, or Island Indian village. The infant María Luciana and her Island Indian parents may have lived at the *Ranchería de los Pipimares*. Therefore, if María Luciana and her parents were alive in 1842, they may have taken part in the *Pipimares* mourning ceremony witnessed by Cesária Valenzuela.

María Aleja

The oldest of the probable Nicoleños (Table 2:fn. p) baptized at the Los Angeles Plaza Church was given the name María Aleja; her age was noted as about 45 years old:

> **617**
> María Aleja
> Adult Indian
>
> On July 17 of the year 1836 in the church of this Pueblo of Our Lady of the Angels, I solemnly baptized and put holy oils on an adult woman of about 45 years, native of the islands, and daughter of gentiles [non-Christians]. I gave her the name María Aleja. Her godmother was Señora María Ignacia Amador of this pueblo, to whom I advised what was necessary [of her spiritual obligations] and to make it official I sign
> Fr. J. A. [Jean Augustus] Alexis Bachelot [rubric]

The date of her baptism, July 17, was less than a year after the Nicoleños arrived in San Pedro, making her likely to have been part of the group, especially as no other Island Indians identified as being from San Clemente or Santa Catalina Islands were baptized in the Church or the missions in 1836 or later.

María Aleja's godmother, María Ignacia Amador, was the widow of Francisco Javier Alvarado, a soldier who came north with Portolá in 1769. Amador's son, also named Francisco Javier Alvarado, was mayor of Los Angeles in 1835. María Ignacia Amador taught children in her home and sewed garments for the church (Beebe and Senkewicz 2006:102–103, 396). María Aleja may have lived with her godmother from the time of her baptism in Los Angeles. María Ignacia Amador lived with her son, Ignacio María Alvarado, and was a close neighbor to the Guirado and Johnson families, according to the 1836 Mexican census.[36] Although it is highly likely that she lived in Los Angeles from the time of her arrival, there is no mention of a María Aleja (or variants such as María or Aleja) as an Island Indian in the Indian section of the 1836 or 1844 Mexican census records for Los Angeles.

In 1850, the first U.S. census of Los Angeles showed an elderly woman named María in the household of María Ignacia Amador (Table 2:fn. q). María, 75, was not noted as Indian (there was no "I" placed next to her name) but she was enumerated without a surname. She was also the last person listed in the household, with her name following that of Francisca, an 11-year-old Indian. Neither María nor Francisca were identified as servants. María's age, 75, was not expected for someone who was estimated to be about 45 in 1836, but it may have been the census-taker's estimate for an elderly Indian woman. Her place of birth as listed in the 1850 census was simply California.

Corroboration that the María who lived in the household of María Ignacia Amador in 1850 could be María Aleja comes from an article written by Los Angeles resident, J. J. Warner. Published in the *Los Angeles Star* (1856), Warner's article states that when the Nicoleños were brought to Los Angeles, an old Indian male lived for years at San Pedro, and a middle-aged female "lived for many years in the family of one of the most respectable citizens in whose care she was at the time of her death." María Ignacia Amador, who was born in Loreto, Mexico, about 1770, died in Los Angeles in 1851.[37] The Nicoleña María may have continued to live with others in the household, but additional documents about her have yet to be discovered.

DISCUSSION

At least two, and conceivably as many as seven, Nicoleños appear in Los Angeles in records from 1835 and later. And it is certainly possible that not all Nicoleños who were brought to the mainland in 1835 were documented in contemporary records. They may not have been baptized, and after California became part of the United States, civil records of births, marriages, and deaths were not required until 1905 (Eichholz 2004:69). In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, native people, particularly those who were itinerant laborers or who lived apart from non-Indians, were not consistently recorded in census and other records. The Nicoleños who did not live with their godparents might have lived in the

Ranchería de los Pipimares in Los Angeles, or in one of the pueblo's other Indian communities, either within the city (before 1847), or outside its limits (Fig. 2). Those who did so would be less likely to have appeared in state or religious documents.

Some ethnographic accounts suggest that an indigenous locality called *Haraasnga*, located on the Palos Verdes Peninsula north of San Pedro, could have been a village of Nicoleños who migrated to the mainland (Heizer 1968:7; McCawley 1996:61). Kroeber believed *Haraasnga* was the Gabrielino term for San Nicolas Island, and that *Xalashat* ("Ghalas-at"), the Chumash name for the island, derived from the pronunciation of this Gabrielino word (Kroeber 1925:635). Strudwick (2013:184–185) has further suggested that the *Haraasnga* on the Palos Verdes Peninsula may have been a previously existing Nicoleño community where the Nicoleños settled when the group arrived in San Pedro in 1835. If this were true, then why did the Nicoleño known as Black Hawk live among the hunters in San Pedro from 1835 through about 1845, according to eyewitness accounts? Additional ethnographic or documentary evidence is as yet lacking to support the idea that Nicoleños lived near San Pedro on the Palos Verdes Peninsula.

Ethnographic records have noted another native *ranchería* site known variously as *Guaspet*, *Guachpet*, *Guasna*, *Guaschna*, and *Waachnga* (McCawley 1996:61; Stoll et al. 2009); this site has been confused with *Haraasnga* (Heizer 1968:7; Strudwick 2013:178, 184). Located in the Ballona Creek wetlands area near Playa Vista (north of the present-day Los Angeles International Airport), *Guaspet* appears to have had some connection to Island Indians. Mission San Gabriel records show that eight marriages took place between inhabitants of *Guaspet* and people from San Clemente Island, Santa Catalina Island, or the generic *La Ysla* (Johnson 1988:Table 1). Two marriages involving brides from "*La Ysla*" occurred in 1805 and 1810, and therefore did not involve the group of Nicoleños brought to the mainland in 1835.

Haraasnga and *Guaspet* are two separate localities, the former in the vicinity of White's Point near San Pedro, and the other at the southern edge of the Ballona wetlands, adjacent to Playa Vista (McCawley 1996:61; Stoll et al. 2009). Speculation about a possible connection between the Nicoleños and one or both of these sites has surfaced before, but at present there is not enough archaeological evidence, or ethnographic or historic documentation, to support a claim that the Nicoleños lived in either location (Heizer 1968:7).

Implications for further historical, ethnographic, and archaeological research into the lives of the Nicoleños in Los Angeles include a continued search for primary source documents and ethnographic accounts regarding known Nicoleños, their possible descendants, and other Island Indians who lived in the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* in Los Angeles. Archaeological investigations in the vicinity of the original pueblo of Los Angeles should take into consideration the Indian village sites of *Yaanga*, the *Ranchería de los Poblanos*, *Pueblito*, and the probable location of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares*. Examination of these localities could lead to discoveries about how indigenous people who lived in Los Angeles during the mid-nineteenth century made the transition from seasonal subsistence strategies to enculturation, while maintaining their cultural identities and traditions.

CONCLUSION

Spanish exploration, colonization, and Euro-American exploitation of natural resources on the west coast of North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries greatly altered the lives of native people in the Los Angeles basin and on the Channel Islands. The sacramental records of Mission San Gabriel, Mission San Fernando Rey, and the Los Angeles Plaza Church show that more than 160 Island Indians from San Clemente, Santa Catalina, or San Nicolas Island migrated to Los Angeles from the southern Channel Islands during the first few decades of the nineteenth century (ECPP; Johnson 1988:Table 2). A number of those recorded in baptismal or burial records were described as Island Indians rather than as people from a specific island. At least two individuals have now been newly identified as Nicoleños (Tomás, María Magdalena), and two others (Juana, María Aleja) are highly likely to have come from San Nicolas Island, according to sacramental records and other original sources. The identification of these individuals as Nicoleños comes from correlations of direct and indirect evidence from multiple independently-created primary source documents.

The unnamed Island Indian parents of newborn María Luciana could also have come from San Nicolas Island. Adding María Luciana's parents and the Nicoleño known as Black Hawk to the above individuals would bring the total number of Nicoleños who migrated to the mainland in 1835 to seven. Efforts to find additional records for the Nicoleños in Los Angeles continue, since a number of individuals (Tomás, Juana, María Luciana, and María Luciana's parents) could have left descendants.

Numerous secondary sources claimed that the Lone Woman was the last of her people. It is clear that she was not. At least one Nicoleño, who was given the name Tomás, was alive and well when the Lone Woman was taken to Santa Barbara in 1853. According to census and sacramental records, he lived until at least 1860, seven years after the Lone Woman died.

Young Tomás did not just survive in Los Angeles, he thrived. In 1859, he moved from the home of a prominent family, the Johnsons, to live in the household of a very distinguished employer, Antonio Coronel. Coronel held many political posts, serving as the first Latino mayor of Los Angeles (1853–1854), County Assessor, and State Treasurer (1867–1871). Tomás worked in Coronel's vineyards at Alameda and Seventh streets, close to the former site of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* (Fig. 2). In 1860, Tomás married Refugio López, and they may have had children.

The Nicoleños who lived past their first year in Los Angeles appear to have been resilient. Three of the Nicoleños who were baptized lived with godparents while they adjusted to their new circumstances. The Lone Woman also lived with a family, the Nidevers, when she was brought to Santa Barbara in 1853 (Ellison 1984:88–89). Understandably, the Nicoleños more typical relocation from a coastal island to Los Angeles did not receive the level of recognition that the Lone Woman did during her short time on the mainland, and their San Nicolas Island origin was soon forgotten.[38]

The Spring Street block that contained the Johnson family home was razed and replaced by the Civic Center. Today, the 32-story Los Angeles City Hall occupies the neighborhood where Tomás, Juana, and María Aleja once resided. The Nicoleños who came to Los Angeles in 1835 have long since died, but some among the descendants of more than 160 Island Indians who migrated to the Los Angeles basin survived, even if they remain largely unacknowledged today.

NOTES

1Hardacre referred to information presented in the following error-riddled article but did not cite the source: "The Lone Woman of San Nicolas," *Santa Barbara Gazette*, 11 December 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

2Los Angeles *Ayuntamiento* [City Council] minutes and committee reports, 9 June 1836, 1 June 1838, 12 May 1845, 7 June 1845, 22 Dec. 1845, Feb. 1846, 18 April 1846, 9 May 1846, 16 May 1846, 23 May 1846, 8 Nov. 1847, and 20 Nov. 1847; Volume 2 (1836–1846) and 4 (1847) of the English translations, Los Angeles City Archives; Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles. These documents discuss the removal of the *Ranchería de los Poblanos*, the *Ranchería de los Pipimares,* and the Indian *rancherías* near Alameda and Alisos streets; 12 March 1842 decree of Prefect Santiago Argüello regarding the petition to remove the Indian settlement, MSS MFilm 00382, Los Angeles Prefecture Records, 1825–1850, Vol. 1:141, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Argüello's decree states that the Indians have been moved twice before, and to move them again would be a hardship.

3The 1769 Portolá expedition journals of Fr. Juan Crespi and engineer Miguel Costansó for Aug. 2–3 provide a starting point, direction, and distance to the Indian village (Crespi 2001: 337, 339, 343; Costansó 1911:20). The group of 64 men camped on the east side of the confluence of the *Porciuncula* River (Los Angeles River) and Arroyo Seco on Aug. 2, then crossed the river the next morning, Aug. 3, near the current junction of N. Broadway (California State Historical Landmark #655). The group traveled southwest (WSW corrected for magnetic variation to 234.5 degrees) over high level ground for about a half hour/half league when they reached the main village, 1.3–1.5 miles from the river. The pueblo of Los Angeles was established in 1781 next to the Indian village encountered by the Portolá group on Aug. 3, 1769. Mission San Gabriel baptismal records from 1777–1813 for 290 Indians indicate origins with the name of the village, *Yaanga* (spelling according to McCawley 1996:57): *Yanga* (1), or as residents of *Yaanga*, with origins of *Yavit* (15) or *Yabit* (274). The location of *Yaanga*, noted 16 times in baptismal records from 1781, was immediately adjacent to the pueblo of Los Angeles (ECPP).

A copy of the original 1786 map of the plan of *El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles* (Estrada 2008:34) shows that the plaza and associated structures were west of the *zanja madre* or "mother ditch," the main water channel constructed in 1781 (Gumprecht 2001:44). The agricultural lots assigned to the settlers were east of the *zanja madre*, next to the Los Angeles River. The *zanja madre* ran along the base of the elevated bench of land upon which the pueblo was built to avoid the periodic flooding of the river (scalloped line on Ord's 1849 map [Fig.2]). The area northwest of the current Los Angeles Plaza Church on Main Street was the location of the original

pueblo, according to Narciso Botello, a long-time Los Angeles resident (Botello 2014:8–9). He arrived in Los Angeles in the 1830s and rented a home in the old plaza, north of the church, in 1834. The location of *Yaanga*, adjacent to the earliest pueblo, was confirmed by Gabrielino consultant José María Zalvidea. When speaking with John Peabody Harringon (1914–1917), Zalvidea stated that the Gabrielino village of *Yaanga* "is the old name of the site of the Los Angeles plaza" (Harrington 1986:R102 F146).

Historian W. W. Robinson proposed a similar location for *Yaanga* in 1959—the site of the former Bella Union Hotel on Main Street (Robinson 1981:22, 124, 126). Robinson did not provide any documentation in support of his claim, but offered the "best current research indicates" and "popularly believed to be" as proof.

4 Two *expedientes* or petitions for land were submitted to the Los Angeles City Council in February 1836 noting the proximity of the requested agricultural lots to the *Ranchería de los Poblanos* near the junction of Los Angeles and First streets: Nepomuceno and Francisco Alvarado, petition for grant of agricultural parcel, 11 Feb. 1836; Untitled Records, Vol. 1, Los Angeles City Archives; Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles; and Rafael Guirado, petition for grant of agricultural parcel, 25 Feb. 1836; Untitled Records, Vol. 1, Los Angeles City Archives; Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles. Los Angeles Plaza Church baptismal records between 1826–1836 show baptisms for Indians associated with the pueblo of Los Angeles. Five baptismal records in 1826 through 1833 note an origin of "*este Pueblo, misma ranchería*," or "[*los Angeles*], *ranchería de este Pueblo*." The place of baptism for two individuals was in the Indian village rather than in the church: "*los Angeles*, *ranchería de este Pueblo de Nuestra Señora*." Three baptisms that were recorded in July 1836, however, note the Indians' origin as "*los Poblanos, Ranchería de*" (ECPP, Los Angeles Plaza Church baptisms, nos. 612, 613, 616).

5 Gabriel, Juan José, and Gandiel, petition to the Second Constitutional *Alcalde*, 27 April 1838; p. 640–641, Box B-0092, Volume 1 of the original Spanish documents, Los Angeles City Archives; Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles.

6 Los Angeles *Ayuntamiento* [City Council] minutes and committee reports, 18 April, 9 May, 16 May, 23 May 1846; pp. 1076–1077 and pp. 1089–1102, Box B-0092, Volume 2 of the original Spanish documents, Los Angeles City Archives; Los Angeles City Archives Erwin C. Piper Technical Center, Los Angeles. These documents discuss the status and removal of the *Ranchería de los Pipimares* [Island Indians] in Los Angeles.

7 Charles J. Prudhomme, interview ("Sketch") of María Cesária Valenzuela de Lawrenzana [Lorenzana], 30 November 1913; digital images, Registrar's Office, Prudhomme Collection, Accession A.4811, data sheets; Los Angeles Natural History Museum, Los Angeles.

8 Jacinto Reyes [José Jacinto Reyes], "The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006," *The Huntington's Early California Population Project*, entry for Jacinto Reyes, burial 00323, 7 August 1837, citing Los Angeles Plaza Church deaths.

9 Goliah, "A Female Robinson Crusoe," *Daily Placer Times and Transcript*, 23 September 1853, p. 2, cols. 4–5, dateline: Santa Barbara, 15 September 1856.

10 "Provincial State Papers: Benicia, Military, 1767-1845, Vol. LXXIX," Internet Archive, *Archive.org* (https://www.archive.org/details/168035972_80_2_2 : accessed 9 December 2014), digital images, 14 October 1834, Santa Barbara, regarding *Peor es Nada* launch, p. 134 stamped (p. 73 penned); crediting Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

11 "Provincial State Papers: Benicia, Military, 1767-1845, Vol. LXXXI," Internet Archive, *Archive.org* (https://www.archive.org/details/168035972_80_2_2 : accessed 9 December 2014), digital images, May 1 [or possibly 7] 1836, Monterey, Luis Castillo Negrete regarding *Peor es Nada* loss, p. 227 stamped (p. 17 penned); crediting Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, University of California, Berkeley.

12 *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County, California: containing a history of Los Angeles County from the earliest period of its occupancy to the present time*, (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1889), 60; digital images, Ancestry.com (http://www.ancestry.com : accessed 23 March 2015).

13 María Antonia, "The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006," *The Huntington's Early California Population Project*, entry for María Antonia, baptism 05101, 19 January 1830, citing Mission San Luis Rey baptisms; Maria de Jesus, "The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006," *The Huntington's Early California Population Project*, entry for María de Jesus, baptism 05338, 11 April 1832, citing Mission San Luis Rey baptisms.

14 José Antonio, "The Huntington Library, Early California Population Project Database, 2006," *The Huntington's Early California Population Project*, entry for José Antonio, baptism 08935a, 19 December 1847, citing Mission San Gabriel baptisms. "Julian del Chino" was the father of six-year-old José Antonio; no mother was listed.

15 "A Female Crusoe," *The Boston Atlas*, 7 Jan 1847, p. 1, col. 5; "A Female Robinson Crusoe," p. 2, cols. 4-5; "A Female Crusoe," *Adams Sentinel & General Advertiser*, 7 Nov 1853, p. 1, col. 5; "The Lone Indian of San Nicolas," *The Santa Barbara Gazette*, 11 Dec 1856, p. 2, col. 2; "Interesting Narrative," *Los Angeles Star*, 13 Dec 1856, p. 2, col. 2; C. J. W. Russell, "Narrative of a Woman Who Was Eighteen Years Alone, Upon the Island of San Nicolas, Coast of California," *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*, 1856, p. 209–211; Emma Hardacre, "Eighteen Years Alone: A Tale of the Pacific," *Scribner's Monthly*, 1880, p. 657–664.

16 1836 Mexican census, city of Los Angeles and its jurisdiction, Alta California, population schedule, p. 671, 5 (penned), Adelaida Johnson, p. 685, 19 (penned), Pedro Valenzuela, digital images, *Historical Society of Southern California*,

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37 The Church of Our Lady of the Angels (Los Angeles, California), "Book One of the Dead, from March 3, 1826 to October 28, 1852," Los Angeles, California, no. 1285, María Ygnacia Amador burial (3 September 1851); The Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, Mission Hills, California.

38 "Interesting Narrative," p. 2, col. 2. When the *Los Angeles Star* printed J. J. Warner's article about the Nicoleños and the Lone Woman in 1856, the newspaper office was next door to the Spring Street home where Tomás lived with the Johnson family. Neither the editor nor the writer were apparently aware of Tomás's presence.

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