Chapter 5. Shift to Coast Miwok Predominance at Mission Dolores, 1800-1817

At the end of the year 1800, San Francisco Bay Costanoans made up 70% of the 644 Indian people at Mission Dolores. Yet by the year 1817 San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Karkin Costanoans represented only 22% of 1,048 Indian people at the mission (Table 5). Over the intervening 17 years, local tribes from greater and greater distances to the north and east moved to the mission, including more San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the east side of the bay, more Bay Miwoks, many more Coast Miwoks, and speakers of two new languages, Patwin and Wappo. As early as 1810, Coast Miwok speakers surpassed the combined San Francisco Bay and Karkin Costanoan speakers in numbers at the mission. By the end of the year 1817 Coast Miwok was the native language of nearly half the residents of Mission Dolores.

The years 1800-1817 include three of the four years when the mission population surpassed 1,200 individuals (1811, 1812, and 1813, the only other being 1821). At the mission, speakers of the new languages intermarried with speakers of the older languages. Since the death rates were higher for women than for men, some long-missionized San Francisco Bay Costanoan widowers married women from the new groups, especially Coast Miwoks. Mission Dolores would eventually have become a Coast Miwok settlement but for the fact that the new outstation (soon to be mission) of San Rafael was founded on the north side of the Golden Gate and a large portion of the Coast Miwok community was sent there over the winter of 1817-1818, an event that will be documented in the next chapter.

In the pages below we examine the arrival of new local tribes at Mission Dolores in the 1800-1817 period with four separate sections based on the migrant's linguistic group affiliations. The sections will address the following linguistic clusters:

- New San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the East Bay, including bi-lingual (Costanoan and Bay Miwok) Jalquins from the Hayward vicinity, Huchiuns from the Oakland-Richmond vicinity, and Huchiun-Aguastos from the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay. Also discussed in this section are the linguistically distinct Carquins, Karkin Costanoan speakers from the Carquinez Strait area beyond San Pablo Bay to the east.
- New Bay Miwok speakers from the interior valleys east of San Francisco Bay, including the last Saclans, and the newly arrived Tatcans, Volvons, and Chupcans.

Table 5. Language Representation of the Indian Population at Mission Dolores for Selected Years between 1790 and 1834.

YEAR	Peninsula Costanoan	EAST BAY COSTANOAN ^a	Bay Miwok	Coast Miwok	Patwin	Wappo	Ромо	Database Total ^b	Annual Report Total
1790	456 (86%)	45 (9%)	1 (>1%)	23 (5%)	0	0	0	525	525
1795	446 (51%)	211 (24%)	130 (15%)	69 (8%)	0	0	0	856	872
1800	285 (44%)	168 (26%)	99 (16%)	92 (14%)	0	0	0	644	635
1805	186 (15%)	319 (29%)	228 (20%)	404 (36%)	0	0	0	1,137	1139
1807	129 (16%)	215 (25%)	187 (23%)	296 (36%)	0	0	0	827	828
1810	115 (11%)	313 (29%)	177 (17%)	437 (41%)	20 (2%)	0	0	1,062	1,057
1815	89 (8%)	206 (18%)	110 (10%)	472 (42%)	241 (21%)	8 (1%)	0	1,126	1,113
1817	76 (7%)	153 (15%)	84 (8%)	516 (49%)	211 (20%)	8 (1%)	0	1,048	1,060
1822	46 (5%)	108 (11%)	47 (5%)	259 (27%)	323 (33%)	185 (19%)	0	968	958
1824	42 (17%)	72 (29%)	28 (11%)	74 (30%)	26 (10%)	7 (3%)	0	249	265
1834	31 (15%)	72 (36%)	25 (12%)	51 (25%)	17 (8%)	4 (2%)	2 (1%)	202 °	136

Notes: ^a The counts in the "East Bay Costanoan" column combine the San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers (Huchiuns and Huchiun-Aguastos) with the Karkin Costanoan speakers (Carquins) and the bilingual Costanoan/Bay Miwok Jalquins. ^b Year-end populations in Milliken's mission register data base do not perfectly match the year-end populations presented in Bowman's (1959) published mission annual reports for a number of reasons, including reaggragation of some people to other missions (which drops the annual report counts) and inconsistant inclusion of children from Baja California families in the annual report counts. The percentages must be based upon the database, because the year-end reports do not identify language groups. ^c The 1834 year end count in Milliken's database includes all San Francisco Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks not known to be dead or at any other mission in 1834, as well as Coast Miwoks, Patwins, Wappos, and Pomos who had children, married, or died at Mission Dolores in the 1830s; it excludes scores of Patwin and Wappo people who probably moved north to Mission S. F. Solano, but cannot be proven to have done so.

 Coast Miwoks from the Marin Peninsula as far north as Point Reyes, Petaluma, and the lower Sonoma Valley. Local tribes included the Huimens, Guaulens, Habastos, Tamals, Omiomis, Choquoimes (alias Sonomas), Petalumas, and Alagualis. Their language would predominate at Mission Dolores from 1802 to 1817. Patwins from the northeast side of San Pablo Bay and lands still further to the northeast in present Solano County, including Napas, Tolenas, Suisuns, and Malacas, along with a very small number of Wappo speakers from the middle Napa Valley.

A final section of this chapter reviews the survivorship history of the San Francisco Peninsula people and of the people from other geographic areas and language groups, using a series of tables that show changing survivorship year-by-year up through 1817.

NEW COSTANOAN MIGRATIONS FROM THE EAST BAY, 1801-1811

Final Huchiun Migrations, 1800-1806

Approximately 150 Huchiuns were still in their East Bay villages at the beginning of the year 1800 (see Figure 12). Only four Huchiuns had come to Mission Dolores for baptism over the four year 1796-1799 period, immediately after the chaotic events of 1794-1795. A small group of 14 Huchiuns were baptized in 1800 and another 65 moved to the mission in 1801. Other large groups of Huchiuns were baptized in 1803 and 1805 (Appendix F:Table 3). The 1803 and 1805 groups were in mixed parties with the first large groups of Huchiun-Aguastos from the present Rodeo area and the Mare Island vicinity of present Vallejo, also San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers. By the summer of 1806, the Huchiun villages were empty.

Bilingual Jalquin Migration, 1801-1803

The Jalquins were a local tribe of the San Leandro Creek area of the East Bay, about midway between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose. They are an intriguing group because the personal names of the women have an admixture of Bay Miwok terminal sounds with predominately San Francisco Bay Costanoan names, suggesting that the Jalquins were bilingual. At Mission Dolores a total of 78 Jalquins were baptized, most in 1801 and 1802. They seem to have been the same people as the Irgins, of whom 152 were baptized at Mission San Jose between 1797 and 1805 (Appendix F:Table 3). The synonymy is inferred on the basis of numerous nuclear family ties between Jalquins and Irgins evidenced in cross-references between the Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose records.

Four of the Jalquin men baptized at Mission Dolores in the winter of 1801-1802 had been arrested and punished in 1797 for their participation in the initial Saclan resistance of 1795 (Milliken 1995:156-160, also SFR-B 2319, 2372, 2374, 2375). The last Jalquins baptized at Mission Dolores were four old people, three women said to be 70 years old and one man said to be 80 years old, listed in the baptismal register in June of 1803 (SFR-B 274-2746). Those baptisms probably signaled the final abandonment of the Jalquin/Irgin villages in the present Hayward area. A few Irgins, however, were baptized at Mission San Jose as late as 1810 (Appendix F:Table 3). They were probably refugees who had been living with neighbors further inland to the east of Mission San Jose.

Huchiun-Aguasto Migrants, 1803-1810

To the east of the Huchiuns on San Pablo Bay were the Huchiun-Aguastos, who also had villages on both sides of the west end of Carquinez Strait, at Crockett and Mare Island. Only one identifiable Huchiun-Aguasto was baptized at Mission Dolores before 1803. Most of them were baptized in 1803 and 1805 in mixed groups with Huchiuns. The last large group was baptized in 1809 with Carquins (Appendix F:Table 3). In fact, although we list 95 baptized Huchiun-Aguastos in Appendix F:Table 3, only 33 people were ever explicitly identified as such in the Mission Dolores baptismal register. The indirectly identified Huchiun-Aguastos include three other categories of people, all of whom were identified merely as "Huchiun" at baptism. One category includes people called "Huchiun-Aguasto" in their death records. Another includes those called "Huchum Aguasto" in the 1822 Mission Dolores census list. The last category includes people from nuclear families

whose other members were Huchiun-Aguastos. For some reason, the missionaries were inconsistent in distinguishing Huchiun-Aguastos from Huchiuns. Perhaps they were not actually separate political entities.

Carquins, the only Karkin Costanoans, 1804-1810

The northernmost of the Costanoan languages, Karkin, was spoken by only one local tribe, the Carquins. They held the east end of Carquinez Strait in the present Benicia-Martinez vicinity. Although the majority of Carquins did not join Mission Dolores until 1809, individual Carquins began moving to the mission in 1787. Nazaria Saqénamaie came from "the other shore in the place they call Juris, of the Carquin family" in July of 1787 (SFR-B 658). She was already the wife of a near East Bay Huchiun man who had been baptized in 1786 (SFR-B 504), and she renewed her marriage with him at the mission on the day she was baptized (SFR-M 155).

Three Carquins joined Mission Dolores during the mass migration of the winter of 1794-1795, a woman married to a Huchiun and her two children (SFR-B 1835, 1837, 1848). A few others went to the mission with Huchiuns and Huchiun-Aguastos between 1802 and 1805. There was a pause in San Pablo Bay baptisms between 1806 and 1809. The pause is partly explained by the measles epidemic in the spring of 1806. Another reason for the pause, however, seems to have been the low level warfare between the Mission Indians of San Francisco, on the one hand, and the Carquins, Chupcans, and Suisuns, on the other hand. Carquins were involved in resistances to Mission Indian attempts to detain fugitive Christian Indians in 1804 and 1807 (Milliken 1995:180-182, 204-206).

The last Carquins and Huchiun-Aguastos moved from the Carquinez Strait area to Mission Dolores between June of 1809 and February of 1810, a few months before a Spanish punitive expedition moved north into present Solano County to destroy the villages of the resistant Suisun Patwins and fugitive Chupcan Bay Miwoks (Milliken 1995:209-211).

NEW BAY MIWOK MIGRATIONS TO MISSION DOLORES, 1801-1811

Bay Miwok speakers (mainly Saclans) represented 16% of the Mission Dolores population in 1800. Over the next few years many more of them would cross the bay to the mission, so that by the end of 1805 they rose to 20% of the population. Yet, like the San Francisco Bay Costanoans, once their tribal base disappeared, their importance waned, so that by 1817 they represented only 8% of the mission population (see Table 5).

From the time the Saclans fled Mission Dolores in 1795 until 1804, very few Bay Miwoks, mainly Saclans, were baptized. Then, between 1804 and 1811 three Bay Miwok tribes moved to Mission Dolores in whole or in part. They were the Tatcans of the East Bay's San Ramon Valley, the Volvons of the small creeks east of Mt. Diablo, and the Chupcans of the Diablo Valley just east of Carquinez Strait.

Tatcan Bay Miwoks Migrate to Mission Dolores, 1804-1806

The Tatcans were Bay Miwok speakers from San Ramon Creek in the interior of present Contra Costa County, about 24 miles east of Mission Dolores. A small number of Tatcans were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1794, as in-married spouses of Saclans. Most of the Tatcans, 127 people, were baptized at Mission Dolores over a three-month period in early 1804, along with a small number of in-married Volvons, Chupcans, Carquins, and Ssouyens (Appendix F:Table 3). The first entry for one large group noted that they were also known as "Posscons" (SFR-B 2887). From that clue we recognize that the four Posscons who appear at Mission San Jose, three in 1808 (SJO-B 1590, 1591, 1601) and one with a Chupcan husband in 1811 (SJO-B 1812), were members of the Tatcan local tribe. By the end of April, 1804, only a small remnant group of Tatcans remained outside

mission control. In addition to the ones baptized at Mission San Jose, a few were baptized at Mission Dolores with the Volvons in 1806.

Volvon Bay Miwok Migration to Two Missions, 1804-1806

The Volvon Bay Miwoks were baptized at both Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose (Appendix F:Table 3). They first appeared at Mission Dolores in 1804 as in-married spouses of Tatcans. The first large group, 45 Volvons, was baptized at Mission San Jose between May 22 and May 30 of 1805. The parents of some of them left Mission San Jose without becoming neophytes.

In May of 1805 a Spanish military party of 22 soldiers swept through every valley and flatland area in the interior Coast Ranges from Mt. Diablo on the north to Pacheco Pass (opposite Carnadero, near Gilroy) in search of fugitive Christians and the non-Christian villagers who defended them. The area covered extended 75 miles from north to south and contained approximately 1700 square miles of the most rugged territory in Central California. In August a group of 14 Volvon adults were baptized at Mission Dolores, probably captives from the Spanish raid of the previous spring.

A final group of Volvons remained non-Christian until the spring of 1806. That group of 30 people, led by a man named Poyl, was baptized at Mission Dolores in March of 1806 (SFR-B 3327). Only three Volvons were baptized after April of 1806. The Volvon Bay Miwoks may have been split between the two missions because they were considered to be trouble makers by the Spanish military. A significant portion of the Volvons of Mission San Jose were soon transferred to Mission Dolores, where 17 of them died prior to 1818. The opposite transfer occurred between 1818 and 1822, when a number of surviving Volvons were reaggregated from Mission Dolores to Mission San Jose.

Chupcan Bay Miwoks, Allies of the Suisun Patwins, 1804-1811

The Chupcans were Bay Miwok speakers who held the marshlands and oak groves of the Diablo Valley, 25 miles east of Mission Dolores. They were occasionally called Yacumusmos in Mission San Francisco records. Their lands were at a strategic intersection of language groups. To the north across Suisun Bay were the Suisun Patwins and to the west on Carquinez strait were the Carquin Karkin Costanoans. The Chupcans were heavily intermarried with both of those local tribes and also with the Tatcans of the San Ramon Valley to their south.

Individual Chupcans were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1779 and 1795 (Appendix F:Table 3). Two more came in with the Saclans in 1795. The next four Chupcans were baptized in January and February of 1804, as in-married members of the Tatcans, who were baptized at Mission Dolores en masse that month. But something happened that month that caused most of the Chupcans to flee their lands and move north to live with the Suisuns until 1810. In January of 1804 a battle occurred north of Carquinez Strait between Mission Dolores Indians on leave to visit their homeland and a group of Suisuns. Fourteen Mission Dolores Indians were killed, including Saclans, Jalquins, and the mission alcalde, Puichon San Francisco Bay Costanoan Pedro Armengal.

Circumstantial evidence indicates the Chupcans were involved in the 1804 altercation in Suisun lands that led to the 14 deaths (Milliken 1995:182, 204). A Spanish military expedition under Luís Peralta raided the main Chupcan town in the present Concord area in September of 1804. The majority of the resident Chupcans avoided capture by slipping away at night across Suisun Bay on tule boats. (The odd spectacle of burning fires, but no people, in the village that night seems to have generated the Spanish tale of Monte del Diablo, later the source of the name of Mount Diablo [Milliken 1995:184-185]).

The majority of Chupcans appeared for baptism in 1810 and 1811 in mixed groups with Suisuns. This appearance was after the Spanish under Gabriel Moraga attacked and burned the

villages of the Suisuns in May of 1810 (Milliken 1995:210-211). The final groups of Chupcan converts were divided between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose (Appendix F:Table 3).

MAIN COAST MIWOK MIGRATION TO MISSION DOLORES, 1800-1817

A total of 1,697 Coast Miwok-speaking people were baptized at Mission Dolores over a 34 year period from 1783 through 1817 (Appendix F:Table 4). Many of the Coast Miwoks who survived the ravages of disease at Mission Dolores were re-aggregated to Mission San Rafael when it was founded at the end of 1817. But some Coast Miwoks stayed in San Francisco through the close of the Mission era; they will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the previous chapter we introduced the earliest Coast Miwok converts at the mission. They totalled just 94 individuals baptized between 1783 and 1799. Most of them were Huimens from just north of the Golden Gate. Following the Saclan uprising in the spring of 1795, many of them fled the mission. Some, however, did not flee, as marriage records during the late 1790s attest (SFR-M 509, 514). Those who did flee stayed away from Mission Dolores until January of 1800. Below we take up the story of Coast Miwok migration to Mission Dolores that year.

Southern Marin Peninsula Coast Miwok Converts, 1800-1803

Guaulens from Bolinas Bay and Tamal Aguastos from the San Rafael vicinity led a resurgence of Coast Miwok migrants to Mission Dolores in 1800. On January 28, 1800, five teen-aged Guaulen girls and one boy were baptized at Mission Dolores (SFR-B 2015-2020). Other Marin Peninsula people went through catechism lessons over the next few weeks. Soon twenty-five Habastos, four Huimens, and two more Guaulens were baptized. In addition, others married neophytes; two more Guaulen girls and two Habasto girls, for example, married Huimen neophyte widowers, while two Habasto women in their thirties immediately found husbands among the neophytes of the San Francisco Peninsula (SFR-M 615, 617, 618, 621, 622, 627).

A larger Coast Miwok contingent arrived at Mission Dolores in the spring of 1801; the group was predominately Huimen, with some Guaulens and Tamal Aguastos. Baptisms dropped off in the summer and fall, but more large groups from the three southernmost Coast Miwok local tribes were baptized in the spring of 1802. Among the converts of 1801 was Huicmuse, aged 20, christened Marino (SFR-B 2182). He later became "Chief Marin," an important figure in the memoirs of Spanish Californians; he gave his name to the Marin Peninsula.

The largest group of Marin Peninsula people yet went to Mission Dolores during the winter of 1802-1803, following an epidemic in the summer of 1802 labeled the *peste* by the missionaries. Among the hundreds of Coast Miwok converts were 49 married couples, including the last significant group of Huimens and Guaulens, a few Tamal Aguastos and Tamals, and the first Olemas and Omiomis from farther to the north. Baptisms again declined during the summer of 1803. In September of 1803 the last large group of Tamal Aguastos, from the San Rafael area, was absorbed into Mission Dolores, together with a few Huimen stragglers.

By the end of 1803, the Huimen and Guaulen villages on the southern Marin Peninsula were empty, and only a quarter of the Tamal Aguastos remained unbaptized. During the 1800-1803 period of migration, 275 Marin Peninsula adults moved to Mission Dolores. They brought with them only 192 infants and young people under the age of fifteen. Since a normal native population with 275 adults should have included 250-275 people under the age of fifteen, it is probable that chronic diseases like syphilis, as well as epidemics like the *peste* of 1802, were crippling their ability to maintain their populations.

Mid-Peninsula Tamals and Other Coast Miwoks, 1804-1809

Only five Marin Peninsula Coast Miwoks were baptized in all of 1804, the year in which the Tatcan Bay Miwoks moved *en masse* to Mission Dolores from the interior East Bay. During the next year of 1805 over 50 Olema Tamals from Olema Creek did go down to Mission Dolores, and with them went the last Guaulens from Bolinas Bay (Appendix F:Table 4). A measles epidemic struck Mission Dolores in the spring of 1806, leading to a slowdown in baptisms from all directions in late 1806 and 1807. However, a group of 32 Olemaloque and Libantone people did go to Mission Dolores from the Olema Creek area just south of Point Reyes in July of 1807. Their arrival at San Francisco coincided with the appearance of Alaskan sea otter hunters on the Marin Peninsula, brought there by United States and Russian ships (Milliken 1995:200-201).

In 1808, the last large group of Tamal Aguastos, probably from Miller Creek north of San Rafael, emigrated from the central Marin Peninsula to Mission Dolores. With them were the majority of interior peninsula Tamals from Echatamal and some Omiomis from the Novato Creek area further north. Altogether, 139 Marin Peninsula people joined Mission Dolores during 1808 (Appendix F:Table 4).

In the winter of 1808-1809, a veritable Alaskan invasion of the Marin Coast took place. The Russian ship Kodiak arrived at Bodega Bay in the late fall of 1808 with 130 native Alaskan sea otter hunters, 20 native women, and 40 Russians aboard. In late January and early February of 1809, numerous Olema and Olemaloque families migrated to Mission Dolores from just south of Tomales Bay, perhaps the area where the hunters were working.

In early February, 1809, the Alaskan otter hunters brought 50 canoes into San Francisco Bay by way of a portage across the northern headlands of the Golden Gate (Ogden 1941:57-59). Mission Dolores Indians captured a man from "Onolasca or Coudiac" on Angel Island. He told the Spanish authorities that the Russian ship Neva was at Bodega Bay and that construction was going on there. In March Spanish soldiers killed four Alaskan natives and arrested two more at San Bruno (Milliken 1995:201-202).

Novato Creek and South Tomales Bay Groups, 1810-1814

The Omiomis of Novato Creek were one of the largest of the Coast Miwok groups. Omiomi individuals began going down to join Mission Dolores in 1802. The first significant groups of Omiomis were baptized in February, April, and December of 1810, a total of 23 people. In the spring of that year, the Spaniards had reports that fugitive neophytes were being protected in the Omiomi villages. This was during the time that Alaska hunters were establishing themselves at Bodega Bay and the last Olema people were being baptized at Mission Dolores. During the first half of the year the Spaniards turned their attention to the northeast to control the Chupcans and Suisuns who were also hiding fugitive neophytes. Soldiers and auxilliary Mission Indians under Gabriel Moraga burned out the Suisun villages in May of 1810. Then Moraga turned his attention to the Russians and the Omiomis.

Moraga led a party of Spanish soldiers to Bodega Bay to meet with the Russians and Americans in late September of 1810. He is said to have lodged a weak protest regarding their presence, but it did little good. By November, four American contract vessels were anchored at Bodega Bay. A few Omiomi people went down to San Francisco in the late fall, but it was not until 1811 that the majority of the Omiomis migrated to Mission Dolores. In March and April of 1811 170 Omiomis joined the mission (Appendix F:Table 4).

Smaller numbers of Omiomis and a few "Costa" people from south Tomales Bay were baptized in 1812. In 1813 a total of 84 people went to Mission Dolores from three regions across the Marin Peninsula and southernmost Sonoma County: 32 from the Novato region (mainly Geluasibes, a subgroup of the Omiomis), 29 from the South Tomales Bay region ("Costa" people from Echacolom

on Tomales Bay and the small villages on the Point Reyes peninsula), and 23 from the San Antonio Creek region (mainly Chocoaycos of the Olompali group).

The year 1814 witnessed only a small number of Coast Miwok baptisms at Mission Dolores. Most migrants to Mission Dolores in 1814 were Napa and Suisun Patwins from north of the Carquinez Straits, who are discussed in detail in another section of this chapter below. Of the few Coast Miwoks baptized that year, most were from the same south Tomales Bay, Novato Creek, and lower Petaluma River areas as the year before. But the first Chocoime Coast Miwoks from the Sonoma area were also baptized that year.³⁰ They came in with their eastern neighbors, the Patwinspeaking Napas of the lower Napa River.

North Bay Coast Miwok Migrations, 1815-1817

Another 45 Coast Miwoks, mainly from the Sonoma Valley, were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1815. By the end of 1815, 1,356 tribal Coast Miwoks had been baptized at Mission Dolores. That number represents almost half of the 2,828 Coast Miwoks ever baptized at any mission (Appendix F:Table 4).³¹ Coast Miwok speakers made up 42 % of the year-end 1815 Mission Dolores population, nearly the same percentage as back in 1810 (see Table 5).

Over the two years of 1816-1817 another 302 Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission Dolores. While nearly 90 of them were from the Tomales Bay area, and some others were Omiomis from Novato Creek (actually the last of them), the vast majority were Olompalis and Petalumas from the Petaluma River drainage and Alagualis and Chocoimes from the Sonoma Creek area (see Figure 12). Surprisingly, another 379 Coast Miwok from the same Petaluma River and Sonoma Creek groups traveled a much greater distance to be baptized at Mission San Jose during the 1815-1817 period (Appendix F:Table 4).

By the end of the summer of 1817, no Coast Miwok-speaking communities were extant south of a line from Olema to Sonoma (see Figure 12). Fewer than half of the people of the South Tomales Bay/Point Reyes region were still in their villages, the others having gone to Mission Dolores in small groups between 1809 and 1815, and in larger groups in 1816 and 1817. Some Olompalis and Petalumas still lived away from the missions, but as remnant groups of less than 100 people each. By the end of 1817, the only completely intact Coast Miwok communities were those of the north Tomales Bay, Bodega Bay, and Bloomfield/Cotati regions.

FIRST PATWIN MIGRANTS TO MISSION DOLORES, 1809-1817

Members of four Patwin-speaking local tribes moved to Mission Dolores from north of San Pablo Bay during the 1810-1817 period. They were Napas from the lower Napa River, Suisuns and Malacas from the Suisun Plain, and Tolenas from the hills north of the Suisun Plain (see Figure 12; Appendix F:Table 5).

³⁰ The Coast Miwok local tribe, called Chocoimes throughout this text (from the mid-Sonoma Valley), were generally labeled Chucuienes at Mission Dolores. But at Mission San Jose, where most of them were baptized, they were labeled Choquoimes and Chocoimes. In later years at Mission San Francisco Solano, the term Chucuyen came to represent any native Coast Miwok speaker.

³¹ A total of 2,828 Coast Miwoks were baptized at the San Francisco Bay Area missions, of which 1,697 were baptized at Mission Dolores, 390 at Mission San Jose, 722 at Mission San Rafael, and 19 at Mission San Francisco Solano between 1824 and 1831.

Suisun Patwin Migration, 1810-1815

The Suisuns of present-day Solano County were the first Patwin-speaking people to move to a mission. They moved to Mission Dolores between 1810 and 1814 (Appendix F:Table 5). We have already referred to the Suisuns in our discussions of the Chupcan Bay Miwoks and Carquin Karkin Costanoans in sections above, because they harbored fugitive neophyte Indians from 1804 until they were attacked and crushed by a Spanish punitive expedition under Gabriel Moraga on May 22, 1810 (Milliken 1995:209-211). As already stated, they had welcomed the Chupcans from Concord onto their lands back in 1804. Then, in 1807, they killed twelve Mission Dolores men during a neophyte raid north of Carquinez Strait. By the spring of 1810, there were no buffer groups between the Suisuns and the Spanish establishments.

In February of 1810, as the Spanish governor and the commander of the San Francisco Presidio were preparing an expedition into Suisun territory, the missionaries at San Francisco allowed new Carquin neophytes to go back home on *paseo*. The result was the third incident involving the murder of Mission Dolores people in six years:

On February 16 or 19, [1810] in the ranchería of the pagans called *SuyuSuyu*, they killed three neophytes. Seven people had gone on a *paseo* to the ranchería of the *Karquines* and four had remained there. The other three had gone on to said ranchería of *SuyuSuyu*, where they had friends. They were killed just as they were coming near. So swear their companions, who say the pagan *Chupanes* came and told them this (SFR-D 2768).

The three Mission men killed were all Carquins who had just been baptized two months earlier in a mixed baptismal group that included some Huchiun-Aguastos and a Saclan refugee married to a Carquin woman.

The February 1810 incident finally provoked the troops at the San Francisco Presidio to prepare for a major punitive expedition against the Suisuns. On May 22, 1810, the Suisuns with a force of 120 fighting men were attacked by a Spanish party, consisting of seventeen soldiers and an auxiliary force of Christian Indians of unknown size, under the command of Second Lieutenant Gabriel Moraga. A later report reads as follows:

Said second-lieutenant...took as prisoners eighteen pagans. They were set free because they were gravely wounded and he had no way to transport them. He believes that not one of them could have avoided death. Toward the end of the action the surviving Indians sealed themselves in three brush houses, from which they made a tenacious defense, wounding the corporals and two soldiers. Those were the only injuries sustained by the troop. No one was killed. After having killed the pagans in two of the grass houses, the Christians set fire to the third grass house, as a means to take the pagans prisoner. But they did not achieve that result, since the valiant Indians died enveloped in flames before they could be taken into custody. The second-lieutenant says that he could not reason with the pagans, who died fighting or by burning (Arrillaga [1810] in Milliken 1995:210).

The soldiers returned to San Francisco with six boys and six girls, comprising a mixed group of Suisuns and Chupcans (SFR-B 3992-4001, 4002, 4004). By the end of the year 1810, 21 Suisuns had been baptized.

A larger group of Suisuns, 71 people, moved to Mission Dolores in 1811. Large Suisun groups were also baptized in 1812 and 1814. The largest group of Suisuns, 122 people, were baptized in 1816. The few Suisuns that appear in Mission Dolores baptismal records after 1816 were baptized with groups of more distant Patwin people (Appendix F:Table 5).

Napas, Tolenas, and Malacas at Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose, 1814-1817

The Napa local tribe lived along the marshes at the mouth of the Napa River, upstream from Mare Island, but below the present City of Napa. Napa individuals moved to Mission Dolores between 1809 and 1813 as in-married members of the Carquin Karkins, the Chocuyen Coast Miwoks, and the Suisun Patwins. Sixteen Napas were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1814, but a greater number of them, 26, were baptized at Mission San Jose that year. When the greater part of the Napa local tribe left their lands for the missions in the following year of 1815, Mission San Jose was again the main destination, the new home of another 121 of them. Another 27 went to Mission Dolores that year (Appendix F:Table 5).

Baptized at Mission Dolores in 1814 and 1815, along with the Napas and Suisuns, were a few Wappo-speaking people from local tribes of the middle portion of the Napa Valley and adjacent areas, people who were lumped together under the name Canicaymo at Mission Dolores. The main period of Wappo baptism at Mission Dolores, however, was in 1821 (Appendix F:Table 5). Those later Wappo baptisms will be discussed in the next chapter.

After the Napas and Suisuns had left their lands, by the end of 1815, the Patwin groups nearest to the missions were the Tolenas of the hills north of Fairfield, the Malacas of the plains east of Fairfield, and the Ululatos of the present Vacaville area.³² Some people from all three of those groups were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1816 and 1817. Almost all of the Malacas were baptized by the end of 1818, and there were so few of them, totaling only 77 people, that it is possible that some of the people identified as Suisuns in the mission records were actually Malacas people. At the close of 1817, many Tolenas and Ululato people still remained in their homelands.

MIXED-LANGUAGE MISSION DOLORES IN 1817

San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speakers and their children represented 95% of the Indian people at Mission Dolores at the close of 1790 and 70% at the end of 1800. By the end of 1817 they represented only 22% of about 1,048 Indians at Mission Dolores, and that is with the Karkin Costanoan speakers included (see Table 5). The Costanoan population fell due to the ravages of disease, while the overall population of the mission grew due to the immigration of Bay Miwoks, Coast Miwoks, and Patwins. This summary section paints an overview of the population change over the 1800-1817 period for key language communities.

The year 1817 was chosen as the time for this summary because in that year the relatively smooth transition of Mission Dolores to a mixed-language community dominated by Coast Miwoks came to an abrupt halt. The outstation (soon to be mission) of San Rafael was founded on the Marin Peninsula in November of 1817. During that winter hundreds of Coast Miwok people were transferred north to the new settlement.

Yelamu Population Decline through 1817

The Yelamu local tribe of San Francisco, brought into Mission Dolores in the late 1770s and early 1780s, still had 80 living members at the end of 1793, representing 11.3% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 6). Their population steadily declined after that. By the end of 1800 they were down to 41 people. At the beginning of 1806 only 32 members were alive; ten of them died

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³² Tolenas and Malacas Patwins were being baptized at Mission Dolores, along with Petaluma Coast Miwoks, when the Russian Kotzebue expedition visited the mission in the autumn of 1816 (see excerpts from the journals of Captain Otto V. Kotzebue, draftsman Louis Choris, and botanist Adelbert von Chamisso in Mahr 1934).

that year, mainly during the measles epidemic of that year. Among the Yelamu people who survived the measles epidemic was headman Guimas, who had been christened Romualdo in 1784. He outlived his ten baptized children to die at Mission Dolores in 1810 (SFR-D 2808).

The death of the last local Yelamu adult was explicitly reported in the Mission Dolores burial register in 1814. The entry was for Captain Guimas' wife, Viridiana Huitenac (at baptism said to have been originally from the east shore of San Francisco Bay). It reads:

On the 22nd of the same month and year [July of 1814] in the cemetery of this mission I gave ecclesiastical interment to the body of Viridiana, an adult who is the last of the adults who saw the first founding Fathers, as it is now more than 25 years since the founding of the mission. From this site of the mission and the lands within a 15 mile radius, all who witnessed the arrival of the first Fathers have died, and of those who were born since, few have lived (SFR-D 3516 [Abella]).

Actually, Viridiana, who was approximately 70 when she died, was the last of the "mature" adults who witnessed the founding of the mission. Three Yelamu men were still alive by the end of 1814 who had been adolescents when the mission had been settled. All three men died in 1815 (SFR-B 45, 69, 116).

At the end of 1817, the Yelamu contingent at Mission Dolores included 2 tribally-born people who had been young children at the time of the Spanish settlement, 3 mission-born children of Yelamu couples, and 12 mission-born children who had one Yelamu parent. When each of the 12 children with one Yelamu parent is counted as a half, the entire Yelamu group represented 11 people or 1% of the overall 1817 year-end mission population (Appendix F:Table 6).

Mission Decline of Bay Shore Peninsula and San Mateo Coast People

At the end of 1793, the largest segment of the Mission Dolores population consisted of Peninsula bay shore San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin, Puichon, and Olpen groups. Their 327 people represented nearly half of the 711 Indian people at Mission Dolores at the end of 1793. After that peak year their total numbers fell rapidly, as did their percentage representation in the mission population. By 1800 they had dropped to 164 people, 26% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 7).

By the end of 1806, the year of a measles epidemic, the Peninsula bay shore population was down to 81 (9% of the mission population), one quarter of their early 1794 population. At the end of 1817 there were still 31 tribally-born Peninsula bay shore people alive at the mission, along with 2 mission-born children of Peninsula bay shore parents and another 11 mission-born children with one Peninsula bay shore parent. Altogether they represented 3.6% of the mission population of 1817 (Appendix F:Table 7).

The remaining San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the Peninsula, the San Mateo County coast local tribes—Aramai, Chiguan, Cotegen, and Oljon—totaled 197 people at Mission Dolores at the end of 1793, 28% of the overall mission population (Appendix F:Table 8). In the year 1794 alone, 54 of them died. The Mission Dolores death registers are silent regarding the causes of those deaths. By the year 1800, they were down to 81 people, or 13% of the population. When 1806 (the year of the measles epidemic) closed, the San Mateo coast and descendent population had fallen to 47 (5.3% of the mission population).

At the end of 1817 there were still 19 tribally-born San Mateo coast people alive, as well as 5 mission-born descendants of San Mateo coast parents and another 5 children with one San Mateo coast parent. The total, 26.5 people, represented 2.5% of the Mission Dolores population (Appendix F:Table 8).

Migration and Decline of the Last East Bay Costanoans

The majority of San Francisco Bay Costanoans at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817 were from the east side of the San Francisco Bay estuary (see Table 5). The East Bay Costanoan speakers went to Mission Dolores in four waves, so that they achieved four successive population peaks at the mission between 1794 and 1810 (Appendix F:Table 9):

- The first large wave, 187 Huchiuns in 1794, when added to small groups that had gone to the mission in earlier years, brought the East Bay Costanoan contingent up to 269 at the end of 1794 (29% of the 913 Indian people at the mission).
- The second wave occurred in 1803, when the bilingual Jalquins brought a declining population back up to 261 people; the Jalquins are discussed in more detail in the next subsection.
- The third wave brought the last Huchiuns and the main group of Huchiun-Aguastos in, producing another East Bay Costanoan population high at the mission of 293 people at the end of 1805.
- The final wave occurred in 1810, when the final Huchiun-Aguasto and Carquin migration brought the rapidly dropping East Bay Costanoan mission community back up to 288 people.

Despite the successive waves of migration, the East Bay Costanoans remained at only about one quarter of the overall Mission Dolores Indian community throughout the period between 1794 and 1810 (see Table 5 and Appendix F:Table 8). By the end of 1817, 144 East Bay Costanoans (excluding bilingual Jalquins) were alive at Mission Dolores, half as many as there had been at the end of 1810. They included 11 mission-born children descended from two East Bay Costanoan parents and another 19 (counted as 9.5 half persons on Appendix F:Table 9) with one East Bay Costanoan parent and one parent from other groups.

Bay Miwok Population Decline to 1817

The Bay Miwok-speaking population at Mission Dolores (Saclans, Tatcans, Volvons, and Chupcans) was down to 84 people by the end of 1817, 8% of the overall population (Appendix F:Table 10). The Bay Miwoks reached their mission population peak, in numbers, in 1805 (226.5 people, including seven mission-born half-Bay Miwoks counted as 0.5 persons each). They reached their highest proportion of the mission population in 1806 (20.3%). The measles epidemic of 1806 hit them fairly hard; they lost 58 of 263 tribally-born people. Decline was continual after that.

The 84 Bay Miwoks at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817 included 72 tribally-born people, 4 mission-born descendants with two Bay Miwok parents and 16 mission-born children with one Bay Miwok parent (the latter counted as eight half persons on Appendix F:Table 10). The tribal survivors included 19 Saclans, 13 Tatcans, 10 Volvons, and 30 Chupcans.

Many Bay Miwoks, but not all, were reaggregated to Mission San Jose during the late teens or early 1820s, where they show up as parents in baptismal records, as spouses in marriage records, and as the subjects of death records. A small number of surviving Saclans later moved to Mission San Francisco Solano. Transfers will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Decline of the Bi-lingual Jalquins of San Leandro

Only nine members of the bilingual (San Francisco Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok) Jalquin local tribe were still alive at the end of 1817. None of them were mission-born children. They represented less than one percent of the Mission Dolores population at the end of 1817 (Appendix F:Table 11). Also, a single member of the Seunen group of the distant Livermore Valley, who had gone to Mission Dolores with the Jalquins, was still alive at Mission Dolores. (Because the great majority of Seunens

were baptized at Mission San Jose, the few that went to Mission Dolores have been included in the Jalquin population statistics for this report.)

Those nine Jalquins and one Seunen transferred to Mission San Jose between 1818 and 1822, mission baptismal, marriage, and death register entries indicate. One of the Jalquin men who transferred to Mission San Jose, Liberato Eulpecse (SFR-B 2322, Saclan Bay Miwok on his father's side), was an ancestor of a large Ohlone Indian family that is active in cultural preservation affairs in the San Francisco Bay Area in the year 2006.³³

Rise of the Coast Miwoks and Patwins

Coast Miwok was the largest language group among the 1,060 Indian people in the Mission Dolores community at the end of 1817, consisting of 517 people or 49% of the Mission Dolores population (Appendix F:Table 12). The Coast Miwoks had grown from 7.5% of the mission population in 1799 to 30% by the end of 1802. They had continued to keep a high mission population percentage up through 1817 by immigration of large groups, despite having a death rate as high as every other language group at the mission.

The Patwin speakers had not even started moving to Mission Dolores until 1809, yet by the end of 1817 they represented 20% of the mission population (Appendix F:Table 13). They included the Suisuns and Malacas of the Suisun Plain, the Tolenas of the hills north of the Suisun Plain, and the Napas of the lower Napa Valley (see Figure 12).

Summary View of Costanoans at Mission Dolores at the end of 1817

Surviving Costanoan speakers made up 22% of the Coast Miwok-dominated Mission Dolores year-end 1817 population. Most of the remaining Costanoans were tribally-born Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans (71 people) and Carquin Karkin Costanoans (49 people) from the East Bay. However, more than 60 tribally-born San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the Peninsula remained, including bay shore Peninsula people (33 people, plus 11 mission-born people who were half Peninsula bay shore), San Mateo coast people (24, plus five mission-born people with one San Mateo coast parent), and Yelamu people (5, plus 12 mission-born half-Yelamus).

Chapter 5. Shift to Coast Miwok Predominance at Mission Dolores, 1800-1817

³³ Liberato Eulpecse was the grandfather of three sisters , Avelina, Annieta, and Susanna (Milliken 2008:94-95). The sisters were themselves the ancestors of twentieth- and twentyfirst-century San Francisco Bay Area Ohlone Indian activists from the Alvarez, Cambra, Galvan, Marine, and Orta families, among others (Cambra 1991, Leventhal 2003).